NEW VOYAGES TO North-America.

CONTAINING

An Account of the ſeveral Nations of that vaſt Continent; their Cuſtoms, Commerce, and Way of Navigation upon the Lakes and Rivers; the ſeveral Attempts of the *Engliſh* and *French* to diſpoſſeſs one another; with the Reaſons of the Miſcarriage of the former; and the various Adventures between the *French*, and the *Iroqueſe* Confederates of *England*, from 1683 to 1694.

A Geographical Deſcription of *Canada*, and a Natural Hiſtory of the Country, with Remarks upon their Government, and the Intereſt of the *Engliſh* and *French* in their Commerce.

Alſo a Dialogue between the Author and a General of the Savages, giving a full View of the Religion and ſtrange Opinions of thoſe People: With an Account of the Authors Retreat to *Portugal* and *Denmark*, and his Remarks on thoſe Courts.

To which is added,

A Dictionary of the *Algonkine* Language, which is generally ſpoke in *North-America*.

Illuſtrated with Twenty Three Mapps and Cutts.

Written in *French*

By the Baron LAHONTAN, Lord Lievtenant of the *French* Colony at *Placentia* in *Newfoundland*, now in *England*.

Done into *Engliſh*.

In Two VOLUMES.

A great part of which never Printed in the Original.

LONDON: Printed for *H. Benwicke* in St. *Paul's* Church-yard; *T. Goodwin*, *M. Wotton*, *B. Tooke*, in *Fleetſtreet*; and *S. Manſhip* in *Cornhil*, 1703.

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To His Grace

WILLIAM

Duke of *Devonſhire*,

Lord Steward of Her Majeſties Houſhold, Lord Lieutenant of the County of Derby, *Chief Juſtice in Eyre of all Her Majeſties Forreſts, Chaſes, Parks*, &c. Trent-North; *One of the Lords of Her Majeſties Moſt Honourable Privy Council, and Knight of the Moſt Honourable Order of the Garter.*

My Lord,

SInce I had the Honour to preſent the King of *Denmark* with the firſt part of this Book, I preſume to make a Preſent of the Latter to your Grace. In making the firſt Dedication, I had no other inducement, than a due regard to the benefits I receiv'd from His Majeſties favour; and the ſame Motive with reference to your Grace, has prompted me to make this acknowledgment of

the undeſerved Favours you kindly vouchſaf'd me.

I did not dare to launch out into the praiſe of His *Daniſh* Majeſty, who has a juſt Title to all ſorts of Encomiums; by reaſon that the little *French* I had, has been forgot among a ſort of People, that take Panegyricks to be Affronts. 'Tis with the ſame view, My Lord, that I decline the pleaſure of publiſhing thoſe diſtinguiſhing Qualities, that place Your Lordſhip at the Head of the Moſt Accompliſh'd Grandees of the World, and the Moſt Zealous Patriots of their Country.

I am with all Gratitude and Veneration,

My Lord,

Your Grace's,

Moſt Humble, and Moſt

Obedient Servant.

Lahontan.

THE PREFACE.

HAving flatter'd my ſelf with the vain hopes of retrieving the King of France's *favour, before the Declaration of this War; I was ſo far from thinking to put theſe Letters, and Memoirs, to the Preſs; that I deſign'd to have committed 'em to the flames, if that Monarch had done me the honour of reinſtating me in my former Places, with the good leave of Meſſieurs* de Pontchartrain, * *the Father and the Son. 'Twas with that view that I neglected to put 'em in ſuch a dreſs as might now be wiſh'd for, for the ſatisfaction of the Reader that gives himſelf the trouble to peruſe 'em.*

* *The one Chancellor of* France, *and the other Secretary of State: Both of 'em vaſtly rich.*

Between the fifteenth and ſixteenth year of my Age I went to Canada, *and there took care to keep up a conſtant Correſpondence by Letters with an old Relation, who had required of me a Narrative of the Occurrences of that Country, upon the account of the yearly aſſiſtance he gave me. 'Tis theſe very Letters that make the greateſt part of the firſt Volum. They contain an account of all that paſs'd between the* Engliſh, *the* French, *the* Iroqueſe,

and the other Savage Nations, from the year 1683, *to* 1694. *Together with a great many curious Remarks, that may be of uſe to thoſe who have any knowledge of the* Engliſh *or* French *Colonies.*

The whole is writ with a great deal of Fidelity; for I repreſent things juſt as they are. I neither flatter nor ſpare any Perſon whatſoever; I attribute to the * Iroqueſe, *the glory they have purchaſed on ſeveral occaſions, tho' at the ſame time I hate that Raſcally People, as much as Horns and Law-Suits. Notwithſtanding the Veneration I have for the Clergy, I impute to them all the miſchief the* Iroqueſe *have done to the* French *Colonies, in the courſe of a War that had never been undertaken, if it had not been for the Counſels of theſe pious Church-Men.*

* *Call'd by the* Engliſh *in* New-York, *Mahak.*

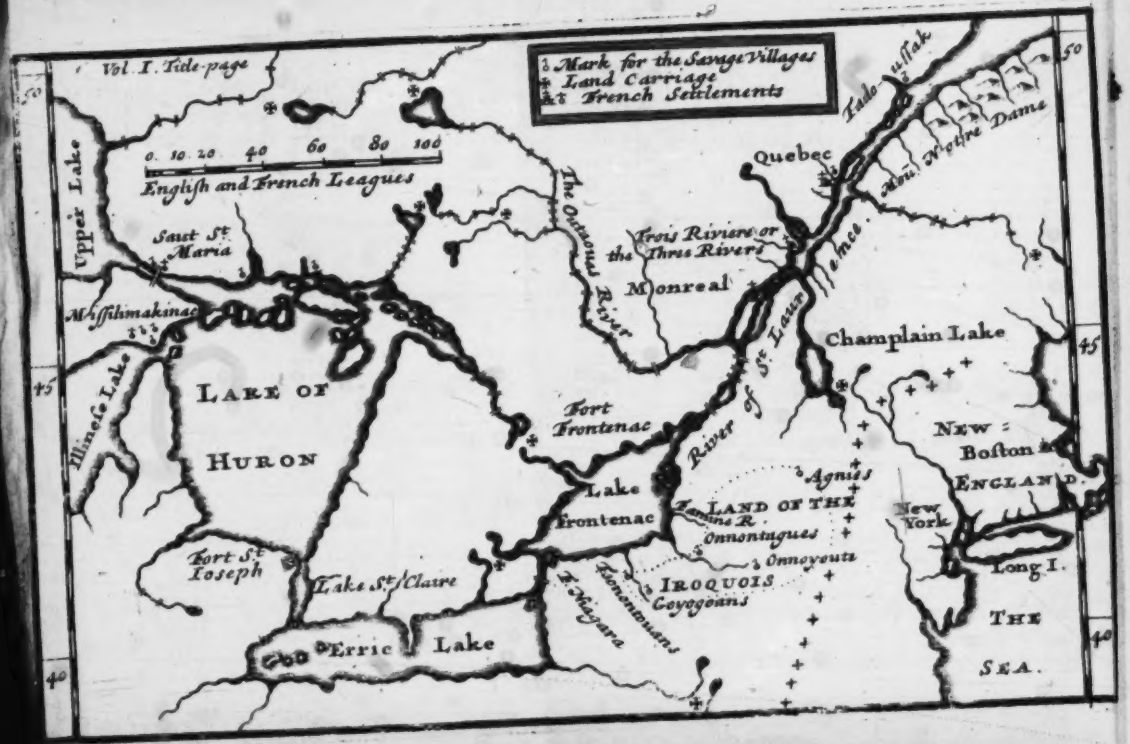
The Reader is deſir'd to take notice that the Towns of New-York, *are known to the* French *by their old Names only, and for that reaſon I was oblig'd to make uſe of the ſame in my Letters, as well as my Mapps. They give the name of* New-York *to all that Country, that reaches from the Source of its River to the Mouth, that is, to the Iſland, upon which there ſtands a City call'd in the time of the* Dutch Manathe, *and now by the* Engliſh, New-York. *In like manner the Plantation of* Albany, *that lies towards the head of the River, is call'd by the* French, Orange.

Farther; I would not have the Reader to take it amiſs, that the thoughts of the Savages are ſet forth in an European *Dreſs. The occaſion of that*

that choice proceeded from the Relation I Corresponded with; for that honest Gentleman ridiculed the Metaphorical Harangue of the * Grangula; *and intreated me not to make a literal Translation of a Language that was so stuff'd with Fictions and Savage Hyperboles. 'Tis for this reason that all the Discourses and Arguments of those Nations, are here accommodated to the* European *Style and way of Speaking; for having comply'd with my Friend's Request, I contented my self in keeping only a Copy of the Letters I writ to him, during my Pilgrimage in the Country of these naked Philosophers.*

* *See Letter 7th.*

'Twill not be improper to acquaint the Reader by the bye, that those who know my faults, do as little justice to these People, as they do to me, in alledging I am a Savage my self, and that that *makes me speak so favourably of my Fellow-Savages. These Observators do me a great deal of Honour, as long as they do not explain themselves, so as to make me directly of the same Character with that which is tack'd to the word* Savage *by the* Europeans *in their way of thinking: For in saying only that I am of the same temper with the Savages, they give me without design, the Character of the honestest Man in the World. 'Tis an unconteſted truth, that the Nations which are not debauch'd by the Neighbourhood of the* Europeans, *are strangers to the Measures of* Meum *and* Tuum, *and to all Laws, Judges, and Priests. This can't be call'd in question, since all Travellers that have visited those Countries, vouch for its truth; and a great many of different Professions, have*


Vol. I. Title-page
Mark for the Savage Villages
Land Carriage
French Settlements
0. 10. 20. 40. 60. 80. 100
English and French Leagues
Upper Lake
Saut St. Maria
Missilimakinac
Illinois Lake
LAKE OF HURON
Lake Erric
Fort St. Joseph
Lake St. Claire
Fort Frontenac
Lake Frontenac
The Outaouas River
Trois Rivieres or the Three Rivers
Monreal
Quebec
Tadoussak
Abit. Notre Dame
River of St. Laurence
Champlain Lake
LAND OF THE
Onnontagues
Onneyouts
IROQUOIS
Goyogoins
Agnies
New York
New Boston
ENGLAND
Long I.
THE SEA.
45
40

given the World repeated assurances that 'tis so. Now this being granted, we ought not to scruple to believe, that these are such wise and reasonable People. I take it, a Man must be quite blind, who do's not see that the property of Goods (I do not speak of the ingrossing of Women) is the only Source of all the Disorders that perplex the European *Societies. Upon that Consideration 'twill be easie to perceive, that I have not spoke wide in describing that Wisdom and Acuteness which shines through the Words and Actions of these poor* Americans. *If all the World had access to the Books of Voyages, that are found in some well stock'd Libraries, they would find in above a hundred Descriptions of* Canada, *an infinity of Discourses and Arguments offer'd by the Savages, which are incomparably stronger, and more nervous than those I've inserted in my Memoirs.*

As for such as doubt of the Instinct and wonderful capacity of Beavers, they need only to cast their Eyes upon the Great Map of America, *drawn by the Sieur* de Fer, *and grav'd at* Paris *in the year* 1698. *Where they will meet with several surprising things, relating to these Animals.*

While my Book was a Printing in Holland, *I was in* England; *and as soon as it appear'd, several* English *Gentlemen of a distinguishing Merit, who understand the* French *as well as their Mother Tongue, gave me to know, that they would be glad to see a more ample Relation of the Manners and Customs of the People of that Continent, whom we call by the name of Savages. This oblig'd me to communicate to these Gentlemen, the Substance of the several Conferences I had in that*

Country

Country with a certain Huron, *whom the* French *call* Rat. *While I ſtay'd at that* American's *Village, I imploy'd my time very agreeably in making a careful Collection of all his Arguments and Opinions; and as ſoon as I return'd from my Voyage upon the Lakes of* Canada, *I ſhew'd my Manuſcript to Count* Frontenac, *who was ſo pleas'd with it, that he took the pains to aſſiſt me in digeſting the Dialogues, and bringing them into the order they now appear in: For before that, they were abrupt Conferences without Connexion. Upon the Solicitation of theſe* Engliſh *Gentlemen, I've put theſe Dialogues into the hands of the Perſon who tranſlated my Letters and Memoirs: And if it had not been for their preſſing Inſtances, they had never ſeen the light; for there are but few in the World that will judge impartially, and without prepoſſeſſion, of ſome things contain'd in 'em.*

I have likewiſe intruſted the ſame Tranſlator with ſome Remarks *that I made in* Portugal, *and* Denmark, *when I fled thither from* Newfound-Land. *There the Reader will meet with a deſcription of* Lisbon *and* Copenhagen, *and of the capital City of* Arragon.

To the Tranſlation of my firſt Volume, I have added an exact Map of Newfound-Land, *which was not in the Original. I have likewiſe corrected almoſt all the Cuts of the* Holland *Impreſſion, for the* Dutch *Gravers had murder'd 'em, by not underſtanding their Explications, which were all in* French. *They have grav'd Women for Men, and Men for Women; naked Perſons for thoſe that are cloath'd, and* è Contra. *As*

for

for the Maps, the Reader will find 'em very exact; And I have taken care to have the Tracts of my Voyages more nicely delineated, than in the Original.

I underſtand by Letters from Paris, *that the two Meſſieurs* de Pontchartrain *indeavour by all means to be reveng'd upon me for the affront they ſay I have given 'em in publiſhing ſome triffling Stories in my Book, that ought to have been conceal'd. I am likewiſe inform'd, that I have reaſon to be apprehenſive of the Reſentment of ſeveral Eccleſiaſticks, who pretend I have inſulted God in cenſuring their Conduct. But ſince I expected nothing leſs than the furious Reſentment both of the one and the other, when I put this Book to the Preſs; I had time enough to arm my ſelf from top to toe, in order to make head againſt 'em. 'Tis my comfort, that I have writ nothing but what I make good by Authentick proofs; beſides, that I could not have ſaid leſs of 'em than I have done; for if I had not tied my ſelf up to the direct thread of my Diſcourſe, I could have made Digreſſions, in which the Conduct both of the one and the other, would have appear'd to be prejudicial to the repoſe of the Society, and the publick Good. I had provocation enough to have treated 'em in that manner; but my Letters being addreſs'd to an old Bigotted Relation of mine, who fed upon Devotion, and dreaded the influence of the Court; he ſtill beſeech'd me to write nothing to him that might diſoblige the Clergy or the Courtiers, for fear of the intercepting of my Letters. However, I have advice from* Paris, *that ſome Pedants are ſet at work to laſh*

me

me in writing; and ſo I muſt prepare to ſtand the brunt of a ſhower of affronts, that will be pour'd upon me in a few days. But 'tis no matter; I am ſo good a Conjurer, that I can ward off any ſtorm from the ſide of Paris. *I laugh at their Threats; and ſince I can't make uſe of my Sword, I'll wage War with my Pen.*

This I only mention by the bye, in this my Preface to the Reader, whom I pray the Heavens to Crown with Proſperity, in preſerving him from having any buſineſs to adjuſt with moſt of the Miniſters of State, and Prieſts; for let them be never ſo faulty, they'll ſtill be ſaid to be in the right, till ſuch time as Anarchy be introduc'd amongſt us, as well as the Americans, *among whom the ſorryeſt fellow thinks himſelf a better Man, than a Chancellour of* France. *Theſe People are happy in being ſcreen'd from the tricks and ſhifts of Miniſters, who are always Maſters where-ever they come. I envy the ſtate of a poor Savage, who tramples upon Laws, and pays Homage to no Scepter. I wiſh I could ſpend the reſt of my Life in his Hutt, and ſo be no longer expos'd to the chagrin of bending the knee to a ſet of Men, that ſacrifice the publick good to their private intereſt, and are born to plague honeſt Men. The two Miniſters of State I have to do with, have been ſollicited in vain, by the Dutcheſs of* Lude, *Cardinal* Bouillon, *Count* Guiſcar, *Mr.* de Quiros, *and Count* d' Avaux: *Nothing could prevail, tho' all that is laid to my charge, conſiſts only in not bearing the affronts of a Governour, whom they protect; at a time when a hundred other Officers, who live under the imputation*

tation of Crimes, infinitely greater than mine, are excus'd for three Months abſence from Court. Now the Reaſon is, that they give leſs quarter to thoſe who have the misfortune to diſpleaſe the two Meſſieurs de Ponchartrain, *than to ſuch as act contrary to the King's Orders.*

But after all my Misfortunes, I have this to ſolace me, that I injoy in England *a ſort of Liberty, that is not met with elſewhere: For one may juſtly ſay, that of all the* Countries *inhabited by civilis'd People, this alone affords the greateſt perfection of Liberty. Nay, I do not except the liberty of the Mind, for I am convinc'd, that the* Engliſh *maintain it with a great deal of tenderneſs: So true it is, that all degrees of Slavery are abhorr'd by this People, who ſhew their Wiſdom in the precautions they take to prevent their ſinking into a fatal Servitude.*

THE

THE CONTENTS.

VOL. I.

LETTER I.

Dated at *Quebec Nov.* 8. 1683.

Containing a Deſcription of the Paſſage from France *to* Canada; *with ſome Remarks upon the Coaſts, Channels,* &c. *and the variation of the Needle.* p. 1.

LETTER II.

Dated at the Canton of *Beauprè May* 2. 1684.

Containing a Deſcription of the Plantations of Canada, *and the manner in which they were firſt form'd: As alſo an Account of the Tranſportation of Whores from* France *to that Country; together with a view of its Climate and Soil.* p. 7.

LET-

The Contents.

LETTER. III.

Dated at *Quebec May* 15. 1684.

Containing an ample Deſcription of the City of Quebec, *and of the Iſland of St.* Laurence. p. 11.

LETTER. IV.

Dated at *Monreal June* 14. 1684.

Containing a brief Deſcription of the Habitations of the Savages in the Neighbourhood of Quebec; *of the River of St.* Laurence, *as far up as* Monreal; *of a curious way of fiſhing Eels; and of the Cities of* Trois Rivieres, *and* Monreal: *Together with an account of the Couduct of the Forreſt-Rangers or Pedlers.* p. 16.

LETTER. V.

Dated at *Monreal June* 18. 1684.

In which is contain'd a ſhort account of the Iroqueſe, *with a view of the War and Peace they made with the* French, *and of the means by which it was brought about.* p. 22.

LETTER. VI.

Dated at *Monreal June* 20. 1684.

Being an ample Deſcription of the Canows made of Birch Bark, in which the Canadans *per-*

perform all their Voyages; with an Account of the manner in which they are made and manag'd. p. 26.

LETTER. VII.

Dated at *Monreal Novemb.* 2. 1684.

Deſcribing the River of St. Laurence, *from* Monreal *to the firſt great Lake of* Canada, *with the Water-falls, Cataracts, and Navigation of that River: As alſo Fort* Frontenac, *and the advantages that accrue from it. Together with a Circumſtantial account of the Expedition of Mr.* de la Barre, *the Governour General, againſt the* Iroqueſe; *the Speeches he made, the Replies he receiv'd, and the final Accommodation of the difference.* p. 29.

LETTER. VIII.

Dated at *Monreal June* 28. 1685.

Repreſenting the Fortifications of Monreal, *and the indiſcreet zeal of the Prieſts, who are Lords of that Town: With a Deſcription of* Chambli, *and of the Commerce of the Savages upon the great Lakes.* p. 45.

LETTER. IX.

Dated at *Boucherville Oct.* 2. 1685.

Being an Account of the Commerce and Trade of Monreal: *Of the Arrival of the Marquis of* Denonville

Denonville *with ſome Troops; and of the recalling of Mr.* de la Barre. *With a curious Deſcription of certain Licenſes for trading in Beaver-Skins in the remote Countries.* p. 51.

LETTER. X.

Dated at *Boucherville July* 8. 1686.

Relating the Arrival of Mr. de Champigni, *in the room of Mr.* de Meules, *who is recall'd to* France; *the arrival of the Troops that came along with him, the curioſity of the Rackets, and the way of hunting Elks; with a Deſcription of that Animal.* p. 55.

LETTER. XI.

Dated at *Boucherville May* 28. 1687.

Being a curious Deſcription of the Hunting of divers Animals. p. 60.

LETTER. XII.

Dated at St. *Helens* over againſt *Monreal June* 8. 1687.

The Chevalier de Vaudreuil *arrives in* Canada *with ſome Troops. Both the Regular Troops and the Militia are poſted at St.* Helens, *in a readineſs to march againſt the* Iroqueſe. p. 68.

LET-

The Contents.

LETTER. XIII.

Dated at *Niagara Aug.* 2. 1687.

Repreſenting the unfavourable Iſſue of the Campaign, made in the Iroqueſe *Country; the diſcovery of an Ambuſcade, and the iſſuing of Orders for the Author to march with a Detachment to the great Lakes.* p. 70.

LETTER. XIV.

Dated at *Miſſilimakinac May* 26. 1688.

The Author leaves Nagara, *and has an Incounter with the* Iroqueſe *at the end of the Land-Carriage. The after-part of his Voyage. A Deſcription of the Country. He arrives at Fort St.* Joſeph *in the Mouth of the Lake of* Hurons. *A Detachment of the* Hurons *arrive at the ſame place. After an Ingagement, they ſet out for* Miſſilimakinac. *A ſtrange Adventure of Mr.* de la Salle's *Brother.* Miſſilimakinac *deſcrib'd.* p. 80.

LETTER. XV.

Dated at *Miſſilimakinac Sept.* 18. 1688.

Deſcribing the Fall call'd Saut St. Marie, *where the Author perſwades the Inhabitants to joyn the* Outaouas, *and march againſt the* Iroqueſe. *And containing an account of the Occurrences of the Voyage between that Place and* Miſſilimakinac p. 92.

LETTER. XVI.

Dated at *Miſſilimakinac May* 28. 1689.

Containing an Account of the Author's Departure from, and Return to, Miſſilimakinac. *A Deſcription of the Bay of* Puants, *and its Villages. An ample Deſcription of the Beavers, follow'd by the Journal of a remarkable Voyage upon the Long River, and a Map of the adjacent Country.* p. 104.

LETTER. XVII.

Dated at *Quebec Sep.* 28. 1689.

The Author ſets out from Miſſilimakinac *to the Colony, and deſcribes the Country, Rivers, and Paſſes that he ſaw by the way. The* Iroqueſe *make a fatal incurſion into the Iſland of* Monreal: *Fort* Frontenac *is abandon'd; Count* Frontenac *is ſent to* Canada, *and the Marquis of* Denonville *is recall'd.* p. 142.

LETTER. XVIII.

Dated at *Quelec Nov.* 15. 1689.

Giving an Account of Mr. de Frontenac's *Arrival, his Reception, his Voyage to* Monreal, *and the repairing of Fort* Frontenac. p. 151.

LETTER. XIX.

Dated at *Monreal October* 2. 1690.

Relating the Attempts upon New-England, *and* New-

The Contents.

New-York; *a fatal Embaſſy ſent by the* French *to the* Iroqueſe, *and an ill-concerted Enterpriſe of the* Engliſh *and the* Iroqueſe, *in marching by Land to attack the* French *Colony.* p. 155.

LETTER. XX.

Dated at *Rochel January* 12. 1691.

Being a Relation of a ſecond and very important Expedition of the Engliſh *by Sea; in which is contain'd a Letter written by the* Engliſh *Admiral to Count* Frontenac, *with the Governour's Verbal Anſwer. As alſo an account of the Author's departure for* France. p. 159.

LETTER. XXI.

Dated at *Rochel July* 26. 1691.

Containing a Deſcription of the Courts or Offices of the Miniſters of State, and a view of ſome Services that are ill rewarded at Court. p. 166.

LETTER. XXII.

Dated at *Quebec Nov.* 10. 1691.

Which contains an account of the Author's departure from Rochel *to* Quebec, *of his Voyage to the mouth of the River St.* Laurence, *of a Rencounter with an* Engliſh *Ship which he fought; of the ſtranding of his Ship; of his ſailing thro' the River St.* Laurence; *of the news he receiv'd that a party of the* Engliſh *and* Iroqueſe, *had defeated a Body of the* French *Troops.* p. 171.

LETTER. XXIII.

Dated at *Nants Octob.* 25. 1692.

Containing an Account of the taking of ſome Engliſh *Veſſels, of defeating a Party of the* Iroqueſe, *of an* Iroqueſe *burnt alive at* Quebec ; *of another Party of theſe Barbarians, who having ſurpris'd ſome* Coureurs de Bois, *were afterwards ſurpris'd themſelves. Of the Project of an Enterprize propos'd by Mr.* Frontenac *to the Author. Of the Author's departure in a Frigat for* France, *and his ſtopping at* Placentia, *which was then attack'd by the* Engliſh *Fleet that came to take that Poſt from us. How the* Engliſh *fail'd in their Deſign, and the Author purſu'd his Voyage.* p. 175.

LETTER. XXIV.

Dated at *Nants May* 10. 1693.

Containing an Account of Mr. Frontenac's *Project, which was rejected at Court, and the reaſon why it was rejected. The King gives the Author the Lieutenancy of* Newfound Land, &c. *together with the Independent Company.* p. 187.

LETTER. XXV.

Dated at *Viana* in *Portugal Jan.* 31. 1694.

The Author's departure from France *to* Placentia. *A Fleet of* 30 Engliſh *Ships came to ſeize upon that place ; but is diſappointed, and Sheers off. The reaſon why the* Engliſh *have bad ſucceſs in all*

all their Enterprises beyond Sea. The Author's Adventure with the Governour of Placentia. *His departure for* Portugal. *An Ingagement with a* Flushing *Privateer.* p. 193.

Memoirs of *North America.*

Containing a Geographical Description of that vast Continent; the Customs and Commerce of the Inhabitants, &c. p. 203.
A short Description of Canada. p. 205.
A List of the Savage Nations of Canada. p. 230.
A List of the Animals of Canada. p. 232.
A Description of such Animals or Beasts as are not mention'd in the Letters. p. 233.
A List of the Fowl or Birds of Canada. p. 237.
A Description of such Birds as are not accounted for in the Letters. p. 239.
A Description of the Insects of Canada. p. 242.
The Names of the Fish of Canada. p. 243.
A Description of the Fish that are not mention'd in the Letters. p. 244.
The Trees and Fruits of Canada. p. 247.
A Description of the above-mention'd Trees. p. 248.
A General view of the Commerce of Canada. p. 254.
The Commodities truck'd to and again between the French *and the Savages.* p. 257.
An Account of the Government of Canada *in General.* p. 260.
A Discourse of the Interest of the French *and* English *in* North-America. p. 260.
A Table Explaining some uncommon Terms. p. 276.

The

The Contents of the Second Volume.

A *Diſcourſe of the Habit, Houſes, Complexion and Temperament of the Savages of* North-America. P. 1. Vol. 2.

A ſhort view of the Humours and Cuſtoms of the Savages. p. 7.

The Belief of the Savages, and the Obſtacles of their Converſion. p. 19.

The way of Worſhip us'd by the Savages. p. 29.

An Account of the Amours and Marriages of the Savages. p. 34.

A View of the Diſeaſes and Remedies of the Savages. p. 45.

The Diverſions of Hunting and Shooting uſual among the Savages. p. 55.

The Military Art of the Savages. p. 71.

A View of the Heraldy and the Coats of Arms of the Savages. p. 84.

An Explication of the Savage Hieroglyphicks p. 86.

A Conference or Dialogue between the Author and *Adario*, a noted Man among the Savages.

Containing a Circumſtantial view of the Cuſtoms and Humours of that People. p. 90.

The Contents.

An *APPENDIX*, Containing ſome New Voyages to *Portugal* and *Denmark*; after the Author's Retirement from *Canada*.

LETTER. I.

Dated at *Lisbon April* 20. 1694.

Containing a Deſcription of Viana, Porto a Porto, Aveiro, Coimbra, Lisbon; *together with a View of the Court of* Portugal; *and an Account of the Government, Laws, Cuſtoms, and Humours of the* Portugueſe. p. 185.

LETTER. II.

Dated at *Travemunde* 1694.

Containing an Account of the Author's Voyage from Lisbon *to* Garnſey; *his Adventure with an* Engliſh *Man of War, and an* Engliſh *Privateer: A Deſcription of* Rotterdam *and* Amſterdam; *the Author's Voyage to* Hamburgh; *the Dimenſions of a* Flemiſh *Sloop*; *a Deſcription of the City of* Hamburg; *the Author's Journey from thence to* Lubeck, *and a Deſcription of that City.* p. 211.

LETTER. III.

Dated at *Copenhagen Sept.* 12. 1694.

Containing a Deſcription of the Port and City of Copenhagen, *a view of the* Daniſh *Court, and of the Humours, Cuſtoms, Commerce, Forces,* &c. *of the* Danes. p. 226.

LET-

The Contents.

LETTER. IV.

Dated at *Paris Decemb.* 29. 1694.

Containing a Journal of the Author's Travels from Copenhagen *to* Paris. p. 244.

LETTER. V.

Dated at *Erleich July* 4. 1694.

Giving a view of the Superſtition and Ignorance of the People of Bearn; *their addictedneſs to the notions of Witchcraft, Apparitions,* &c. *And the Author's Arguments againſt that Deluſion.* p. 255.

LETTER. VI.

Dated at *Hueſca July* 11. 1695.

Containing an Account of the Author's eſcape and journey to Spain; *his being taken up for a* Huguenot, *and the Ignorance and Bigotry of the Curates and People of* Bearn *in* France. p. 268.

LETTER. VII.

Dated at *Saragoza Octob.* 8. 1695.

Containing a Deſcription of Saragoza; *a View of the Government of* Arragon, *and an Account of the Cuſtoms of the People.* p. 274.

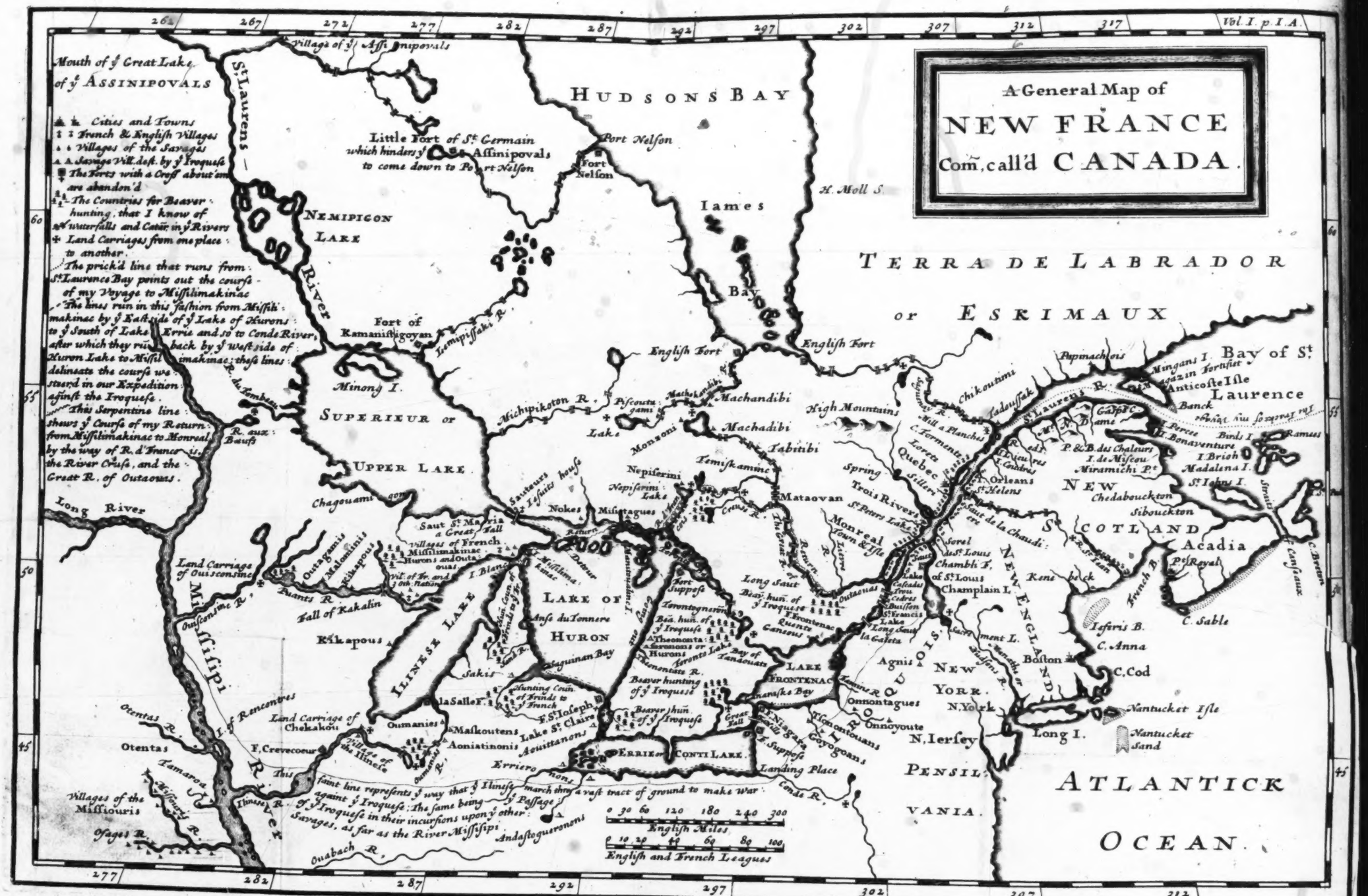
A ſhort Dictionary of the Language of the Savages. p. 287.

ERRATA.

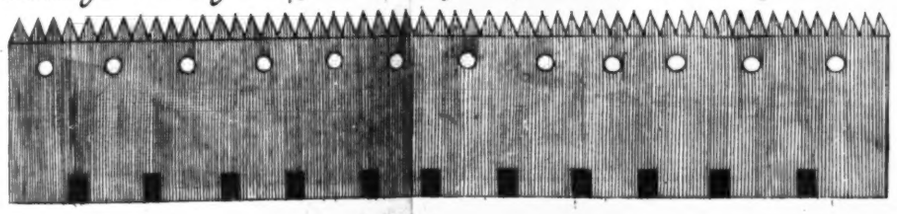
VOL. I. p. 6. l. 11. for *dey* r. *Leagues.* p. 7. l. 17. *for two or three,* r. *two or three hundred.* p. 16. l. 5. for *Miles* r. *Leagues.* p. 18. for *forty* r. *forty ſix.* p. 227. l. 34. for *Pointe* r. *Pointe.* Vol. II. p. 14. l. 8. for *Supernumerans* r. *Supernumerary.* p. l. 35. for *twenty ninth* r. *twenty ſixth.* p. 21. l. 18. for *Happineſs* r. *Unhappineſs.* 26. l. 38. for *can* r. *can't.* p. 72. l. 18. for *Canada* r. *Acadia.* p. 230. l. 33. r. for Counteſs of *Friezland,* r. Counteſs *de Frize.*

Some

A General Map of NEW FRANCE Com, call'd CANADA.



The Dwelling Houses of the TAHUGLAUK, wich are 80 paces in lenghth according to the Draught that ỹ Mozeemlek slaves gave me upon ỹ Barks of Trees.



The Vessels us'd by the TAHUGLAUK in wich 200 men may row; provided they are such as som̃ of ỹ Mozeemlek people drew to me upon ỹ Barks of Trees.

According to my computation such a Vessel must be 130 foot long from the prow to the stern.

A Map drawn upon Stag-skins by ỹ Gnacsitares who gave me to know ỹ Latitudes of all ỹ places mark'd in it, by pointing to ỹ respective places of ỹ heavens that one or t'other corresponded to; for by this means I could adjust ỹ Lat. to half a Degree or little more, having first recāv'd from him a computation of ỹ distances in Tazous each of wich I compute to be 3 Long French Leagues.

A Map of ỹ LONG RIVER and of some others that fall into that small part of ỹ Great River of Missipi wich is here laid down.

The small pricks that are run along from Missilimakinac and back it by another way is ỹ Course I steerd in my Voyage
The Flower de luces ✱ mark'd in some Rivers represent ỹ Places that I stop'd at with out going higher up.
The Crosses ✝ shew ỹ Land carriages from one Pl: to another

Some New

VOYAGES TO North-*America*.

TOME I.

LETTER I.

Dated at the Port of *Quebec*, *Nov.* 8. 1683.

Containing a Deſcription of the Paſſage from France *to* Canada; *with ſome Remarks upon the Coaſts, Channels,* &c. *and the Variation of the Needle.*

SIR,

I am ſurpris'd to find that a Voyage to the New World is ſo formidable to thoſe who are oblig'd to undertake it; for I ſolemnly proteſt that 'tis far from being what the World commonly takes it for. 'Tis true, the Paſſage is in ſome meaſure long; but then the hopes of viewing an unknown Country, attones for the tedioufneſs of the Voyage. When we broke ground from *Rochel*, I acquainted you with the Reaſons that mov'd Mr. *le Fevre de la Barre*, Governor General of *Canada*, to ſend the *Sieur Mahu*, a *Canadeſe*, to *France*; and at the ſame time gave you to know, that he

had reſolv'd upon the utter deſtruction of the *Iroqueſe*, who are a very Warlike and Savage People. Theſe Barbarians befriend the *Engliſh*, upon the account of the Succours they receive from 'em; but they are enemies to us, upon the apprehenſion of being deſtroy'd by us ſome time or other. The General I ſpoke of but now, expected that the King would ſend him ſeven or eight hundred Men; but when we ſet out from *Rochel* the ſeaſon was ſo far advanc'd, that our three Companies of Marines were reckon'd a ſufficient Venture.

I met with nothing in our Paſſage that was diſagreeable, abating for a Storm that alarm'd us for ſome days, upon the precipice of the bank of *Newfound-Land*, where the Waves ſwell prodigiouſly, even when the Winds are low. In that Storm our Frigat receiv'd ſome rude ſhocks from the Sea; but in regard that ſuch accidents are uſual in that Voyage, they made no impreſſion upon the old ſeaſon'd Sailors. As for my part, I could not pretend to that pitch of indifference; for having never made ſuch a Voyage before, I was ſo alarm'd in ſeeing the Waves mount up to the Clouds, that I made more vows to *Neptune*, than the brave *Idomenæus* did in his return from the Wars of *Troy*. After we made the bank, the Waves ſunk, and the Wind dwindled, and the Sea became ſo ſmooth and eaſie, that we could not work our Ship. You can ſcarce imagine what quantities of Cod-fiſh were catch'd there by our Seamen, in the ſpace of a quarter of an hour; for though we had thirty two fathom Water, yet the Hook was no ſooner at the bottom, than the Fiſh was catch'd; ſo that they had nothing to do but to throw in, and take up without interruption: But after all, ſuch is the misfortune of this Fiſhery, that it do's not ſucceed but upon certain banks, which are commonly paſt over without ſtopping. However, as we were plentifully

tifully entertain'd at the coſt of theſe Fiſhes, ſo ſuch of 'em as continued in the Sea, made ſufficient repriſals upon the Corps of a Captain, and of ſeveral Soldiers, who dy'd of the Scurvy, and were thrown over-board three or four days after.

In the mean time the Wind veering to the Weſt-North-Weſt, we were oblig'd to lye bye for five or ſix days; but after that it chop'd to the North, and ſo we happily made Cape *Raſe*, tho' indeed our Pilots were at a loſs to know where we were, by reaſon that they could not take the Latitude for ten or twelve days before. You may eaſily imagine, that 'was with great joy that we heard one of our Sailors call from the Top-Maſt, *Land, Land,* juſt as St *Paul* did when he approach'd to *Maltha*, τὴν ὀρῶ, γῆν ὀρῶ: For you muſt know that when the Pilots reckon they approach to Land, they uſe the precaution of ſending up Sailors to the Top-Maſt, in order to ſome diſcovery; and theſe Sailors are reliev'd every two hours till Night comes, at which time they furl their Sails if the Land is not yet deſcry'd: So that in the Night-time they ſcarce make any way. From this it appears how important it is to know the Coaſt, before you approach to it; nay, the Paſſengers put ſuch a value upon the diſcovery, that they preſent the firſt diſcoverer with ſome Piſtoles. In the mean time, you'll be pleas'd to obſerve, that the Needle of the Compaſs, which naturally points to the North, turns upon the bank of *Newfound-Land*, twenty three Degrees towards the North-Weſt; that is, it points there a degree nearer to the Weſt, than North-North-Weſt. This remark we made by our Compaſs of Variation.

We deſcry'd the Cape about Noon; and in order to confirm the Diſcovery, ſtood in upon it with all ſails aloft. At laſt, being aſſur'd that 'twas the Promontory we look'd for, an univerſal joy was

ſpread throughout the Ship, and the fate of the wretches that we had thrown over-board, was quite forgot. Then the Sailors ſet about the Chriſtening of thoſe who had never made the Voyage before, and indeed they had done it ſooner, if it had not been for the death of our above-mention'd Companions. The Chriſtening I ſpeak of, is an impertinent Ceremony, practis'd by Sea-faring Men, whoſe humours are as ſtrange and extravagant, as the Element it ſelf, upon which they fooliſhly truſt themſelves. By vertue of a Cuſtom of old ſtanding, they profane the Sacrament of Baptiſm in an unaccountable manner. Upon that occaſion, the old Sailors being blacken'd all over, and diſguis'd with Rags and Ropes, force the greener ſort that have never paſs'd ſome certain degrees of Latitude before, to fall down on their Knees, and to ſwear upon a Book of Sea Charts, that upon all occaſions they will practiſe upon others, the ſame Ceremony that is then made uſe of towards them. After the adminiſtring of this ridiculous Oath, they throw fifty Buckets full of Water upon their Head, Belly, and Thighs, and indeed all over their Body, without any regard to times or ſeaſons. This piece of folly is chiefly practis'd under the Æquator, under the Tropicks, under the Polar Circles, upon the bank of *Newfound Land*; and in the Streights of *Gibraltar*, the *Sund*, and the *Dardanelloes*. As for Perſons of Note or Character, they are exempted from the Ceremony, at the expence of five or ſix bottles of Brandy for the Ships Crew.

Three or four days after the performance of this Solemnity, we diſcover'd Cape *Raye*, and ſo made up to St. *Laurence Bay*, in the Mouth of which we were becalm'd for a little while; and during that Calm, we had a clearer and pleaſanter day, than any we had ſeen in the Paſſage. It look'd as if that day had been vouchſaf'd us by way of recompence

pence for the Rains, Foggs, and high Winds, that we incounter'd by the way. There we ſaw an Engagement between a Whale and a * Sword-Fiſh, at the diſtance of a Gun-ſhot from our Frigat. We were perfectly charm'd when we ſaw the Sword-Fiſh jump out of the water in order to dart its Spear into the Body of the Whale, when oblig'd to take breath. This entertaining ſhow laſted at leaſt two hours, ſometimes to the Starboard, and ſometimes to the Larboard of the Ship. The Sailors, among whom Superſtition prevails as much as among the *Egyptians*, took this for a preſage of ſome mighty Storm; but the Prophecy ended in two or three days of contrary Winds, during which time we travers'd between the Iſland of *Newfound-Land*, and that of Cape *Breton*. Two days after we came in ſight of the Iſland of Fowls, by the help of a North-Eaſt Wind; which drove us from the Mouth of St. *Laurence* Bay, to the Iſle of *Anticoſti*, upon the bank of which, we thought to have been caſt away, by nearing it too much. In the Mouth of that River we fell into a ſecond calm, which was follow'd by a contrary Wind, that oblig'd us to lye bye for ſome days. At laſt we made *Tadouſſac*, by gradual approaches, and there came to an Anchor.

* Eſpadon, *a Fiſh between* 10 *and* 15 *Foot long, being four Foot in circumference, and having in its Snout a ſort of Saw which is four Foot long, four Inches broad, and ſix Lines thick.*

This River is four Leagues broad where we then rode, and twenty two at its Mouth; but it contracts it ſelf gradually, as it approaches to its ſource. Two days after, the Wind ſtanding Eaſt, we weigh'd Anchor; and being favour'd by the Tyde, got ſafe through the Channel of the Red Iſland, in which the Currents are apt to turn a Veſſel on one ſide, as well as at the Iſland of *Coudres*, which lies ſome Leagues higher. But upon the Coaſt of the laſt

Iſland, we had certainly ſtruck upon the Rocks, if we had not drop'd an Anchor. Had the Ship been caſt away at that place, we might eaſily have ſav'd our ſelves: But it prov'd ſo, that we were more affraid than hurt. Next Morning we weighed with a freſh gale from the Eaſt, and the next day after came to an Anchor over againſt Cape *Tourmente*, where we had not above two Leagues over, tho' at the ſame time 'tis a dangerous place to thoſe who are unacquainted with the Channel. From thence we had but ſeven days ſailing to the Port of *Quebec*, where we now ride at Anchor. In our Paſſage from the red Iſland to this place, we ſaw ſuch floats of Ice, and ſo much Snow upon the Land, that we were upon the point of turning back for *France*, tho' we were not then above thirty Leagues off our deſired Port. We were affraid of being ſtop'd by the Ice, and ſo loſt; but thank God we 'ſcap'd.

We have receiv'd advice, that the Governor has mark'd out Quarters for our Troops in ſome Villages or Cantons adjacent to this City; ſo that I am oblig'd to prepare to go aſhoar, and therefore muſt make an end of this Letter. I cannot as yet give you any account of the Country, excepting that 'tis already mortally cold. As to the River, I mean to give you a more ample deſcription of it, when I come to know it better. We are informed that Mr. *de la Salle* is juſt return'd from his Travels, which he undertook upon the diſcovery of a great River that falls into the Gulf of *Mexico*; and that he imbarques to morrow for *France*. He is perfectly well acquainted with *Canada*, and for that reaſon you ought to viſit him, if you go to *Paris* this Winter. I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER II.

Dated at the Canton of *Beauprè, May* 2. 1684.

Containing a Deſcription of the Plantations of Canada, *and the manner in which they were firſt form'd: As alſo an account of the Tranſportation of Whores from* France *to that Country; together with a view of its Climate and Soil.*

SIR,

AS ſoon as we landed laſt year, Mr. *de la Barre* lodg'd our three Companies in ſome Cantons or Quarters in the Neighbourhood of *Quebec.* The Planters call theſe places *Cotes,* which in *France* ſignifies no more than the Sea-Coaſt; tho' in this Country where the names of *Town* and *Village* are unknown, that word is made uſe of to expreſs a Seignory or Manour, the Houſes of which lie at the diſtance of two or three Paces one from another, and are ſeated on the brink of the River of St. *Laurence.* In earneſt, Sir, the Boors of thoſe Manors live with more eaſe and conveniency, than an infinity of the Gentlemen in *France.* I am out indeed in calling 'em Boors, for that name is as little known here as in *Spain*; whether it be that they pay no Taxes, and injoy the liberty of Hunting and Fiſhing; or that the eaſineſs of their Life, puts 'em upon a level with the Nobility. The pooreſt of them have four † *Arpents* of Ground in front, and thirty or forty in depth: The whole Country being a continued Forreſt of lofty Trees, the ſtumps

† *An* Arpent *is a ſpot of ground containing* 100 *Perches ſquare, each of which is eighteen Foot long.*

of which muſt be grub'd up, before they can make uſe of a Plough. 'Tis true, this is a troubleſom and chargeable task at firſt; but in a ſhort time after they make up their Loſſes; for when the Virgin ground is capable of receiving Seed, it yields an increaſe to the rate of an hundred fold. Corn is there ſown in *May*, and reap'd about the middle of *September*. Inſtead of threſhing the Sheafs in the Field, they convey 'em to Barns, where they lie till the coldeſt ſeaſon of the Winter, at which time the Grain is more eaſily diſengag'd from the Ear. In this Country they likewiſe ſow Peaſe, which are much eſteem'd in *France*. All ſorts of Grain are very cheap here, as well as Butchers Meat and Fowl. The price of Wood is almoſt nothing, in compariſon with the charge of its carriage, which after all is very inconſiderable.

Moſt of the Inhabitants are a free ſort of People that remov'd hither from *France*, and brought with 'em but little Money to ſet up withal: The reſt are thoſe who were Soldiers about thirty or forty years ago, at which time the Regiment of *Carignan* was broke, and they exchang'd a Military Poſt, for the Trade of *Agriculture*. Neither the one nor the other pay'd any thing for the grounds they poſſeſs, no more than the Officers of theſe Troops, who mark'd out to themſelves, certain portions of unmanur'd and woody Lands; for this vaſt Continent is nothing elſe than one continued Forreſt. The Governours General allow'd the Officers three or four Leagues of ground in front, with as much depth as they pleas'd; and at the ſame time the Officers gave the Soldiers as much ground as they pleas'd, upon the condition of the payment of a Crown *per Arpent*, by way of Fief.

After the reform of theſe Troops, ſeveral Ships were ſent hither from *France*, with a Cargoe of Women of an ordinary Reputation, under the direction

rection of ſome old ſtale Nuns, who rang'd 'em in three Claſſes. The Veſtal Virgins were heap'd up, (if I may ſo ſpeak) one above another, in three different Apartments, where the Bridegrooms ſingled out their Brides, juſt as a Butcher do's an Ewe from amongſt a Flock of Sheep. In theſe three *Seraglio's*, there was ſuch variety and change of Diet, as could ſatisfie the moſt whimſical Appetites; for here was ſome big ſome little, ſome fair ſome brown, ſome fat and ſome meagre. In fine, there was ſuch Accommodation, that every one might be fitted to his Mind: And indeed the Market had ſuch a run, that in fifteen days time, they were all diſpos'd of. I am told, that the fatteſt went off beſt, upon the apprehenſion that theſe being leſs active, would keep truer to their Ingagements, and hold out better againſt the nipping cold of the Winter: But after all, a great many of the He-Adventurers found themſelves miſtaken in their meaſures. However, let that be as it will, it affords a very curious Remark; namely, That in ſome parts of the World, to which the vicious *European* Women are tranſported, the Mob of thoſe Countries do's ſeriouſly believe, that their Sins are ſo defac'd by the ridiculous Chriſtening, I took notice of before, that they are look'd upon ever after as Ladies of Vertue, of Honour, and of an untarniſh'd conduct of Life. The Sparks that wanted to be married, made their Addreſſes to the above-mention'd Governeſſes, to whom they were oblig'd to give an account of their Goods and Eſtates, before they were allow'd to make their choice in the three *Seraglio's*. After the choice was determin'd, the Marriage was concluded upon the ſpot, in the preſence of a Prieſt, and a publick Notary; and the next day the Governor-General beſtow'd upon the married Couple, a Bull, a Cow, a Hog, a Sow, a Cock, a Hen, two Barrels of ſalt Meat, and eleven Crowns; together with

a certain Coat of Arms call'd by the ‖ *Horns* *Greeks* ‖ κέρατα. The Officers having a nicer taſte than the Soldiers, made their Application to the Daughters of the ancient Gentlemen of the Country, or thoſe of the richer ſort of Inhabitants; for you know that *Canada* has been poſſeſs'd by the *French* above an hundred years.

In this Country every one lives in a good and a well furniſh'd Houſe; and moſt of the Houſes are of Wood, and two Stories high. Their Chimnies are very large, by reaſon of the prodigious Fires they make to guard themſelves from the Cold, which is there beyond all meaſure, from the Month of *December*, to that of *April*. During that ſpace of time, the River is always frozen over, notwithſtanding the flowing and ebbing of the Sea; and the Snow upon the ground, is three or four foot deep; which is very ſtrange in a Country that lies in the Latitude of forty ſeven Degrees, and ſome odd Minutes. Moſt People impute the extraordinary Snow to the number of Mountains, with which this vaſt Continent is repleniſh'd. Whatever is in that matter, I muſt take notice of one thing, that ſeems very ſtrange, namely, that the Summer days are longer here than at *Paris*. The Weather is then ſo clear and ſerene, that in three Weeks time you ſhall not ſee a Cloud in the *Horizon*. I hope to go to *Quebec* with the firſt opportunity; for I have orders to be in a readineſs to imbarque within fifteen days for *Monreal*, which is the City of this Country, that lies fartheſt up towards the Head of the River.

I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER III.

Dated at *Quebec May* 15. 1684.

Containing an ample Deſcription of the City of Quebec, *and of the Iſland of* Orleans.

SIR,

BEfore I ſet out for *Monreal*, I had the curioſity to view the Iſland of *Orleans*, which is ſeven Leagues in length, and three in breadth: It extends from over againſt Cape *Tourmente*, to within a League and a half of *Quebec*, at which place the River divides it ſelf into two branches. The Ships ſail through the South Channel; for the North Channel is ſo foul with Shelves and Rocks, that the ſmall Boats can only paſs that way. The Iſland belongs to a General Farmer of *France*, who would make out of it a thouſand Crowns of yearly Rent, if himſelf had the management of it. 'Tis ſurrounded with Plantations, that produce all ſorts of Grain.

Quebec is the Metropolitan of New-*France*, being almoſt a League in Circumference; It lies in the Latitude of 47 Degrees, and 12 Minutes. The Longitude of this place is uncertain, as well as that of ſeveral other Countries, with the leave of the Geographers, that reckon you up 1200 Leagues from *Rochel* to *Quebec*, without taking the pains to meaſure the Courſe: However, I am ſure that it lies but at too great a diſtance from *France*, for the Ships that are bound hither; For their paſſage commonly laſts for two Months and a half, whereas the homeward bound Ships may in 30 or 40 days ſailing, eaſily make the *Belle* Iſle, which is the ſu-

reſt

reſt and moſt uſual Land, that a Ship makes upon a long Voyage. The reaſon of this difference, is, that the Winds are Eaſterly for 100 days of the year, and Weſterly for 260.

Quebec is divided into the upper and the lower City. The Merchants live in the latter, for the conveniency of the Harbor; upon which they have built very fine Houſes, three Story high, of a ſort of Stone that's as hard as Marble. The upper or high City is full as populous, and as well adorn'd as the lower. Both Cities are commanded by a Caſtle, that ſtands upon the higheſt Ground. This Caſtle is the Reſidence of the Governours, and affords them not only convenient Apartments, but the nobleſt and moſt extenſive Proſpect in the World. *Quebec* wants two eſſential things, namely, a Key and Fortifications; though both the one and the other might be eaſily made, conſidering the conveniency of Stones lying upon the ſpot. 'Tis incompaſs'd with ſeveral Springs, of the beſt freſh Water in the World, which the Inhabitants draw out of Wells; for they are ſo ignorant of the Hydroſtaticks, that not one of 'em knows how to convey the Water to certain Baſins, in order to raiſe either flat or ſpouting Fountains. Thoſe who live on the River ſide, in the lower City, are not half ſo much pinch'd with the Cold, as the Inhabitants of the upper; beſides that the former have a peculiar conveniency of tranſporting in Boats, Corn, Wood, and other Neceſſaries, to the very Doors of their Houſes: But as the latter are more expoſs'd to the injuries of the Cold, ſo they injoy the benefit and pleaſure of a cooler Summer. The way which leads from the one City to the other is pretty broad, and adorn'd with Houſes on each ſide; only 'tis a little ſteep. *Quebec* ſtands upon a very uneven Ground; and its Houſes are not uniform. The Intendant lives in a

bottom,

bottom, at ſome ſmall diſtance from the ſide of a little River, which by joyning the River of St. *Laurence*, coops up the City in a right Angle. His Houſe is the Palace in which the Soveraign Council aſſembles four times a Week; and on one ſide of which, we ſee great Magazines of Ammunition and Proviſions. There are ſix Churches in the the High City: The Cathedral conſiſts of a Biſhop, and twelve Prebendaries, who live in common in the Chapter-Houſe, the Magnificence and Architecture of which is truly wonderful. Theſe poor Prieſts are a very good ſort of People; they content themſelves with bare Neceſſaries, and meddle with nothing but the Affairs of the Church, where the Service is perform'd after the *Roman* way. The ſecond Church is that of the Jeſuits, which ſtands in the Center of the City; and is a fair, ſtately, and well lighted Edifice. The great Altar of the Jeſuits Church, is adorn'd with four great Cylindrical Columns of one Stone; The Stone being a ſort of *Canada* Porphyry, and black as Jet, without either Spots or Veins. Theſe Fathers have very convenient and large Apartments, beautify'd with pleaſant Gardens, and ſeveral rows of Trees, which are ſo thick and buſhy, that in Summer one might take their Walks for an Ice-Houſe: And indeed we may ſay without ſtretching, that there is Ice not far from 'em, for the good Fathers are never without a reſerve in two or three places, for the cooling of their Drink. Their College is ſo ſmall, that at the beſt they have ſcarce fifty Scholars at a time. The third Church is that of the Recollects, who, through the interceſſion of Count *Frontenac*, obtain'd leave of the King to build a little Chappel (which I call a Church;) notwithſtanding the Remonſtrances of Mr. *de Laval* our Biſhop, who, in concert with the Jeſuits, us'd his utmoſt Efforts for ten years together to hinder it. Before the build-

ing

ing of this Chappel, they liv'd in a little Hoſpital that the Biſhop had order'd to be built for 'em; and ſome of 'em continue there ſtill. The fourth Church is that of the *Urſelines*, which has been burn'd down two or three times, and ſtill rebuilt to the Advantage. The fifth is that of the Hoſpital-Order, who take a particular Care of the Sick, tho' themſelves are poor, and but ill lodg'd.

The Soveraign Council is held at *Quebec*. It conſiſts of twelve Counſellors of * *Capa y de ſpada*, who are the ſupream Judicature, and decide all Cauſes without Appeal. The Intendant claims a Right of being Preſident to the Council; but in the Juſtice-Hall the Governour-General places himſelf ſo as to face him, the Judges being ſet on both ſides of them; ſo that one would think they are both Preſidents. While *Monſieur de Frontenac* was in *Canada*, he laugh'd at the pretended Precedency of the Intendants; nay he uſed the Members of that Aſſembly as roughly as *Cromwell* did the Parliament of *England*. At this Court every one pleads his own Cauſe, for Sollicitors or Barriſters never appear there; by which means it comes to paſs, that Law-Suits are quickly brought to a Period, without demanding Court Fees or any other Charges from the contending Parties. The Judges, who have but four hundred Livers a Year from the King, have a Diſpenſation of not wearing the Robe and the Cap. Beſides this Tribunal, we have in this Country a Lieutenant-General, both Civil and Military, an Attorney-General, the Great Provoſt, and a Chief Juſtice in Eyre.

* *See the Explication Table.*

The way of travelling in the Winter, whether in Town or Country, is that of Sledges drawn by Horſes; who are ſo inſenſible of the Cold, that I have ſeen fifty or ſixty of 'em in *January* and *February* ſtand in the Snow up to their Breaſt, in the midſt

midſt of a Wood, without ever offering to go near their Owner's Houſe. In the Winter-time they travel from *Quebec* to *Monreal* upon the Ice, the River being then frozen over; and upon that occaſion theſe Sledges will run you fifteen Leagues a day. Others have their Sledges drawn by two Maſtiff Dogs, but then they are longer by the way. As for their way of travelling in Summer, I ſhall tranſmit you an Account of it, when I come to be better inform'd. I am told that the People of this Country will go a thouſand Leagues in Canows of Bark; a Deſcription of which you may expect, as ſoon as I have made uſe of 'em. The Eaſterly Winds prevail here commonly in the Spring and Autumn; and the Weſterly have the Aſcendant in Winter and Summer. Adieu Sir: I muſt now make an end of my Letter, for my Matter begins to run ſhort. All I can ſay, is, that as ſoon as I am better inſtructed in what relates to the Commerce, and the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Government of the Country, I'll tranſmit you ſuch exact Memoirs of the ſame, as ſhall give you full ſatisfaction. Theſe you may expect with the firſt Opportunity; for in all Appearance our Troops will return after the Concluſion of the Campaign that we are now going to make in the Country of the *Iroqueſe*, under the Command of *Monſieur de la Barre*. In ſeven or eight Days time I mean to imbark for *Monreal*; and in the mean time am going to make a Progreſs to the Villages of *Scilleri*, of *Saut de la Chaudiere*, and of *Lorete*, which are inhabited by the *Abenakis* and the *Hurons*. Theſe Places are not above three or four Leagues off; ſo that I may return with eaſe next Week. As for the Manners of the People, I cannot pretend to deſcribe 'em ſo ſoon; for a juſt Obſervation and Knowledge of theſe things cannot be compaſs'd without time. I have been this Winter at hunting with thirty or

forty

forty young *Algonkins*, who were well made clever Fellows. My Deſign in accompanying them, was, to learn their Language, which is mightily eſteem'd in this Country; for all the other Nations for a thouſand Miles round (excepting the *Iroqueſe* and the *Hurons*) underſtand it perfectly well; nay, all their reſpective Tongues come as near to this, as the *Portugueſe* does to the *Spaniſh*. I have already made my ſelf Maſter of ſome Words with a great deal of Facility; and they being mightily pleaſed in ſeeing a Stranger ſtudy their Tongue, take all imaginable pains to inſtruct me. I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

LETTER IV.

Dated at *Monreal*, *June* 14. 1684.

Containing a brief Deſcription of the Habitations of the Savages in the Neighbourhood of Quebec; *Of the River of St.* Lawrence, *&c. as far up as* Monreal; *Of a curious way of fiſhing Eels*; *and of the Cities of* Trois Rivieres *and* Monreal: *Together with an Account of the Conduct of the* * *Forreſt Rangers or Pedlers.*

* Coureurs de Bois. *See the Explication Table.*

SIR,

BEfore my Departure from *Quebec*, I viſited the adjacent Villages inhabited by the Savages. The Village of *Lorete* is peopled by two hundred Families

milies of *Hurons*, who were converted to Chriſtianity by the Jeſuits, though with a great deal of Reluctancy. The Villages of *Silleri*, and of *Saut de la Chaudiere*, are compos'd of three hundred Families of *Abenakis*, who are likewiſe Chriſtians, and among whom the Jeſuits have ſetled Miſſionaries. I return'd to *Quebec* time enough, and imbarqued under the conduct of a Maſter, that would rather have had a Lading of Goods, than of Soldiers. The North-East Winds wafted us in five or ſix days to *Trois Rivieres*, which is the name of a ſmall City, ſeated at the diſtance of thirty Leagues from hence. That City derives its name from three Rivers, that ſpring from one Channel, and after continuing their diviſion for ſome ſpace re-unite into a joynt Stream, that falls into the River of St. *Laurence*, about half a quarter of a League below the Town. Had we ſail'd all Night, the Tides would have carry'd us thither in two days time; but in regard that the River is full of Rocks and Shelves, we durſt not venture upon it in the dark; ſo, we came to an Anchor every Night, which did not at all diſpleaſe me; for in the courſe of thirty Leagues, (notwithſtanding the darkneſs of the Night) it gave me an opportunity of viewing an infinite number of Habitations on each ſide of the River, which are not above a Musket-Shot diſtant one from another. The Inhabitants that are ſetled between *Quebec* and fifteen Leagues higher, diverted me very agreeably with the fiſhing of Eels. At low water they ſtretch out Hurdles to the loweſt Water-Mark; and that ſpace of ground being then dry by the retreat of the Water, is cover'd over, and ſhut up by the Hurdles. Between the Hurdles they place at certain diſtances Inſtruments call'd *Ruches*, from the reſemblance they bear to a Bee-hive; beſides Baskets and little Nets belag'd upon a Pole, which they call *Bouteux*, and *Bouts de Quievret*. Then they let all ſtand in this faſhion for three Months in

the Spring, and two in the Autumn. Now as often as the Tide comes in, the Eels looking out for ſhallow places, and making towards the Shoar, croud in among the Hurdles, which hinder 'em afterwards to retire with the Ebb-water; upon that they are forc'd to bury themſelves in the abovementioned Ingines, which are ſometimes ſo over-cram'd, that they break. When 'tis low water, the Inhabitants take out theſe Eels, which are certainly the biggeſt, and the longeſt in the World. They ſalt them up in Barrels, where they'll keep a whole year without ſpoiling: And indeed they give an admirable reliſh in all Sauces; nay, there's nothing that the Council of *Quebec* deſires more, than that this Fiſhery ſhould be equally plentiful in all years.

Trois Rivieres is a little paltry Town, ſeated in the Latitude of forty Degrees; 'tis not fortified neither with Stone, nor Pales. The River to which it owes its name, takes its riſe an hundred Leagues to the North-Weſt, from the greateſt ridge of Mountains in the Univerſe. The *Algonkins* who are at preſent an Erratick ſort of Savages, and, like the *Arabs*, have no ſetled Abode; that People, I ſay, ſeldom ſtraggle far from the banks of this River, upon which they have excellent Beaver-hunting. In former times the *Iroqueſe* cut off three fourths of that Nation; but they have not dar'd to renew their Incurſions, ſince the *French* have Peopled the Countries that lie higher up upon the River of St. *Laurence*. I call'd *Trois Rivieres* a little Town, with reference to the paucity of the Inhabitants; though at the ſame time they are very rich, and live in ſtately Houſes. The King has made it the Reſidence of a Governor, who would die for Hunger, if he did not trade with the Natives for Beavers, when his ſmall allowance is out: Beſides, a Man that would live there, muſt be of the like temper with a Dog, or at leaſt he muſt take pleaſure in ſcratching

ing his Skin, for the Flea's are there more numerous than the grains of Sand. I am inform'd, that the Natives of this place make the beſt Soldiers in the Country.

Three Leagues higher we enter'd St. *Peter's* Lake, which is ſix Leagues long, and had difficulty enough in croſſing it; for the frequent Calms oblig'd us to caſt Anchor ſeveral times. It receives three or four Rivers that abound with Fiſh; upon the Mouth of which, I deſcry'd with my Teleſcope very fine Houſes. Towards the Evening we ſail'd out of that Lake with a freſh Eaſterly Gale; and though we hoiſted up all our Sails, the Current run ſo ſtrong againſt us, that 'twas three hours before we could make *Sorel*, which was two ſmall Leagues off. *Sorel* is a Canton of four Leagues in front, in the neighbourhood of which, a certain River conveys the waters of *Champlain* Lake, to the River of St. *Laurence*, after having form'd a Water-fall of two Leagues at *Chambli*. Though we reckon but eight Leagues from *Sorel* to *Monreal*, yet we ſpent three days in ſailing between 'em; by reaſon partly of ſlack Winds, and partly of the ſtrength of the Currents. In this courſe we ſaw nothing but Iſlands; and both ſides of the River all along from *Quebec* to this place, are ſo repleniſh'd with Inhabitants, that one may juſtly call 'em two continued Villages of ſixty Leagues in length.

This place, which goes by the name of *Villemarie*, or *Monreal*, lies in the Latitude of forty five Degrees, and ſome Minutes; being ſeated in an Iſland of the ſame name, which is about five Leagues broad, and fourteen Leagues long. The Directors of the Seminary of St. *Sulpitius* at *Paris*, are the Proprietors of the Iſland, and have the nomination of a Bailiff, and ſeveral other Magiſtrates; nay, in former times they had the priviledge of nominating a Governor. This little Town lies all open without any Fortification

either of Stone or Wood: But its ſituation is ſo advantageous, notwithſtanding that it ſtands upon an uneven and ſandy Ground, that it might eaſily be made an impregnable Poſt. The River of St. *Laurence* which runs juſt by the Houſes, on one ſide of this Town, is not Navigable further, by reaſon of its rapidity; for about half a quarter of a League higher, 'tis full of rapid falls, Eddy's, *&c.* Mr. *Perot* the Governor of the Town, who has but a thouſand Crowns a year Sallary; has made ſhift to get fifty thouſand in a few years, by trading with the Savages in Skins and Furs. The Bailiff of the Town gets but little by his place, no more than his Officers: So that the Merchants are the only Perſons that make Money here; for the Savages that frequent the great Lakes of *Canada*, come down hither almoſt every year with a prodigious quantity of Beavers-Skins, to be given in exchange for Arms, Kettles, Axes, Knives, and a thouſand ſuch things, upon which the Merchants clear two hundred *per Cent.* Commonly the Governor General comes hither about the time of their coming down, in order to ſhare the profit, and receive Preſents from that People. The Pedlers call'd *Coureurs de Bois*, export from hence every year ſeveral Canows full of Merchandiſe, which they diſpoſe of among all the Savage Nations of the Continent, by way of exchange for Beaver-Skins. Seven or eight days ago, I ſaw twenty five or thirty of theſe Canows return with heavy Cargoes; each Canow was manag'd by two or three Men, and carry'd twenty hundred weight, *i. e.* forty packs of Beaver Skins, which are worth an hundred Crowns a piece. Theſe Canows had been a year and eighteen Months out. You would be amaz'd if you ſaw how lewd theſe Pedlers are when they return; how they Feaſt and Game, and how prodigal they are, not only in their Cloaths, but upon

upon Women. Such of 'em as are married, have the wiſdom to retire to their own Houſes; but the Batchelors act juſt as our *Eaſt-India*-Men, and Pirates are wont to do; for they Laviſh, Eat, Drink, and Play all away as long as the Goods hold out; and when theſe are gone, they e'en ſell their Embroidery, their Lace, and their Cloaths. This done, they are forc'd to go upon a new Voyage for Subſiſtance.

The Directors of the Seminary of St. *Sulpitius*, take care to ſend Miſſionaries hither from time to time, who live under the direction of a Superiour, that is very much reſpected in the Country. They have Apartments allotted for 'em in a ſtately, great, and pleaſant Houſe, built of Free-ſtone. This Houſe is built after the Model of that of St. *Sulpice* at *Paris*; and the Altar ſtands by it ſelf, juſt like that at *Paris*. Their Seignories or Cantons that lye on the South-ſide of the Iſland, produce a conſiderable Revenue; for the Plantations are good, and the Inhabitants are rich in Corn, Cattle, Fowl, and a thouſand other Commodities, for which they find a Mercat in the City: But the North part of the Iſland lies waſte. Theſe Directors would never ſuffer the Jeſuits or Recollects to diſplay their Banners here; though 'tis conjectur'd, that at the long run they'll be forc'd to conſent to it. At the diſtance of a League from the Town, I ſaw at the foot of a Mountain, a Plantation of *Iroqueſe* Chriſtians, who are inſtructed by two Prieſts of the Order of *Sulpitius*; and I'm inform'd of a larger and more populous Plantation on t'other ſide of the River, at the diſtance of two Leagues from hence, which is took care of by Father *Bruyas* the Jeſuit. I hope to ſet out from hence, as ſoon as Mr. *de la Barre* receives advice from *France*; for he deſigns to leave *Quebec* upon the arrival of the firſt Ship. I reſolve to go to Fort *Frontenac*, upon the Lake that

goes by the ſame name. If I may credit thoſe who have been formerly in Action againſt the *Iroqueſe*, I ſhall be able upon my return from this Campaign, to inform you of ſome things that will ſeem as ſtrange to you, as they will be diſagreeable to my ſelf. I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

LETTER V.

Dated at *Monreal June* 18. 1684.

In which is contain'd a ſhort account of the Iroqueſe, *with a view of the War and Peace they made with the* French, *and of the means by which it was brought about.*

SIR,

I wrote to you but four days ago, and did not think to have heard from you ſo ſoon; but this Morning I met with a very agreeable Surpriſal, in receiving a Packet addreſs'd to me by your Brother. You may be ſure I was infinitely well pleas'd, in being given to underſtand what has paſs'd in *Europe* ſince I left it. The knowledge of the Affairs of *Europe* is comfortable to one that's doom'd to another World, ſuch as this is, and I cannot but acknowledge my ſelf infinitely indebted to you, for the exactneſs of your Intelligence. In as much as you require of me an account of the *Iroqueſe*, and would have me to preſent you with a juſt view of their Temper and Government; I would willingly ſatisfie and oblige you in that, or any other point: But in regard

gard that I am oblig'd to ſet out for Fort *Frontenac* the day after to morrow, I have not time to inform my ſelf of things, or to conſult thoſe who have been in the Country before: So that all I can do at preſent, is only to acquaint you with what I have learn'd this Winter, from Perſons that have ſojourn'd twenty years among 'em. As ſoon as I have an opportunity of inlarging my knowledge upon that Head, by a more immediate converſation with themſelves, you may aſſure your ſelf that I'll impart it to you. In the mean time, be pleas'd to accept of what follows.

Theſe *Barbarians* are drawn up in five Cantons, not unlike thoſe of the *Swiſſes*. Tho' theſe Cantons are all of one Nation, and united in one joynt intereſt, yet they go by different names, *viz.* the *Tſonontouans*, the *Gojogouans*, the *Onnotagues*, the *Onoyouts*, and the *Agnies*. Their Language is almoſt the ſame; and the five Villages or Plantations in which they live, lie at the diſtance of thirty Leagues one from another, being all ſeated near the South ſide of the Lake of *Ontario*, or of *Frontenac*. Every year the five Cantons ſend Deputies to aſſiſt at the Union Feaſt, and to ſmoak in the great *Calumet*, or Pipe of the five Nations. Each Village or Canton contains about fourteen thouſand Souls, *i. e.* 1500 that bear Arms, 2000 Superannuated Men, 4000 Women, 2000 Maids, and 4000 Children: Tho' indeed ſome will tell you, that each Village has not above 10000 or 11000 Souls. There has been an Alliance of long ſtanding between theſe Nations and the *Engliſh*, and by trading in Furrs to New-*York*, they are ſupply'd by the *Engliſh* with Arms, Ammunition, and all other Neceſſaries, at a cheaper rate than the *French* can afford 'em at. They have no other conſideration for *England* or *France*, than what depends upon the occaſion they have for the Commodities of theſe two Nations; though after all they

give an over-purchaſe; for they pay for them four times more than they are worth. They laugh at the Menaces of our Kings and Governors, for they have no notion of dependance, nay, the very word is to them inſupportable. They look upon themſelves as Soveraigns, accountable to none but God alone, whom they call *The Great Spirit*. They waged War with us almoſt always, from the firſt ſettlement of our Colonies in *Canada*, to the firſt years of the Count of *Frontenac*'s Government. *Meſſieurs de Courſelles*, and *de Traci*, both of 'em Governors-General, made Head againſt the *Agniès* upon the *Champlain* Lake, in Winter as well as in Summer; but they could not boaſt of any great Succeſs. They only burnt their Villages, and carry'd off ſome hundred of their Children, of whom the above-mention'd *Iroqueſe* Chriſtians are ſprung. 'Tis true, they cut off ninety or an hundred Warriours; but in compenſation for that, ſeveral *Canadans*, and ſeveral Soldiers of the Regiment of *Carignan*, being unprovided againſt the unſufferable cold of the Climate, loſt their Limbs, and even their Life it ſelf. Count *Frontenac* who ſucceeded Mr. *Courſelle*, perceiving that the *Barbarians* had the advantage of the *Europeans*, as to the waging of War in that Country; upon this apprehenſion, I ſay, he declin'd ſuch fruitleſs Expeditions, which were very chargeable to the King, and us'd all his efforts to diſpoſe the Savages to a ſincere and laſting Peace. This judicious Governor had three things in view; The firſt was to incourage the greateſt part of the *French* Inhabitants, who would have abdicated the Colony, and return'd to *France*, if the War had continued. His ſecond Topick was, that the concluſion of a Peace would diſpoſe an infinity of People to marry, and to grub up the Trees, upon which the Colony would be better Peopled and inlarg'd. The third Argument that diſſuaded him from carrying

on

on the War, was a design of pursuing the discovery of the *Lakes*, and of the *Savages* that live upon their banks, in order to settle a Commerce with 'em, and at the same time to ingage them in our interests, by good Alliances, in case of a Rupture with the *Iroquese*. Upon the consideration of these Reasons, he sent some *Canadans* by way of a formal Embassy to the *Iroquese* Villages, in order to acquaint them, that the King being inform'd that a groundless War was carried on against them, had sent him from *France* to make peace with 'em. At the same time the Ambassadors had orders to stipulate all the advantages they could obtain with reference to the Commerce. The *Iroquese* heard this Proposal with a great deal of Satisfaction; for *Charles* II. King of *England*, had order'd his Governor in *New-York* to represent to 'em, that if they continu'd to wage War with the *French*, they were ruin'd, and that they would find themselves crush'd by the numerous Forces that were ready to sail from *France*. In effect, they promis'd to the Ambassadors that four hundred of their number should meet Count *Frontenac*, attended by an equal number of his Men, at the place where Fort *Frontenac* now stands. Accordingly, some Months after, both the one and the other met at the place appointed, and so a Peace was concluded. Mr. *de la Salle* was very serviceable to this Governor, in giving him good and seasonable Advices, which I cannot now enter upon, being oblig'd to make some preparations for my Voyage. When the Campaign is over, you may expect to hear from me. In the mean time,

I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER VI.

Dated at *Monreal June* 20. 1684.

Being an ample Deſcription of the Canows made of Birch-bark, in which the Canadans *perform all their Voyages; with an account of the manner in which they are made and manag'd.*

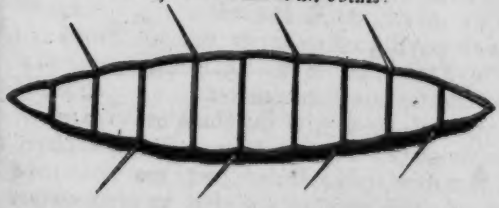
SIR,

I thought to have ſet out as this day; but in regard that our Complement of great Canows is not yet brought up, our Voyage is put off for two days. Having ſo much leiſure time upon my Hands, I have a mind to imploy it in preſenting you with a ſhort view of theſe ſlender Contrivances in which the *Canadans* perform all their Voyages: And this will furniſh you with an *Idæa* of the *Voiture* of this Country. I ſaw but now above an hundred Canows, ſome great and ſome little; but conſidering that the former are only proper for Martial Expeditions, and long Voyages, I ſhall confine my Deſcription to that ſort. Even the great ones are of different ſizes; for they run from ten to twenty eight Foot long. Indeed the leaſt of all hold but two Perſons ſet upon their Breech, as in a Coffin; and are apt to over-ſet, if the Paſſengers move to one ſide or t'other: But thoſe of a larger ſize will eaſily afford ſtowage for fourteen Perſons; tho' they are commonly mann'd only with three Men, when they are imploy'd in tranſporting Proviſions and Merchandize; and even then they'll carry twenty hundred weight. The largeſt ſort are ſafe and ſteddy,

An Iroquese Canow made of Elm

Savages rowing in a great Canow and standing upright

A canow of birch bark with 8 Seats.



An Oar

ſteddy, when they are made of the Bark of the Birch-tree, which comes off with hot Water in the Winter time. The greateſt Trees afford the beſt Barks for Canows; but oftentimes the Bark of one Tree is not ſufficient. The bottom of the Boat is all of one piece, to which the ſides are ſo artfully ſew'd by the Savages, that the whole Boat appears as one continu'd Bark. They are trimm'd and ſtrengthn'd with wicker Wreaths, and ribs of Cedar-Wood, which are almoſt as light as Cork; the Wreaths are as thick as a Crown-piece; but the Bark has the thickneſs of two Crowns, and the Ribs are as thick as three. On the two ſides of the Boat, there runs from one end to the other two principal Head-bars, in which the ends of the Ribs are inchas'd, and in which the Spars are made faſt, that run a-croſs the Boat and keep it compact. Theſe Boats have twenty Inches in depth, that is, from the upper edge to the Platform of the Ribs; their length extends to twenty eight Foot, and the width at the middle Rib is computed to be four Foot and a half. They are very convenient upon the account of their extream lightneſs, and the drawing of very little Water; but at the ſame time their brittle and tender Fabrick, is an Argument of an equivalent inconveniency; for if they do but touch or grate upon Stone or Sand, the cracks of the Bark fly open, upon which the Water gets in, and ſpoils the Proviſions and Merchandize: Every day there is ſome new chink or ſeam to be gumm'd over. At Night they are always unloaded, and carried on ſhoar where they are made faſt with Pegs, leſt the Wind ſhould blow 'em away: For they are ſo light, that two Men carry 'em upon their ſhoulders with eaſe. This conveniency of lightneſs and eaſie carriage, renders 'em very ſerviceable in the Rivers of *Canada*, which are full of Cataracts, Water-falls, and Currents: For in theſe Rivers we are oblig'd either to tranſport

'em

'em over-land where ſuch obſtructions happen, or elſe to tow 'em along where the Current is not over-rapid, and the ſhoar is acceſſible. Theſe Boats are of no uſe for the Navigation of Lakes; for the Waves would ſwallow 'em up, if they could not reach the ſhoar when a wind ariſes. 'Tis true, the Inhabitants venture in 'em for four or five Leagues, from one Iſland to another; but then 'tis always in calm Weather, and nothing is made uſe of but Oars; for beſides the riſque of being over-ſet, the Goods are in danger of being dammag'd by the Water, eſpecially the Furs which are the moſt valuable part of the Cargoe. When the ſeaſon ſerves, they carry little Sails; but if the Wind be but a little brisk, tho' they run right afore it, 'tis impoſſible to make any uſe of it without running the riſque of Ship-wrack. If their courſe lies directly South, they cannot put up ſail without the wind ſtands at one of the eight points, between North-Weſt and North-Eaſt; and if a wind happens to ſpring any where elſe, (unleſs it comes from the Land which they coaſt along) they are oblig'd to put in to the ſhoar with all poſſible expedition, and unload the Boat out of hand, till ſuch time as a calm returns.

As for the working of theſe Boats, the Canow-Men ply ſometimes on their Knees, namely, when they run down the ſmall Water-falls; ſometimes ſtanding, when they ſtem a Current by ſetting the Boat along with Poles; and ſometimes ſitting, *viz.* in ſmooth and ſtagnating water. The Oars they make uſe of are made of Maple-wood, and their form is repreſented in the annex'd Cutt. The Blade of the Oar is twenty Inches long, ſix Inches broad, and four Lines thick: The Handle is about three Foot long, and as big as a Pigeons Egg. When they have occaſion to run up againſt rapid Currents, they make uſe of Poles made of Pine-wood; and the ſetting of the Boat along with theſe,

is

is what they call *Piquer de fond.* The Canows have neither Stern nor Prow, for they run to a point at both ends: Neither have they Keels, Nails or Pegs, in the whole Structure. The Steersman, or he who Conns the Boat, rows without interruption as well as the rest. The common purchase of such a Boat is eighty Crowns; but it do's not last above five or six years.

This day I have receiv'd advice, that Mr. *de la Barre* has rais'd the Militia in the neighbourhood of *Quebec*, and that the Governor of this Island has receiv'd orders to have that of the adjacent *Cantons* in readiness to march. I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

LETTER VII.

Dated at *Monreal Novemb.* 2. 1684.

Describing the Course of the River of St. Laurence, *from* Monreal *to the first great Lake of* Canada; *with the Water-falls, Cataracts, and Navigation of that River: As also Fort* Frontenac, *and the Advantages that accrue from it. Together with a Circumstantial account of the Expedition of Mr.* de la Barre, *the Governor-General against the* Iroquese; *the Speeches he made, the Replies he receiv'd, and the final Accommodation of the difference.*

SIR,

THank God I have finish'd this Campaign, and am now return'd in safety to this place. To present you with the History of our Campaign, be pleas'd

pleas'd to know that in two or three days after the date of my laſt, I imbarqu'd on board of a Canow that was work'd by three expert Canow-Men. Every Canow contain'd two Soldiers; and we all row'd up againſt the Current of the River till we arriv'd at *Saut de St. Louis*, about three Leagues above this Town, which is a little Water-fall, but ſo rapid, that our Watermen were forc'd to ſtand in the water up to their Middle, in order to drag the Canows againſt the Stream for half a quarter of a League. We reimbarqu'd above this Paſs, and row'd about twelve Leagues up the River, and thro' the Lake of St. *Louis*, till we arriv'd at a place call'd the *Caſcades*, where we were forc'd to turn out and carry our Boats and Baggage over-land, about half a quarter of a League. 'Tis true, we might have tow'd our Boats againſt the Stream in this place with ſome labour; but there was a Cataract a little above it, which they call *le Cataracte du Trou*. I had taken up a notion that the only difficulty of ſailing up the River, conſiſted in the trouble of Land-carriage; but when I came to be a Spectator of the matter, I found that the ſtemming of the Currents whether in towing of the Canows, or in ſetting them along with Poles, was equally laborious. About five or ſix Leagues higher we came to the Water-falls call'd *Sauts des Cedres*, and *du Buiſſon*, where we were forc'd to tranſport our Boats five hundred paces over Land. Some Leagues above that, we enter'd the Lake of St. *Francis*, which is ſaid to be twenty Leagues in Circumference; and having croſs'd it, met with as ſtrong Currents as before, particularly at a fall call'd *Long Saut*, where we had recourſe to Land-carriage for half a League. Then we were forc'd to drag up the Boats againſt the rapid Stream; and after a great deal of fatigue came at laſt to a Paſs call'd *la Galete*, from whence we had but twenty Leagues ſailing to Fort *Frontenac*. This

Paſs

Paſs was the laſt difficulty we had to ſurmount; for above it the water was as ſtill as that of a Pool, and then our Watermen ply'd with their Oars in ſtead of Poles.

The *Maringouins*, which we call *Midges*, are unſufferably troubleſom in all the Countries of *Canada*. We were haunted with ſuch clouds of 'em, that we thought to be eat up; and ſmoaking being the only Artifice that could keep 'em off, the Remedy was worſe than the Diſeaſe: In the Night-time the People ſhelter themſelves from 'em in Bowers or Arbours, made after the following manner. They drive into the Ground Stakes or little branches of Trees, at a certain diſtance one from another, ſo as to form a ſemicircular Figure; in which they put a Quilt and Bedcloaths, covering it above with a large Sheet that falls down to the Ground on all ſides, and ſo hinders the Inſects to enter.

We landed at Fort *Frontenac* after twenty days ſailing; and immediately upon our arrival, Mr. *Duta* our Commander in chief, view'd the Fortifications of the place, and three large Barques that lay at Anchor in the Port. We repair'd the Fortifications in a very little time, and fitted up the three Barques. This Fort was a Square, conſiſting of large Curtains flanked with four little Baſtions; theſe Flanks had but two Battlements, and the Walls were ſo low, that one might eaſily climb upon 'em without a Ladder. After Mr. *de la Salle* concluded the Peace with the *Iroqueſe*, the King beſtow'd upon him and his Heirs the property of this place; but he was ſo negligent, that inſtead of enriching himſelf by the Commerce it might have afforded, he was conſiderably out of pocket upon it. To my mind this Fort is ſituated very advantageouſly for a Trade with the five *Iroqueſe* Nations: For their Villages lye in the Neighbourhood of the *Lake*, upon which they may tranſport their Furs in Canows with more eaſe,

eaſe, than they can carry 'em over-land to *New-York*. In time of War I take it to be indefenſible; for the Cataracts and Currents of the River are ſuch, that fifty *Iroqueſe* may there ſtop five hundred *French*, without any other Arms but Stones. Do but conſider, Sir, that for twenty Leagues together the River is ſo rapid, that we dare not ſet the Canow four paces off the ſhoar; Beſides, *Canada* being nothing but a Forreſt, as I intimated above, 'tis impoſſible to travel there without falling every foot into Ambuſcades, eſpecially upon the banks of this River, which are lin'd with thick Woods, that render 'em inacceſſible. None but the Savages can skip from Rock to Rock, and ſcour thro' the Thickets, as if 'twere an open Field. If we were capable of ſuch Adventures, we might march five or ſix hundred Men by Land to guard the Canows that carry the Proviſions; but at the ſame time 'tis to be conſider'd, that before they arriv'd at the Fort, they would conſume more Proviſions than the Canows can carry; Not to mention that the *Iroqueſe* would ſti out-number 'em. As to the particulars relating to the Fort, I ſhall take notice of 'em when I come to give a general deſcription of *New-France*.

While we continued at Fort *Frontenac*, the *Iroqueſe* who live at *Ganeouſſe* and *Quenté*, at the diſtance of ſeven or eight Leagues from thence, threw in upon us Harts, Roe-bucks, Turkeys and Fiſh; in exchange for Needles, Knives, Powder and Ball. Towards the end of *Auguſt* Mr. *de la Barre* joyn'd us; but he was dangerouſly ill of a Feaver, which rag'd in like manner among moſt of his Militia; ſo that only our three Companies were free from Sickneſs. This Feaver was of the intermitting kind; and the convulſive Motions, Tremblings, and frequency of the Pulſe that attended the cold Fit, were ſo violent, that moſt of our ſick Men dy'd in the ſecond or third Fit. Their Blood was

of

of a blackiſh brown colour, and tainted with a ſort of yellowiſh Serum, not unlike *Pus* or corrupt Matter. Mr. *de la Barre's* Phyſician, who in my opinion knew as little of the true cauſes of Feavers as *Hippocrates* or *Galen*, and a hundred thouſand beſides; this mighty Phyſician, I ſay, pretending to trace the cauſe of the Feaver I now ſpeak of, imputed it to the unfavourable qualities of the Air and the Aliment. His plea was, that the exceſſive heat of the ſeaſon, put the Vapours or Exhalations into an over-rapid Motion; that the Air was ſo over-rarify'd, that we did not ſuck in a ſufficient quantity of it; that the ſmall quantity we did receive was loaded with Inſects and impure Corpuſculum's, which the fatal neceſſity of Reſpiration oblig'd us to ſwallow; and that by this means nature was put into diſorder: He added, that the uſe of Brandy and ſalt Meat ſower'd the Blood, that this ſowerneſs occaſion'd a ſort of Coagulation of the Chyle and Blood, that the Coagulation hindred it to circulate thro' the Heart with a due degree of Celerity; and that thereupon there inſued an extraordinary Fermentation, which is nothing elſe but a Feaver. But after all, to my mind this Gentleman's Syſteme was too much upon the *Iroqueſe* ſtrain; for at that rate the Diſtemper muſt have ſeiz'd all without diſtinction, whereas neither our Soldiers nor the ſeaſon'd *Canadans* were troubled with it; for it raged only among the Militia, who being unacquainted with the way of ſetting the Boats with Poles, were forc'd at every turn to get into the water and drag 'em up againſt the rapid Stream: Now, the waters of that Country being naturally cold, and the heat being exceſſive, the Blood might thereupon freeze by way of *Antiperiſtaſis*, and ſo occaſion the Feaver I ſpeak of, purſuant to the common Maxim, *Omnis repentina mutatio eſt periculoſa*, i. e. *All ſudden changes are of dangerous Conſequence.*

As ſoon as Mr. *de la Barre* recover'd, he imbarqu'd in order to continue his march; tho' he might have eaſily known, that after halting fourteen or fifteen days at that Fort, when the ſeaſon was ſo far advanc'd, he could not pretend to compaſs the end of his Expedition. We row'd Night and Day the Weather being very calm, and in five or ſix days came before the River of *Famine*, where we were forc'd to put in upon the apprehenſion of a Storm. Here we met with a Canow that Mr. *Dulhut* had ſent from *Miſſilimakinac*, with advice, that purſuant to orders he had ingag'd the *Hurons*, *Outaoua's*, and ſome other People, to joyn his Army; in which he had above two hundred brave * Foreſt Rangers. Theſe News were very acceptable to Mr. *de la Barre*; but at the ſame time he was very much perplexed; for I'm perſwaded he repented oftner than once, of his entring upon an Expedition that he foreſaw would prove Succeſsleſs; and to aggravate the danger of his Enterpriſe, the *Iroqueſe* had at that time an opportunity to fall upon us. In fine, after a mature conſideration of the Conſequences, and of the Difficulties that ſtood in the way, he ſent back the Canow to Mr. *Dulhut*, with orders to diſmiſs the Foreſt Rangers and Savages immediately, where-ever he was, and by all means to avoid the approaching to his Troops. By good luck Mr. *Dulhut* had not yet reach'd *Niagara*, when he receiv'd theſe Orders; with which the Savages that accompany'd him were ſo diſſatisfied, that they threw out all manner of Invectives againſt the *French* Nation.

* *See* Coureurs de Bois *in the Table.*

As ſoon as Mr. *de la Barre* had diſpatch'd this Canow, he ſent Mr. *le Moine* to the Village of the *Onnontagues*, which lay about eighteen Leagues up the River. This Mr. *le Moine* was a Gentleman of *Normandy*, and highly eſteem'd by the *Iroqueſe*, who call'd

call'd him *Akoueſſan*, i. e. *the Partridge*. His Orders were, to indeavour by all means to bring along with him ſome of the old ſtanders of that Nation; and accordingly he return'd in a few days, accompany'd with one of their moſt conſiderable Grandees, who had a Train of thirty young Warriours, and was diſtinguiſh'd by the Title of the *Grangula*. As ſoon as he debarqued, Mr. *de la Barre* ſent him a Preſent of Bread and Wine, and of thirty Salmon-Trouts, which they fiſh'd in that place in ſuch plenty, that they brought up a hundred at one caſt of a Net: At the ſame time he gave the Grandee to underſtand, that he congratulated his Arrival, and would be glad to have an Interview with him after he had reſted himſelf for ſome days. You muſt know that he had us'd the precaution of ſending the ſick back to the Colony, that the *Iroqueſe* might not perceive the weakneſs of his Forces; and to favour the Stratagem, Mr. *le Moine* repreſented to the *Grangula*, that the Body of the Army was left behind at Fort *Frontenac*, and that the Troops he ſaw in our Camp, were the General's Guards. But unhappily one of the *Iroqueſe* that had a ſmattering of the *French* Tongue, having ſtroul'd in the Night-time towards our Tents, over-heard what we ſaid, and ſo reveal'd the Secret. Two days after their arrival, the *Grangula* gave notice to Mr. *de la Barre* that he was ready for an Interview; and accordingly an hour being appointed, the whole Company appear'd as the figure repreſents it.

The *Grangula* ſat on the Eaſt ſide, being plac'd at the head of his Men, with his Pipe in his Mouth, and the great *Calumet* of Peace before him. He was very attentive to the following Harangue, pronounc'd by our Interpreters; which you cannot well underſtand, without a previous explication of the *Calumets*, and the *Colliers* that it mentions.

The *Calumet of Peace* is made of certain Stones, or of Marble, whether red, black, or white. The Pipe or Stalk is four or five foot long; the body of the *Calumet* is eight Inches long, and the Mouth or Head in which the Tobacco is lodg'd, is three Inches in length; its figure approaches to that of a Hammer. The red *Calumets* are moſt eſteem'd. The Savages make uſe of 'em for Negotiations and State Affairs, and eſpecially in Voyages; for when they have a *Calumet* in their hand, they go where they will in ſafety. The *Calumet* is trimm'd with yellow, white, and green Feathers, and has the ſame effect among the Savages, that the Flag of friendſhip has amongſt us; for to violate the Rights of this venerable Pipe, is among them a flaming Crime, that will draw down miſchief upon their Nations. As for the *Coliers*, they are certain ſwathes of two or three Foot in length, and ſix Inches in breadth; being deck'd with little Beads made of a certain ſort of ſhells that they find upon the Sea ſhoar, between New-*York* and *Virginia*. Theſe Beads are round, and as thick as a little Pea; but they are twice as long as a grain of Corn: Their colour is either blew or white; and they are bor'd thro' juſt like Pearl, being run after the ſame manner upon ſtrings that lye ſideways one to another. Without the intervention of theſe *Coliers*, there's no buſineſs to be negotiated with the Savages; for being altogether unacquainted with writing, they make uſe of them for Contracts and Obligations. Sometimes they keep for an Age the *Coliers* that they have receiv'd from their Neighbours; and in regard that every *Colier* has its peculiar Mark, they learn from the old Perſons, the Circumſtances of the time and place in which they were deliver'd; but after that age is over, they are made uſe of for new Treaties.

Mr.

Mr. de la Barre's *Harangue, was to this purpoſe.*

'The King, my Maſter, being inform'd that the 'five *Iroqueſe* Nations have for a long time made 'infractions upon the meaſures of Peace, order'd 'me to come hither with a Guard, and to ſend '*Akoueſſan* to the Canton of the *Onnotagues*, in order 'to an Interview with their principal Leaders, in 'the Neighbourhood of my Camp. This great 'Monarch means, that you and I ſhould ſmoak to-'gether in the great *Calumet* of Peace, with the 'Proviſo, that you ingage in the name of the '*Tſonnontouans*, *Goyoguans*, *Onnotagues*, *Onnoyoutes*, and '*Agnies*, to make reparation to his Subjects, and to 'be guilty of nothing for the future, that may oc-'caſion a fatal rupture.

'The *Tſonnontouans*, *Goyogouans*, *Onnotagues*, *Onnoy-'outes* and *Agnies*, have ſtrip'd, rob'd, and abus'd 'all the Foreſt-Rangers, that travel'd in the way 'of Trade to the Country of the *Illineſe*, of the 'Oumamis, and of ſeveral other Nations, who are 'my Maſter's Children. Now this uſage being in 'high violation of the Treaties of Peace concluded 'with my Predeceſſor, I am commanded to de-'mand Reparation, and at the ſame time to de-'clare, that in caſe of their refuſal to comply with 'my demands, or of relapſing into the like Robbe-'ries, War is poſitively proclaim'd.

This Colier *makes my words good.*

'The Warriours of theſe five Nations have intro-'duc'd the *Engliſh* to the *Lakes*, belonging to the 'King my Maſter, and into the Country of thoſe 'Nations to whom my Maſter is a Father: This 'they have done with a deſign to ruine the Com-'merce of his Subjects, and to oblige theſe Nati-'ons to depart from their due Allegiance; not-'withſtanding the Remonſtrances of the late Go-

'vernor of New-*York*, who ſaw thro the danger that 'both they and the *Engliſh* expos'd themſelves to. 'At preſent I am willing to forget thoſe Actions; 'but if ever you be guilty of the like for the future, 'I have expreſs orders to declare War.

This Colier *warrants my Words.*

'The ſame Warriours have made ſeveral barba-'rous Incurſions upon the Country of the *Illineſe*, 'and the *Oumamis*. They have maſſacred Men, 'Women, and Children; they have took, bound, 'and carried off an infinite number of the Natives 'of thoſe Countries, who thought themſelves ſe-'cure in their Villages in a time of Peace. Theſe 'People are my Maſter's Children, and therefore 'muſt hereafter ceaſe to be your Slaves. I charge 'you to reſtore 'em to their Liberty, and to ſend 'em home without delay; for if the five Nations 'refuſe to comply with this demand, I have expreſs 'orders to declare War.

This Colier *makes my words good.*

'This is all I had to ſay to the *Grangula*, whom 'I deſire to report to the five Nations, this De-'claration, that my Maſter commanded me to 'make. He wiſhes they had not oblig'd him to 'ſend a potent Army to the Fort of 'Cataracouy, in order to carry on a 'War that will prove fatal to them: 'And he will be very much troubled, 'if it ſo falls out, that this Fort which is a work 'of Peace, muſt be imploy'd for a Priſon to your 'Militia. Theſe miſchiefs ought to be prevented 'by mutual endeavours: The *French* who are the 'Brethren and Friends of the five Nations, will 'never diſturb their Repoſe; provided they make 'the ſatisfaction I now demand, and prove religi-'ous obſervers of their Treaties. I wiſh my words 'may

* *The* French *call it Fort* Frontenac.

'may produce the desir'd effect; for if they do not, 'I am oblig'd to joyn the Governor of New-*York*, 'who has orders from the King his Master, to as- 'sist me to burn the five Villages, and cut you off.

This Colier *confirms my word.*

'While Mr. *de la Barre*'s Interpreter pronounc'd this Harangue, the *Grangula* did nothing but look'd upon the end of his Pipe: After the Speech was finish'd he rose, and having took five or six turns in the Ring that the *French* and the Savages made, he return'd to his place, and standing upright spoke after the following manner to the General, who sat in his Chair of State.

'* *Onnontio*, I honour you, and all 'the Warriors that accompany me do 'the same: Your Interpreter has made 'an end of his Discourse, and now 'I come to begin mine. My Voice glides to your 'Ear, pray listen to my words.

'This Title they give to the Governor-General of Canada.

'*Onnontio*, in setting out from *Quebec*, you must 'needs have fancy'd that the scorching Beams of 'the Sun had burnt down the Forests which render 'our Country unaccessible to the *French*; or else 'that the Inundations of the Lake had surrounded 'our Cottages, and confin'd us as Prisoners. This 'certainly was your thought; and it could be no- 'thing else but the curiosity of seeing a burnt or 'drown'd Country, that mov'd you to undertake a 'Journey hither. But now you have an opportu- 'nity of being undeceiv'd, for I and my warlike 'Retinue come to assure you, that the *Tsonontouans*, '*Goyogouans*, *Onnontagues*, *Onnoyoutes* and *Agnies*, are 'not yet destroy'd. I return you thanks in their 'name, for bringing into their Country the *Calu-* 'met of Peace, that your Predecessor receiv'd from 'their hands. At the same time I congratulate your

'Happineſs, in having left under Ground
'* the bloody Axe, that has been ſo often dy'd with the blood of the *French*.

* *Burying the Axe ſignifies Peace.*

'I muſt tell you, *Onnontio*, I am not a-
'ſleep, my Eyes are open; and the Sun that vouch-
'ſafes the light, gives me a clear view of a great
'Captain at the head of a Troop of Soldiers, who
'ſpeaks as if he were aſleep. He pretends that he
'do's not approach to this Lake with any other
'view, than to ſmoak with the *Onnotagues* in the
'great *Calumet*; but the *Grangula* knows better
'things, he ſees plainly that the *Onnontio* mean'd to
'knock 'em on the Head, if the *French* Arms had
'not been ſo much weaken'd.

'I perceive that the *Onnontio* raves in a Camp of
'ſick People, whoſe lives the great Spirit has ſav'd
'by viſiting them with Infirmities. Do you hear,
'*Onnontio*, our Women had took up their Clubbs;
'and the Children and the old Men, had viſited
'your Camp with their Bows and Arrows, if our
'Warlike Men had not ſtop'd and diſarm'd 'em,
'when *Akoueſſan* your Ambaſſadour appear'd before
'my Village. But I have done, I'll talk no more
'of that.

'You muſt know, *Onnontio*, we have robb'd no
'*French-Men*, but thoſe who ſupply'd the *Illineſe* and
'the *Oumamis* (our Enemies) with Fuſees, with Pow-
'der, and with Ball: Theſe indeed we took care
'of, becauſe ſuch Arms might have coſt us our life.
'Our Conduct in that point is of a piece with that
'of the Jeſuits, who ſtave all the barrels of Brandy
'that are brought to our Cantons, leſt the People
'getting drunk ſhould knock them in the Head.
'Our Warriours have no Beavers to give in ex-
'change for all the Arms they take from the *French*;
'and as for the old ſuperannuated People, they do
'not think of bearing Arms.

This Colier *comprehends my word.*

'We have conducted the *Engliſh* to 'our * Lakes, in order to traffick with 'the *Outaouas*, and the *Hurons*; juſt as 'the *Algonkins* conducted the *French* to our five Cantons, in order to carry on a Commerce that the *Engliſh* lay claim to as their Right. We are born Freemen, and have no dependance either upon the 'Onnontio or the † *Corlar*. We have a 'power to go where we pleaſe, to conduct who we will to the places we reſort to, and to buy and ſell where 'we think fit. If your Allies are your 'Slaves or Children, you may e'en treat 'em as 'ſuch, and rob 'em of the liberty of entertaining 'any other Nation but your own.

* *They pretend to the property of the Lakes.*

† Corlar *is the Title of the Governor of New-York.*

This Colier *contains my word.*

'We fell upon the *Illineſe* and the *Oumamis*, be'cauſe they cut down the trees of Peace that ſerv'd 'for limits or boundaries to our Frontiers. They 'came to hunt Beavers upon our Lands; and con'trary to the cuſtom of all the Savages, have car'ried off whole Stocks, || both Male 'and Female. They have ingag'd the 'Chaouanons in their intereſt, and en'tertain'd 'em in their Country. They 'ſupply'd 'em with Fire-Arms, after 'the concerting of ill deſigns againſt us. 'We have done leſs than the *Engliſh* and the *French*, who without any right, have 'uſurp'd the Grounds they are now poſſeſs'd of; 'and of which they have diſlodg'd ſeveral Nations, 'in order to make way for their building of Cities, 'Villages, and Forts.

|| *Among the the Savages, 'tis a capital Crime to deſtroy all the Beavers of a Setlement.*

This

This Colier *contains my word.*

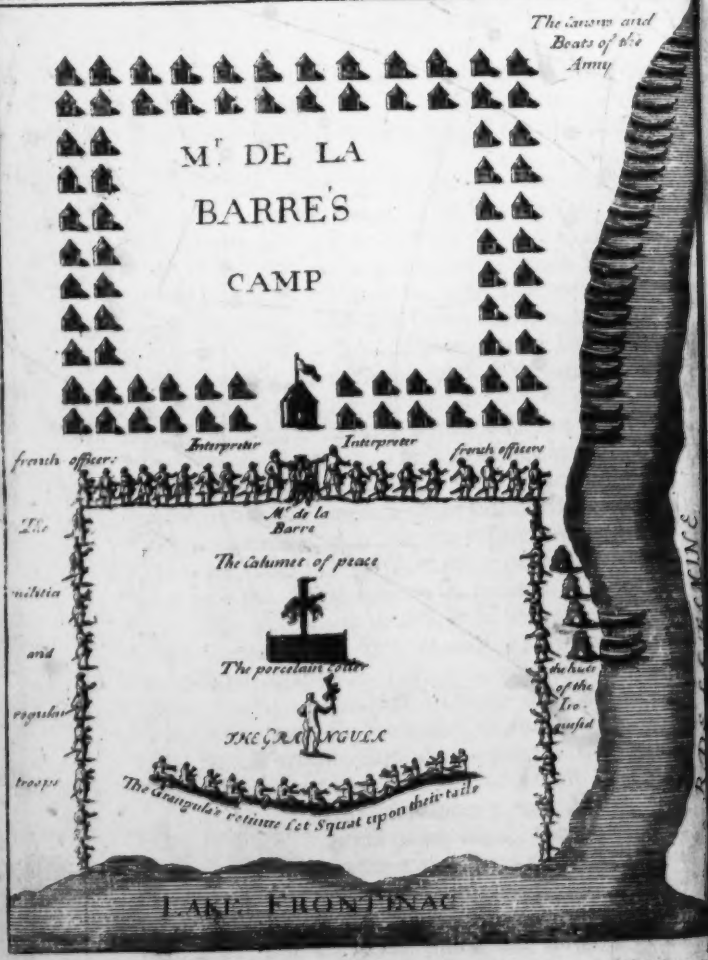
'I give you to know, *Onnontio*, that my Voice 'is the Voice of the five *Iroquese* Cantons. This is 'their Anſwer, pray incline your Ear, and liſten to 'what they repreſent.

'The *Tſonontouans*, *Goyogouans*, *Onnontagues*, *Onnoy-* 'outes, and *Agnies* declare, that 'they interr'd * the Axe at *Cata-* 'racouy, in the preſence of your 'Predeceſſor, in the very center 'of the Fort; and planted the 'Tree of Peace in the ſame place, 'that it might be carefully preſerv'd; that 'twas 'then ſtipulated, that the Fort ſhould be us'd as a 'place of retreat for Merchants, and not a refuge 'for Soldiers; and that inſtead of Arms and Am- 'munition, it ſhould be made a Receptacle of only 'Beaver-Skins, and Merchandize Goods. Be it known 'to you, *Onnontio*, that for the future you ought to 'take care, that ſo great a number of Martial-Men 'as I now ſee, being ſhut up in ſo ſmall a Fort, do 'not ſtifle and choak the Tree of Peace. Since it 'took Root ſo eaſily, it muſt needs be of pernicious 'conſequence to ſtop its growth, and hinder it to 'ſhade both your Country and ours with its Leaves. 'I do aſſure you, in the name of the five Nations, 'that our Warriours ſhall dance the *Calumet* Dance 'under its branches; that they ſhall reſt in Tran- 'quility upon their † Matts, and 'will never dig up the Axe to cut 'down the Tree of Peace; till 'ſuch time as the *Onnontio* and the *Corlar*, do ei- 'ther joyntly or ſeparately offer to invade the 'Country, that the great Spirit has diſpos'd of in 'the favour of our Anceſtors.

* *Interring the Axe, ſignifies the making of a Peace; and the digging of it up imports a Declaration of War.*

† *This Phraſe ſignifies keeping the Peace.*

This


The Canows and Boats of the Army
Mr DE LA BARRE'S CAMP
Interpreter
Interpreter
french officers
french officers
Mr de la Barre
The Calumet of peace
The porcelain collar
THE GRAINGULA
The Grainguila's retinue Set Squat upon their taile
the militia and regular troops
the huts of the Iro-quois
LAKE FRONTENAC

This Colier *contains my word; and the other comprehends the power granted to me by the five Nations.*

Then the *Grangula* addreſs'd himſelf to Mr. *le Moine*, and ſpoke to this purpoſe.

'*Akoueſſan*, take Heart, you are a Man of Senſe; 'ſpeak and explain my meaning; be ſure you for-'get nothing, but declare all that thy Brethren and 'thy Friends repreſent to thy chief *Onnontio*, by the 'voice of the *Grangula*, who pays you all Honour 'and Reſpect, and invites you to accept of this Pre-'ſent of Beavers, and to aſſiſt at his Feaſt imme-'diately.

'This other Preſent of Beavers is ſent by the five 'Nations to the *Onnontio*.

As ſoon as the *Grangula* had done, Mr. *le Moine* and the Jeſuits that were preſent, explain'd his anſwer to Mr. *de la Barre*, who thereupon retir'd to his Tent and ſtorm'd and bluſter'd, till ſome body came and repreſented to him, that, *Iroca Progenies neſcit habere modos*, i. e. *The* Iroqueſe *are always upon extreams.* The *Grangula* danc'd after the *Iroqueſe* manner, by way of prelude to his Entertainment; after which he regal'd ſeveral of the *French*. Two days after he and his Martial-Retinue return'd to their own Country, and our Army ſet out for *Monreal*. As ſoon as the General was on board, together with the few healthy Men that remain'd, the Canows were diſpers'd, for the Militia ſtragled here and there, and every one made the beſt of his way home. Our three Companies indeed kept together, becauſe all of us, both Officers and Soldiers, were carried in flat-bottom'd Boats, made of Deal on purpoſe for our uſe. However, I could have wiſh'd to have run down the falls and Cata-

racts

to fortifie the Town. During the Winter, these Orders were pursued with so much Application, that all things are now ready for making the Inclosure; in which five or six hundred Men are to be imploy'd. I spent part of the Winter in Hunting with the *Algonkins*, in order to a more perfect knowledge of their Language; and the rest I spent in this Place, with a great deal of uneasiness: for, here we cannot enjoy our selves, either at Play, or in visiting the Ladies, but 'tis presently carried to the Curate's ears, who takes publick notice of it in the Pulpit. His Zeal goes so far, as even to name the Persons: and since he refuses the Sacrament of the Holy Supper to Ladies of Quality, upon the most slender Pretences, you may easily guess at the other steps of his Indiscretion. You cannot imagine to what a pitch these Ecclesiastical Lords have screw'd their Authority: They excommunicate all the Masks, and wherever they spy 'em, they run after 'em to uncover their Faces, and abuse 'em in a reproachful manner: In fine, they have a more watchful eye over the Conduct of the Girls and married Women, than their Fathers and Husbands have. They cry out against those that do not receive the Sacrament once a Month; and at *Easter* they oblige all sorts of Persons to give in Bills to their Confessors. They prohibit and burn all the Books that treat of any other Subject but Devotion. When I think of this Tyranny, I cannot but be inrag'd at the impertinent Zeal of the Curate of this City. This inhumane Fellow came one day to my Lodging, and finding the Romance of the Adventures of *Petronius* upon my Table, he fell upon it with an unimaginable fury, and tore out almost all the Leaves. This Book I valued more than my Life, because 'twas not castrated; and indeed I was so provok'd when I saw it all in wrack, that if my Landlord had not held me, I had gone immediately to that turbulent Pastor's

ſtor's Houſe, and would have pluck'd out the Hairs of his Beard with as little mercy as he did the Leaves of my Book. Theſe Animals cannot content themſelves with the ſtudying of Mens Actions, but they muſt likewiſe dive into their Thoughts. By this Sketch, Sir, you may judge what a pleaſant Life we lead here.

The 30th of the laſt *March* the Ice melted; and the River being then open, I was ſent with a ſmall Detachment to *Chambli*: for commonly the Sun reſumes its Vigour here much about that time. *Chambli* ſtands on the brink of a Baſin, about five or ſix Leagues off this Place: That Baſin is two Leagues in Circumference, and receives the Lake of *Champlain* by a Water-fall that is a League and a half in length; out of which there ariſes a River that diſembogues at *Sorel* into the River of St. *Laurence*, as I intimated above in my fourth Letter. In former times this Place had a great Trade in Beaver-skins, which is now decay'd: for the *Soccokis*, the *Mahingans*, and the *Openangos*, us'd formerly to reſort thither in ſhoals, to exchange their Furs for other Goods; but at preſent they are retir'd to the *Engliſh* Colonies, to avoid the purſuit of the *Irequeſe*. The *Champlain* Lake, which lies above that Water-fall, is eighty Leagues in circumference. At the end of this Lake we met with another, call'd *S. Sacrement*, by which one may go very eaſily to *New-York*, there being but a Land-carriage of two Leagues from thence to the River *Du Fer*, which falls into the *Manathe*. While I was at *Chambli*, I ſaw two Canows loaded with Beaver-skins paſs privately by that way; and 'twas thought they were ſent thither by *Mr. de la Barre*. This ſmuggling way of Trade is expreſly prohibited: for they are oblig'd to carry theſe Skins before the Office of the Company, where they are rated at an Hundred and 60 *per Cent.* leſs than the *Engliſh* buy 'em at in their Colonies. But the little Fort that ſtands at the bottom

of

of the Water-fall, upon the brink of the Basin of *Chambli*, being only single Pallisadoes, it cannot hinder People to pass that way; especially considering that the Prospect, of so great a profit, renders the Passengers the more daring. The Inhabitants of the adjacent Villages are very much expos'd to the Incursions of the *Iroquese* in time of War. Notwithstanding the weakness of the Fort, I continued in that place a Month and a half, and then I return'd hither, where *Mr. de la Barre* arriv'd some days after; being accompany'd with Mr. *Hennaut*, Mr. *Montortier*, and Mr. *du Rivau*. Much about the same day there arriv'd 25 or 30 Canows, belonging to the *Coureurs de Bois*, being homeward bound from the great Lakes, and laden with Beaver-skins. The Cargo of each Canow amounted to 40 Packs, each of which weighs 50 pound, and will fetch 50 Crowns at the Farmers Office. These Canows were follow'd by 50 more of the *Outaouas* and *Hurons*, who come down every Year to the Colony, in order to make a better Market than they can do in their own Country of *Missilimakinac*, which lies on the Banks of the Lake of *Hurons*, at the Mouth of the Lake of the *Illinese*. Their way of Trading is as follows.

Upon their first Arrival, they incamp at the distance of five or six hundred Paces from the Town. The next day is spent in ranging their Canows, unloading their Goods, and pitching their Tents, which are made of Birch Bark. The next day after, they demand Audience of the Governour General; which is granted 'em that same day in a publick place. Upon this Occasion, each Nation makes a Ring for it self; the *Savages* sit upon the Ground with their Pipes in their Mouths, and the Governour is seated in an arm'd Chair; after which, there starts up an Orator or Speaker from one of these Nations, who makes an Harangue, importing, 'That his Brethren are 'come to visit the Governour general, and to renew

'with

'with him their wonted Friendſhip: That their chief 'View is, to promote the Intereſt of the *French*, ſome 'of whom being unacquainted with the way of 'Traffick, and being too weak for the tranſporting 'of Goods from the Lakes, would be unable to deal 'in Beaver-skins, if his Brethren did not come in 'perſon to deal with 'em in their own Colonies: 'That they know very well how acceptable their 'Arrival is to the Inhabitants of *Monreal*, in regard of 'the Advantage they reap by it: That in regard the 'Beaver-skins are much valued in *France*, and the '*French* Goods given in exchange are of an inconſi-'derable Value, they mean to give the *French* ſufficient proof of their readineſs to furniſh 'em with 'what they deſire ſo earneſtly: That by way of pre-'paration for another Years Cargo, they are come 'to take in Exchange, Fuſees, Powder, and Ball, 'in order to hunt great numbers of Beavers, or to 'gall the *Iroqueſe*, in caſe they offer to diſturb the '*French* Settlements: And, in fine, That in confir-'mation of their Words, they throw a Purcelain '*Collier* with ſome Beaver-skins to the *Kitchi-Okima* '(ſo they call the Governour-General) whoſe Pro-'tection they lay claim to in caſe of any Robbery or 'Abuſe committed upon 'em in the Town.

The Spokeſman having made an end of his Speech, returns to his Place, and takes up his Pipe; and then the Interpreter explains the Subſtance of the Harangue to the Governour, who commonly gives a very civil Anſwer, eſpecially if the Preſent be valuable: in conſideration of which, he likewiſe makes them a Preſent of ſome trifling things. This done, the Savages riſe up, and return to their Huts to make ſuitable Preparations for the enſuing Truck.

The next day the Savages make their Slaves carry the Skins to the Houſes of the Merchants, who bargain with 'em for ſuch Cloaths as they want. All the Inhabitants of *Monreal* are allow'd to traffick with

'em in any Commodity but Wine and Brandy; these two being excepted upon the account that when the Savages have got what they wanted, and have any Skins left, they drink to excess, and then kill their Slaves; for when they are in drink, they quarrel and fight; and if they were not held by those who are sober, wou'd certainly make Havock one of another. However, you must observe, that none of 'em will touch either Gold or Silver. 'Tis a comical sight, to see 'em running from Shop to Shop, stark naked, with their Bow and Arrow. The nicer sort of Women are wont to hold their Fans before their eyes, to prevent their being frighted with the view of their ugly Parts. But these merry Companions, who know the brisk She-Merchants as well as we, are not wanting in making an Offer, which is sometimes accepted of, when the Present is of good Mettle. If we may credit the common Report, there are more than one or two of the Ladies of this Country, whose Constancy and Vertue has held out against the Attacks of several Officers, and at the same time vouchsaf'd a free access to these nasty Lechers. 'Tis presum'd their Compliance was the Effect of Curiosity, rather than of any nice Relish; for, in a word, the Savages are neither brisk, nor constant. But whatever is in the matter, the Women are the more excusable upon this Head, that such Opportunities are very unfrequent.

As soon as the Savages have made an end of their Truck, they take leave of the Governour, and so return home by the River of *Outaouas*. To conclude, they did a great deal of good both to the Poor and Rich; for you will readily apprehend, that every body turns Merchant upon such occasions.

I am, SIR, Yours, &c.

LETTER

LETTER IX.

Dated at *Boucherville*, Octob. 2. 1685.

Being an Account of the Commerce and Trade of Monreal: *Of the Arrival of the Marquis of* Denonville *with ſome Troops; and of the recalling of* Mr. de la Barre. *With a curious Deſcription of certain Licenſes for Trading in Beaver-skins in the remote Countries.*

SIR,

I Receiv'd your ſecond Letter three Weeks ago, but could not ſend a ſpeedier Anſwer, by reaſon that none of our Ships have yet ſet Sail for *France*. Since you want to know the nature of the Trade of *Monreal*, be pleas'd to take the following Account.

Almoſt all the Merchants of that City act only on the behalf of the *Quebec* Merchants, whoſe Factors they are. The Barques which carry thither dry Commodities, as well as Wine and Brandy, are but few in number; but then they make ſeveral Voyages in one Year from the one City to the other. The Inhabitants of the Iſland of *Monreal*, and the adjacent Cantons, repair twice a Year to the City of *Monreal*, where they buy Commodities fifty *per Cent.* dearer than at *Quebec*. The Savages of the neighbouring Countries, whether ſettled or erratick, carry thither the Skins of Beavers, Elks, Caribous, Foxes, and wild Cats; all which, they truck for Fuſees, Powder, Lead, and other Neceſſaries. There every one is allow'd to trade; and indeed 'tis the beſt place for the getting of an Eſtate in a ſhort time. All the Merchants have ſuch a perfect good underſtanding one with another, that they all ſell at the ſame price.

But when the Inhabitants of the Country find their Prices exorbitant, they raiſe their Commodities in proportion. The Gentlemen that have a Charge of Children, eſpecially Daughters, are oblig'd to be good Husbands, in order to bear the Expence of the magnificent Cloaths with which they are ſet off; for Pride, Vanity, and Luxury, reign as much in *New France* as in *Old France*. In my opinion, 'twould do well, if the King would order Commodities to be rated at a reaſonable Price, and prohibit the ſelling of Gold or Silver Brocadoes, Fringes, and Ribbands, as well as Points and rich Laces.

The Marquis of *Denonville* is come to ſucceed Mr. *de la Barre* in the quality of Governour-General; for the King has recall'd Mr. *de la Barre*, upon the Accuſations laid againſt him by his Enemies. To be ſure, you who are in *France* know better than I, that Mr. *de Denonville* was *Maitre de Camp* to the Queen's Regiment of Dragoons, which Place he ſold to Mr. *Murcey* when the King beſtow'd this Government upon him; and, that he brought with him ſome Companies of Marines, beſides his Lady and his Children: for it ſeems the danger and inconveniencies that attend ſuch a long and troubleſome Voyage, made no Impreſſion upon her. This Governour ſtay'd at firſt ſome Weeks at *Quebec*, after which he came to *Monreal*, with 500 or 600 Men of Regular Troops, and ſent back the Captains *Hainaut*, *Montortier*, and *du Rivo*, with ſeveral other Officers. His Army is now in Winter Quarters all round *Monreal*. My Quarters are at a Place call'd *Boucherville*, which lies at the diſtance of three Leagues from *Monreal*. I have been here fifteen Days, and in all appearance ſhall live more happily than in the Town, abating for the Solitude; for at leaſt I ſhall have no other oppoſition to encounter in the caſe of Balls, Gaming, or Feaſting, but the zealous Freaks of a ſilly Prieſt. I am inform'd, that the Governour

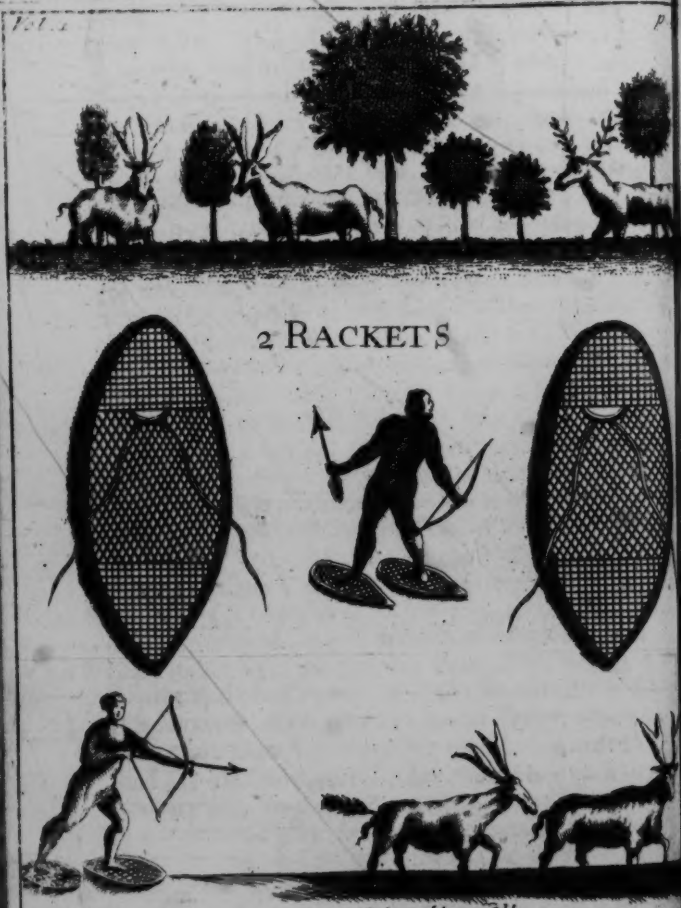
has

has given Orders to compleat the Fortifications of *Monreal*, and is now ready to embarque for *Quebec*, where our Governours commonly paſs the Winter. The Savages I ſpoke of in my laſt, met the *Iroqueſe* upon the great River of the *Outaouas*, who inform'd 'em that the *Engliſh* were making Preparations to tranſport to their Villages in *Miſſilimakinac*, better and cheaper Commodities than thoſe they had from the *French*. This piece of News did equally alarm the Gentlemen, the Pedlers call'd *Coureurs de Bois*, and the Merchants; who, at that rate, would be conſiderable Loſers: for you muſt know, that *Canada* ſubſiſts only upon the Trade of Skins or Furrs, three fourths of which come from the People that live round the great Lakes: So that if the *Engliſh* ſhould put ſuch a Deſign in execution, the whole Country would ſuffer by it; eſpecially conſidering, that 'twould ſink certain Licenſes: an Account of which will be proper in this place.

Theſe Licenſes are granted in Writing by the Governours General, to poor Gentlemen and old Officers who have a Charge of Children. They are diſpos'd of by the King's Orders; and the Deſign of 'em is, to enable ſuch Perſons to ſend Commodities to theſe Lakes. The Number of the Perſons thus impower'd, ought not to exceed twenty five in one Year: but God knows how many more have private Licenſes. All other Perſons, of what Quality or Condition ſoever, are prohibited to go or ſend to theſe Lakes, without ſuch Licenſes, under the pain of Death. Each Licenſe extends to the lading of two great Canows; and whoever procures a whole or a half Licenſe for himſelf, may either make uſe of it himſelf, or ſell it to the higheſt Bidder. Commonly they are bought at ſix hundred Crowns a-piece. Thoſe who purchaſe 'em are at no trouble in finding Pedlars or Foreſt-Rangers to undertake the long Voyages, which fetch the moſt conſiderable

Gains, and commonly extend to a Year, and ſometimes more. The Merchants put into the two Canows ſtipulated in the Licenſe, ſix Men with a thouſand Crowns-worth of Goods, which are rated to the Pedlars at fifteen *per Cent.* more than what they are ſold for in ready Money in the Colony. When the Voyage is perform'd, this Sum of a thouſand Crowns commonly brings in ſeven hundred *per Cent.* clear profit, and ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs; for theſe Sparks call'd *Coureurs de Bois* bite the Savages moſt dexterouſly, and the lading of two Canows, computed at a thouſand Crowns, is a Purchaſe for as many Beaver-skins as will load four Canows: Now, four Canows will carry a hundred and ſixty Packs of Skins, that is, forty a-piece; and reckoning each Pack to be worth fifty Crowns, the value of the whole amounts to eight thouſand Crowns. As to the Repartition of this extravagant Profit, 'tis made after the following manner: In the firſt place, the Merchant takes out of the whole bulk ſix hundred Crowns for the Purchaſe of his Licenſe; then a thouſand Crowns for the prime Coſt of the exported Commodities. After this, there remains 6400 Crowns of Surpluſage, out of which the Merchant takes forty *per Cent.* for Bottomree, which amounts to 2560 Crowns; and the Remainder is divided equally among the ſix *Coureurs de Bois*, who get little more than 600 Crowns a-piece: and indeed I muſt ſay 'tis fairly earn'd; for their Fatigue is inconceivable. In the mean time, you muſt remark, that over and above the foregoing profit, the Merchant gets 25 *per Cent.* upon his Beaver-skins by carrying them to the Office of the Farmers General, where the Price of four ſorts of Beaver-skins is fix'd. If the Merchant ſells theſe Skins to any private Man in the Country for ready Money, he is paid in the current Money of the Country, which is of leſs value than the Bills of Exchange that the Director of

that


2 RACKETS
Orignalls or Elks

that Office draws upon *Rochel* or *Paris*; for there they are paid in *French* Livres, which are twenty *Sols*, whereas a *Canada* Livre is but fifteen *Sols*. This Advantage of 25 *per Cent.* is call'd *le Benefice*; but take notice, that 'tis only to be had upon Beaver-skins: for, if you pay to a *Quebec* Merchant 400 *Canada* Livres in Silver, and take from him a Bill of Exchange upon his Correſpondent in *France*, his Correſpondent will pay no more than 300 *French* Livres, which is a juſt Equivalent.

This is the laſt Intelligence I ſhall give you for this Year, which has already brought in a very cold *Autumn*. The *Quebec* Ships muſt ſet Sail in the middle of *November*, purſuant to the wonted Cuſtom. I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

LETTER X.

Dated at *Boucherville July* 8. 1686.

Relating the Arrival of Mr. de Champigni, *in the room of Mr.* de Meules, *who is recall'd to* France; *the arrival of the Troops that came along with him, the curioſity of the Rackets, and the way of hunting Elks; with a Deſcription of that Animal.*

SIR,

THough I have not heard from you this year, yet I will not ſlight this opportunity of writing to you. Some Ships from *France* are arriv'd at *Quebec*, and have brought over Mr. *de Champigni No-*

racts in the ſame Canow that brought mé up, for every body thought we ſhould have been caſt away at theſe Paſſes, which are full of Eddy's and Rocks; and 'twas never heard before, that ſuch Precipices were paſs'd with Deal Boats either upwards or downwards. But we were forc'd to run all hazards, and had certainly been ſwallow'd up in thoſe Mountains of Water, if we had not oblig'd ſeveral Canows to ſhoot the Cataracts at the head of our Boats, in order to ſhew us the way; at the ſame time we had prepar'd our Soldiers for rowing, and ſhieving upon occaſion. Do but conſider, Sir, that the Currents run as faſt as a Cannon Ball; and that one falſe ſtroak of the Oar, would have run us unavoidably upon the Rocks; for we are oblig'd to ſteer a Zig-zag courſe purſuant to the thread of the Stream, which has fifty windings. The Boats which are loaded are ſometimes loſt in thoſe places. But after all, tho' the riſque we run be very great, yet by way of Compenſation, one has the ſatisfaction of running a great way in a little time; for we run from *Galete* to this Town in two days time, notwithſtanding that we croſs'd the two ſtagnating Lakes I took notice of before.

As ſoon as we landed, we receiv'd advice that the *Chevalier de Callieres* was come to ſupply the room of Mr. *Perrot*, the Governor of this place. Mr. *Perrot* has had ſeveral ſcuffles with Mr. *de Frontenac*, and Mr. *de la Barre*; of which you may expect a farther account, when I am better inform'd. All the World blames our General for his bad Succeſs: 'Tis talk'd publickly, that his only deſign was to cover the ſending of ſeveral Canows to traffick with the Savages in thoſe Lakes for Beaver-Skins. The People here are very buſie in wafting over to Court a thouſand Calumnies againſt him; both the Clergy and the Gentlemen of the long Robe, write to his diſadvantage. Tho' after all, the whole charge is falſe;

falſe; for the poor Man could do no more than he did. Juſt now, I was inform'd that Mr. *Hainaut*, Mr. *Montortier*, and Mr. *Durivau*, three Captains of Ships, are arriv'd at *Quebec*, with a deſign to paſs the Winter there, and to aſſiſt him as Counſellors; and that the laſt of theſe three has brought with him an Independent Company, to be commanded by himſelf.

I ſhall have no opportunity of writing again before the next Spring; for the laſt Ships that are to return for *France* this year, are now ready to ſail.

I am, SIR, Yours, &c.

LETTER VIII.

Dated at *Monreal, June* 28. 1685.

Repreſenting the Fortifications of Monreal, *and the indiſcreet Zeal of the Prieſts, who are Lords of that Town: With a Deſcription of* Chambli, *and of the Commerce of the Savages upon the great Lakes.*

SIR,

I Have juſt receiv'd yours, by a ſmall Veſſel of *Bourdeaux* loaded with Wine; which is the firſt that came to *Quebec* this Year. I am mightily pleas'd to hear that the King has granted to *Mr. de la Salle* four Ships, to go upon the Diſcovery of the Mouth of the *Miſſiſipi*; and cannot but admire your Curioſity, in deſiring to know the Occurrences of this Place, and how I ſpent my time in the Winter.

Mr. *de Callieres* was no ſooner poſſeſs'd of his Government, than he order'd all the Inhabitants of this Town, and of the adjacent Country, to cut down and bring in great Stakes, of fifteen Foot in length,

to

roua, with ſome Companies of Marines. He comes to ſupply the place of Mr. *de Meules*, whom the King recalls upon the unjuſt complaints that are made of him. He is charg'd with preferring his private Intereſt to the publick Good; but the charge is falſe, and he will eaſily clear himſelf. I am apt to believe he may have carry'd on ſome underhand Commerce, but in ſo doing he injur'd no body; nay, on the contrary he has procur'd Bread for a thouſand poor Creatures, that without his Aſſiſtance would have ſtarv'd for Hunger. This new Intendant is deſcended of one of the moſt Illuſtrious Families of the Robe in *France*. He is ſaid to be a Man of Honour, and Fame entitles his Lady to a diſtinguiſhing Merit: I underſtand, he and Mr. *Denonville* are bound ſpeedily for *Montreal*, where they mean to take a review of the Inhabitants of this Iſland, and of the Neighbouring Cantons. Probably, they take ſuch precautions in order to ſome new effort againſt the *Iroqueſe*. Laſt Winter we had no new Occurrences in the Colony. I ſpent the whole Winter at the hunting of Orignals or Elks along with the Savages, whoſe Language I am learning, as I have intimated to you ſeveral times.

The hunting of Elks is perform'd upon the Snow, with ſuch *Rackets* as you ſee deſign'd in the annex'd Cutt. Theſe *Rackets* are two Foot and a half long, and fourteen Inches broad; their ledges are made of a very hard Wood, about an Inch thick, that faſtens the Net juſt like a Tennis Racket, from which they differ only in this; that thoſe for the Tennis are made of Gut-ſtrings, whereas the others are made of little thongs of the skins of Harts or Elks. In the Cut, you may perceive two little ſpars of Wood, which run a-croſs to render the Net firmer and ſtiffer. The hole that appears by the two Latchets, is the place in which they put the Toes and fore-part of the Foot; ſo that 'tis tied faſt by the

the two Latchets, which run twice round about the Heel, and every ſtep they make upon the Snow, the fore-part of the Foot ſinks into that hole, as often as they raiſe their Heel. By the help of this Contrivance they walk faſter upon the Snow, than one can do with Shoes upon a beaten path: And indeed 'tis ſo neceſſary for them, that 'twould be otherwiſe impoſſible not only to hunt and range the Woods, but even to go to Church, notwithſtanding they are ſo near; for commonly the Snow is three or four Foot deep in that Country during the Winter. Being oblig'd to march thirty or forty Leagues in the Woods in purſuit of the abovemention'd Animals, I found that the fatigue of the Journey equal'd the pleaſure of it.

The *Orignal* is a ſort of Elk, not much different from that we find in *Muſcovy*. 'Tis as big as an *Auvergne* Moyle, and much of the ſame ſhape, abating for its Muzzle, its Tail, and its great flat Horns, which weigh ſometimes 300, and ſometimes 400 weight, if we may credit thoſe who pretend to have weigh'd 'em. This Animal uſually reſorts to planted Countries. Its Hair is long and brown; and the Skin is ſtrong and hard, but not thick. The Fleſh of the *Orignal*, eſpecially that of the Female ſort, eats deliciouſly; and 'tis ſaid, that the far hind Foot of the Female kind, is a Cure for the Falling-Sickneſs; it neither runs nor skips, but its trot will almoſt keep up with the running of a Hart. The Savages aſſure us, that in Summer 'twill trot three Days and three Nights without intermiſſion. This ſort of Animals commonly gather into a body towards the latter end of Autumn; and the Herds are largeſt in the beginning of the Spring, at which time the ſhe ones are in rutting; but after their heat is over, they all diſperſe themſelves. We hunted 'em in the following manner: Firſt of all, we went 40 Leagues to the Northward of the River of St. *Laurence*,

rence, where we found a little Lake of three or four Leagues in Circumference, and upon the banks of that Lake, we made Hutts for our ſelves of the barks of Trees, having firſt clear'd the Ground of the Snow that cover'd it. In our Journey thither, we kill'd as many Hares and Wood-hens, as we could eat. When we had fitted up our Hutts, the Savages went out upon the diſcovery of the Elks, ſome to the Northward, and ſome to the South, to the diſtance of two or three Leagues from the Hutts. As ſoon as they diſcover'd any freſh foot-ſteps, they detach'd one of their number to give us notice, to the end, that the whole Company might have the pleaſure of ſeeing the chace. We trac'd theſe foot-ſteps ſometimes for one, and ſometimes for two Leagues, and then fell in with five, ten, fifteen or twenty Elks in a body; which preſently betook themſelves to flight, whether a part or in a Body, and ſunk into the Snow up to their Breaſt. Where the Snow was hard and condenſated, or where the froſt following wet Weather had glaz'd it above, we came up with 'em after the chace of a quarter of a League: But when the Snow was ſoft or juſt fallen, we were forc'd to purſue 'em three or four Leagues before we could catch 'em, unleſs the Dogs happen'd to ſtop 'em where the Snow was very deep. When we came up with them, the Savages fired upon 'em with Fuſees. If the Elks be much inrag'd they'll ſometimes turn upon the Savages, who cover themſelves with Boughs in order to keep off their Feet, with which they would cruſh 'em to pieces. As ſoon as they are kill'd, the Savages make new Hutts upon the ſpot, with great Fires in the middle; while the Slaves are imploy'd in fleaing 'em, and ſtretching out the Skins in the open Air. One of the Soldiers that accompany'd me, told me one Day, that to withſtand the violence of the Cold, one ought to have his Blood compos'd of Brandy, his

his Body of Braſs, and his Eyes of Glaſs: And I muſt ſay, he had ſome ground for what he ſpoke, for we were forc'd to keep a Fire all round us, all the Night long. As long as the Fleſh of theſe Animals laſts, the Savages ſeldom think of ſtirring; but when 'tis all conſum'd, they then look out for a new Diſcovery. Thus they continue to hunt, till the Snow and the Ice are melted. As ſoon as the great thaw commences, 'tis impoſſible for 'em to travel far; ſo that they content themſelves with the killing of Hares and Partridges, which are very numerous in the Woods. When the Rivers are clear of the Ice, they make Canows of the Elk-skins, which they ſow together very eaſily, covering the Seams with a fat ſort of Earth inſtead of pitch. This work is over in four or five days time, after which they return home in the Canows with all their Baggage.

This, Sir, was our Diverſion for three Months in the Woods. We took fifty ſix Elks, and might have kill'd twice as many, if we had hunted for the benefit of the Skins. In the Summer ſeaſon, the Savages have two ways of killing 'em, both of which are equally troubleſom. One conſiſts in hanging a Rope-gin between two Trees, upon a Paſs ſurrounded with Thorns; the other is compaſs'd by crauling like Snakes among the Trees and Thickets, and approaching to 'em upon the Leeward ſide, ſo that they may be ſhot with a Fuſee. Harts and Caribous are kill'd both in Summer and Winter, after the ſame manner with the Elks; excepting that the Caribon's, which are a kind of wild Aſſes, make an eaſie eſcape when the Snow is hard, by vertue of their broad Feet; whereas the Elk ſinks as faſt as he riſes. In fine, I am ſo well pleas'd with the hunting of this Country, that I have reſolv'd to imploy all my leiſure-time upon that Exerciſe. The Savages have promiſed, that in three Months time

I ſhall ſee other ſorts of chaſes, which will prove leſs fatiguing, and more agreeable. I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

LETTER XI.

Dated at *Boucherville May* 28. 1687.

Being a curious Deſcription of the Hunting of divers Animals.

SIR,

YOU complain that the laſt year you receiv'd but one of my Letters, dated *July* 8. and with the ſame breath aſſure me, that you writ two to me, neither of which is come to hand. I receiv'd a Letter from you this Day, which is ſo much the more acceptable, that I thought you had been dead, and that I find you continue to give proof of your remembrance of me. I find by your Letter, that you have an agreeable reliſh for the curious Elk-Hunting in this Country, and that a further account of our other hunting Adventures, would meet with a welcome Reception. This Curioſity, indeed, is worthy of ſo great a Hunts-Man as your ſelf; but at preſent I muſt beg your excuſe as to the Beaver-hunting, for I know nothing of it yet but by hear-ſay.

In the beginning of *September*, I ſet out in a Canow upon ſeveral Rivers, Marſhes, and Pools, that diſembogue in the Champlain Lake, being accompany'd with thirty or forty of the Savages that are very expert in Shooting and Hunting, and perfectly well

well acquainted with the proper places for finding Water-foul, Deer, and other fallow Beaſts. The firſt Poſt we took up was upon the ſide of a Marſh or Fen of four or five Leagues in Circumference; and after we had fitted up our Hutts, the Savages made Hutts upon the Water in ſeveral places. Theſe Water-Hutts are made of the branches and leaves of Trees, and contain three or four Men: For a Decoy they have the skins of Geeſe, Buſtards, and Ducks, dry'd and ſtuff'd with Hay, the two feet being made faſt with two Nails to a ſmall piece of a light plank, which floats round the Hutt. This place being frequented by wonderful numbers of Geeſe, Ducks, Buſtards, Teals, and an infinity of other Fowl unknown to the *Europeans*; when theſe Fowls ſee the ſtuff'd Skins ſwimming with the Heads erected, as if they were alive, they repair to the ſame place, and ſo give the Savages an opportunity of ſhooting 'em, either flying, or upon the Water; after which the Savages get into their Canows and gather 'em up. They have likewiſe a way of catching 'em with Nets, ſtretch'd upon the ſurface of the Water at the Entries of the Rivers. In a word, we eat nothing but Water-fowl for fifteen Days; after which we reſolv'd to declare War againſt the Turtle-Doves, which are ſo numerous in *Canada*, that the Biſhop has been forc'd to excommunicate 'em oftner than once, upon the account of the Damage they do to the Product of the Earth. With that view, we imbarqued and made towards a Meadow, in the Neighbourhood of which, the Trees were cover'd with that ſort of Fowl, more than with Leaves: For juſt then 'twas the ſeaſon in which they retire from the North Countries, and repair to the Southern Climates; and one would have thought, that all the Turtle-Doves upon Earth had choſe to paſs thro' this place. For the eighteen or twenty days that we ſtay'd there, I firmly believe that a thouſand Men

Men might have fed upon 'em heartily, without putting themſelves to any trouble. You muſt know, that through the middle of this Meadow there runs a Brook, upon which I and two young Savages ſhot ſeveral Snipes, Rayles, and a certain ſort of Fowl call'd *Bateurs de faux*, which is as big as a Quail, and eats very deliciouſly.

In the ſame place we kill'd ſome *Musk-Rats*, or a ſort of Animals which reſemble a Rat in their ſhape, and are as big as a Rabbet. The Skins of theſe Rats are very much valued, as differing but little from thoſe of Beavers. Their Teſticles ſmell ſo ſtrong of Musk, that no Civet or Antilope that *Aſia* affords, can boaſt of ſuch a ſtrong and ſweet ſmell. We ſpy'd 'em in the Mornings and Evenings, at which time they uſually appear upon the Water with their Noſe to the Windward, and betray themſelves to the Huntſmen, by the curling of the Water. The *Fouteraux*, which are an amphibious ſort of little Pole-Cats, are catch'd after the ſame manner. I was likewiſe entertain'd upon this occaſion, with the killing of certain little Beaſts, call'd *Siffleurs*, or Whiſtlers, with alluſion to their wonted way of whiſtling or whizzing at the Mouth of their Holes in fair Weather. They are as big as Hares, but ſomewhat ſhorter, their Fleſh is good for nothing, but their Skins are recommended by their rarity. The Savages gave me an opportunity of hearing one of theſe Creatures whiſtle for an hour together, after which they ſhot it. To gratifie the curioſity I had to ſee ſuch diverſity of Animals, they made a diligent ſearch for the Holes or Dens of the *Carcaioux*, and having found ſome at the diſtance of two or three Leagues from the Fen upon which we were poſted, they conducted me to the place. At the break of day we planted our ſelves round the Holes, with our Bellies upon the Ground; and left ſome Slaves to hold the Dogs a Musket-ſhot behind us.

us. As ſoon as theſe Animals perceiv'd Day-light, they came out of their Holes, which were immediately ſtop'd up by the Savages, and upon that the Dogs fetch'd 'em up with eaſe. We ſaw but two of 'em, which made a vigorous defence againſt the Dogs, but were ſtrangled after a diſpute of half an hour. Theſe Animals are not unlike a Badger, only they are bigger, and more miſchievous. Tho' our Dogs ſhew'd a great deal of Courage in attacking the *Carcaioux*, they betray'd their Cowardice the next day in a rencounter with a Porcupine, which we ſpy'd upon a little Tree. To obtain the pleaſure of ſeeing the Porcupine fall, we cut down the Tree; but neither the Dogs nor we durſt go near it: The Dogs only bark'd and jump'd round it; for it darted its long and hard hair like ſo many Bodkins, three or four paces off. At laſt we pelted it to death, and put it upon the fire to burn off its Darts; after which we ſcalded it like a Pig, took out the Intrails, and roaſted it: But tho' 'twas very fat, I could not reliſh it ſo well as to comply with the aſſertion of the Natives, who alledge, that it eats as well as a Capon or a Partridge.

After the Turtle-Doves had all paſs'd over the place, in queſt of their Southern retreats, the Savages offer'd to ſend ſome of their number with Canows to conduct me home, before the Rivers and Lakes were frozen over; for themſelves were to tarry out for the Elk-hunting; and they imagin'd that the Cold and Hardſhip attending that Exerciſe, had made me ſick of it the year before. However, we had then a Month good before the commencement of the Froſt, and in that interval of time, they proffer'd to entertain me with more diverting Game than any I had ſeen before. They propos'd to go fifteen or ſixteen Leagues further up the Country, aſſuring me, that they knew of a certain place that had the moſt advantageous ſituati-

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on in the World, both for Pleaſure and Profit, and that afforded great plenty of Otters, of the Skins of which they mean'd to make a great Cargoe. Accordingly we pull'd down our Hutts, and having imbarqu'd in our Canows, ſail'd up the River, till we came to a little Lake of two Leagues in Circumference, at the end of which we ſaw another greater Lake, divided from this by an Iſthmus of 150 Paces in length. We pitch'd our Hutts at the diſtance of a League from that Iſthmus; and ſome of the Savages fiſh'd for Trouts, while the reſt were imploy'd in laying Traps for the Otters upon the brinks of the Lake. Theſe Traps are made of five Stakes plac'd in the form of an oblong Quadrangle, ſo as to make a little Chamber, the Door of which is kept up, and ſupported by a Stake. To the middle of this Stake they tye a ſtring which paſſes thro' a little fork, and has a Trout well faſten'd to the end of it. Now, when the Otter comes on ſhoar, and ſees this bait, he puts above half his Body into that fatal Cage, in order to ſwallow the Fiſh; but he no ſooner touches, than the ſtring to which 'tis made faſt pulls away the Stake that ſupports the Door, upon which an heavy and loaded Door falls upon his Reins and quaſhes him. During our Pilgrimage in that part of the Country, the Savages took above two hundred and fifty *Canada* Otters; the Skins of which are infinitely prittier than thoſe of *Muſcovy* or *Sweden*. The beſt of 'em which are not worth two Crowns in this place, are ſold in *France* for four or five, and ſometimes for ten, if they are black and very rough. As ſoon as the Savages had ſet their Traps, they gave orders to their Slaves to go round the Lake every Morning, in order to take out the amphibious Animals. After that they conducted me to the above-mention'd Iſthmus, where I was ſurpriz'd to ſee a ſort of a Park or Fence made of Trees, fell'd one upon another,

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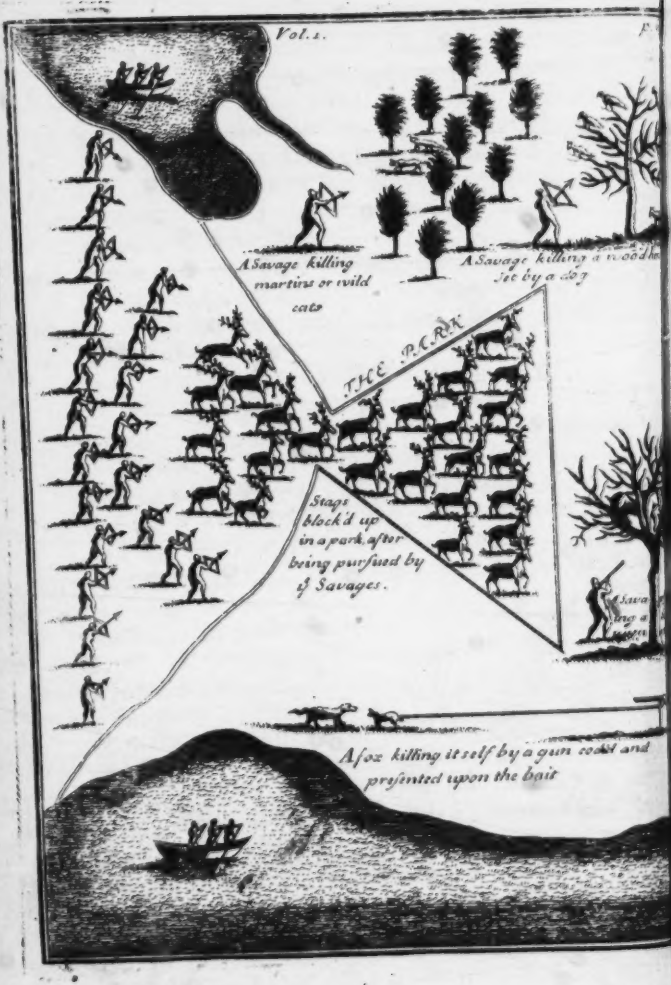
A Savage killing martins or wild cats
A Savage killing a woodhe
Stags block'd up in a park after being pursued by ye Savages.
A Savage killing it self by a gun cocked and presented upon the bait

and interlac'd with Thorns and Branches; with a quadrangular incloſure of Stakes at the end of it, the entry of which was very narrow. They gave me to know, that they uſed to hunt Harts in that place, and promis'd to divert me with the ſhew, as ſoon as the Incloſures were a little mended. In effect, they carry'd me two or three Leagues off, upon ſuch Roads as had nothing on either ſide but Fens and Marſhes; and after they had diſpers'd themſelves, ſome on one hand and ſome on the other, with a Dog for every Man; I ſaw a great many Harts running to and again, in queſt of places of Safety. The Savage that I kept company with, aſſur'd me, that he and I had no occaſion to walk very faſt, becauſe he had took the ſtraighteſt and the neareſt Road. Before us we ſaw above ten Harts, which were forc'd to turn back, rather than throw themſelves into the Marſh, of which they could never get clear. At laſt, after walking a great pace, and running now and then, we arriv'd at the Park, and found the Savages lying flat upon the Ground all round it, in order to ſhut up the the entry of the ſtake Incloſure as ſoon as the Harts enter'd. We found thirty five Harts in the place, and, if the Park had been better fenc'd, we might have had above ſixty; for the nimbleſt and lighteſt of 'em, skip'd over before they came to enter the Incloſure. We kill'd a great many of 'em, but ſpar'd the Dams, becauſe they were great with young. I ask'd of the Savages the Tongues and the Marrow of the Harts, which they gave me very readily. The Fleſh was very fat, but not delicious, excepting ſome few bits about the Ribs. But after all, this was not our only Game; for two days after we went a Bear-hunting, and the Savages who ſpend three parts of four of their life in Hunting in the Woods, are very dexterous at that Exerciſe, eſpecially in ſingling out the Trunks of the Trees upon

which the Bears Neſtle. I could not but admire their knowledge in that Point, when, as we were walking up and down in a Foreſt, at the diſtance of an hundred Paces one from another, I heard one Savage call to another, *Here's a Bear.* I askt 'em how he knew that there was a Bear upon the Tree which he knock'd with his Axe; and they all reply'd, that 'twas as eaſily diſtinguiſh'd as the print of an Elks foot in the Snow. For five or ſix times they never miſs'd; for after they had knock'd two or three times upon the Trunk of the Tree, the Bear came out of its hole, and was preſently ſhot. The *Canada* Bears are extream black, but not miſchievous, for they never attack one, unleſs they be wounded or fir'd upon. They are ſo fat, eſpecially in the Autumn, that they can ſcarce walk: Thoſe which we kill'd were extream fat, but their fat is good for nothing but to be burnt, whereas their Fleſh, and, above all, their Feet are very nice Victuals. The Savages affirm, that no Fleſh is ſo delicious as that of Bears; and indeed, I think they are in the right of it. While we rang'd up and down in queſt of Bears, we had the pleaſure of ſpying ſome Martins and wild Cats upon the branches of the Trees, which the Savages ſhot in the Head to preſerve their Skin. But the moſt Comical thing I ſaw, was the Stupidity of the Wood-hens, which ſit upon the Trees in whole Flocks, and are kill'd one after another, without ever offering to ſtir. Commonly the Savages ſhoot at 'em with Arrows, for they ſay they are not worth a ſhoot of Powder, which is able to kill an Elk or an Hart. I have ply'd this ſort of Fowling in the Neighbourhood of our Cantons or Habitations in the Winter time, with the help of a Dog who found out the Trees by ſcent, and then bark'd; upon which I approach'd to the Tree, and found the Fowls upon the Branches. When the thaw came, I went two or three Leagues fur-

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ther up the Lake, in Company with ſome *Canadeſes*, on purpoſe to ſee that Fowl flap with its Wings. Believe me, Sir, this ſight is one of the greateſt Curioſities in the World; for their flapping makes a noiſe much like that of a Drum all about, for the ſpace of a Minute or thereabouts; then the noiſe ceaſes for half a quarter of an Hour, after which it begins again. By this noiſe we were directed to the place where the unfortunate Moor-hens ſat, and found 'em upon rotten moſſy Trees. By flapping one Wing againſt the other, they mean to call their Mates; and the humming noiſe that inſues thereupon, may be heard half a quarter of a League off. This they do only in the Months of *April*, *May*, *September*, and *October*; and, which is very remarkable, a Moorhen never flaps in this manner, but upon one Tree. It begins at the break of day, and gives over at nine a Clock in the Morning, till about an hour before Sunſet that it flutters again, and continues ſo to do till Night: I proteſt to you, that I have frequently contented my ſelf with ſeeing and admiring the flapping of their Wings without offering to ſhoot at 'em.

Beſides the pleaſure of ſo many different ſorts of Diverſion, I was likewiſe entertain'd in the Woods with the company of the honeſt old Gentlemen that liv'd in former Ages. Honeſt *Homer*, the amiable *Anacreon*, and my dear *Lucian*, were my inſeparable Companions. *Ariſtotle* too deſir'd paſſionately to go along with us, but my Canow was too little to hold his bulky Equipage of Peripatetick Silogiſms: So that he was e'en fain to trudge back to the Jeſuits, who vouchſaf'd him a very honourable Reception. I had a great deal of reaſon to rid my ſelf of that great Philoſopher's Company; for his ridiculous Jargon, and his ſenſeleſs Terms, would have frighted the Savages out of their wits. Farewell, Sir, I am now arriv'd at once at the end of

my Game and my Letter. I have heard no News from *Quebec*, where they continue to make mighty Preparations for ſome conſiderable Enterpriſe. Time will diſcover a great many things, an Account of which I mean to tranſmit to you by the Ships that are to leave this Harbour in the end of *Autumn*. I conclude with my uſual Compliment,

Yours, &c.

LETTER XII.

Dated at *St. Helens*, over-againſt *Monreal*, *June* 8. 1687.

The Chevalier de Vaudreuil *arrives in* Canada *with ſome Troops. Both the Regular Troops and the Militia, are poſted at* St. Helens, *in a readineſs to march againſt the* Iroqueſe.

SIR,

I Have ſuch a budget-full of News, that I know not where to begin. I receiv'd Letters but now from Mr. *Seignelay*'s Office; by which I have Advice, that Orders are ſent to Mr. *Denonville* to allow me to go for *France*, upon my private Concerns. No longer ſince than Yeſterday, he told me I ſhould have Leave to go after the Campaign is over. My Relations write, that the procuring of this Leave coſt 'em a great deal of pains; and that the ſooner I come to *Paris*, 'twill be the better for me.

The Governour arriv'd at *Monreal* three or four days ago, with all the Militia of the Country, who lie now incamp'd along with our Troops in that Iſland. Mr. *D'Amblemont* has been at *Quebec* this Month, with five or ſix ſecond Rate Ships, having ſail'd

ſail'd from *Rochel* thither in 28 days. He brought over with him ten or twelve Companies of Marines, who are to guard the Colony while we invade the *Iroqueſe* Country. 'Tis ſaid, that laſt Year Mr. *Denonville* ſent ſeveral *Canadeſe*, that were known and eſteem'd by the Savages, our Allies, who live upon the Banks of the Lakes and the adjacent Countries, with Orders to engage 'em to favour our Deſign of extirpating the *Iroqueſe*. In the Winter he made Magazines of Ammunition and Proviſions, and now he has ſent ſeveral Canows, laden with Proviſions, to Fort *Frontenac*, and given Orders for the building of an infinite number of ſuch Boats as I deſcrib'd in my fourth Letter, for the Tranſporting of our twenty Companies of Marines. The Militia who are incamp'd in this Iſland along with our Troops, make fifteen hundred Men, and are join'd by five hundred of the converted Savages that live in the Neighbourhood of *Quebec* and the Iſland of *Monreal*. The Chevalier *Vaudreuil*, who is come from *France* to Command our Troops, is reſolv'd to appear in the Field, notwithſtanding the Fatigue of his Paſſage to *Canada*: and the Governour of *Monreal* is of the ſame mind. Mr. *de Champigni*, the Intendant of this Country, went from hence to Fort *Frontenac* two days ago. The day after to morrow, Mr. *de Denonville* means to march at the Head of his little Army, being accompany'd with an ancient *Iroqueſe*, that is very much reſpected by the five Cantons. The Hiſtory and various Adventures of this old Gentleman, are too tedious to bear a Relation in this place. Every body is apprehenſive that this Expedition will prove as ſucceſleſs as that of Mr. *de la Barre*: And if their Apprehenſions are not diſappointed, the King lays out his Money to no purpoſe. For my own part, when I reflect upon the Attempt we made three Years ago, I can't but think it impoſſible for us to ſucceed. Time will diſcover the Conſequences of

this Expedition; and perhaps we may come to repent, tho' too late, of our complying with the Advice of ſome Diſturbers of the Publick Peace, who project to enlarge their private Fortunes in a general Commotion. I lay this down for an unconteſted Truth, that we are not able to deſtroy the *Iroqueſe* by our ſelves: beſides, what occaſion have we to trouble 'em, ſince they give us no Provocation? However, let the Event be what it will, I ſhall not fail upon my Return to tranſmit you a Journal of our Actions, unleſs it be, that I embarque for *Rochel*, and deliver it my ſelf: In the mean time, believe me to be,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

LETTER XIII.

Dated at *Niagara*, *Aug.* 2. 1687.

Repreſenting the unfavourable Iſſue of the Campaign made in the Iroqueſe *Country; the Diſcovery of an Ambuſcade; and the iſſuing of Orders for the Author to march with a Detachment to the great Lakes.*

SIR,

IT has been a Maxim in all Ages, That the Events of things are not always anſwerable to Mens Expectations: When Men form to themſelves a promiſing proſpect of compaſſing their Ends, they frequently meet with the mortification of ſeeing themſelves diſappointed. This I ſpeak by way of application to my ſelf; for inſtead of going for *France*, purſuant to the Contents of the Letter I writ to you

two

two Months ago, I am now oblig'd to ſtraggle to one End of the World, as you'll find by the following Journal of our Expedition.

We broke up from *St. Helens* much about the time I ſpoke of in my laſt. Mr. *de Champigni* went before us with a ſtrong Guard, and arriv'd in a Canow at Fort *Frontenac*, eight or ten days before we came up. As ſoon as he arriv'd, he ſent two or three hundred *Canadeſe* to ſurpriſe the Villages of *Kente* and *Ganeouſſe*, which lie at the diſtance of ſeven or eight Leagues from the Fort, and are inhabited by a ſort of *Iroqueſe*, that deſerv'd no other Uſage than what they met with. Our *Canadeſe* had no great difficulty in maſtering them; for they ſurpris'd 'em when they leaſt thought of any Alarm, and brought 'em Priſoners to Fort *Frontenac*, where they were tied to Poſts with Cords round their Necks, Hands, and Feet. We arriv'd at the Fort on the firſt of *July*, after the encountering of ſeveral Difficulties among the Water-falls, Cataracts, and Currents, that I formerly deſcrib'd to you in my Account of Mr. *de la Barre's* Expedition. We were more perplex'd in this Voyage than the former; for our Boats were ſo heavy, that we could not tranſport 'em over Land as we did the Canows, but were oblig'd to drag 'em up through the impracticable Paſſes with the force of Men and Ropes. Immediately upon our Debarquing, I went ſtraight to the Fort, where I ſaw the miſerable Priſoners in the abovementionn'd Poſture. The ſight of this piece of Tyranny fill'd me at once with Compaſſion and Horror; but in the mean time the poor Wretches ſung Night and Day, that being the cuſtomary Practice of the People of *Canada* when they fall into the hands of their Enemies. They complain'd, 'That they were betray'd without any 'ground; that in compenſation for the care they 'had took ever ſince the Peace to furniſh the Garri-'ſon with Fiſh and Veniſon, they were bound and

'tied to Posts, and whip'd in such a manner, that 'they could neither sleep, nor guard off the Flies; 'that the only Requital they met with for procuring 'to the *French* a Commerce in the Skins of Beavers 'and other Animals, was, to be doom'd to Slavery, 'and to see their Fathers, and the ancient Men of 'their Country, murder'd before their eyes. Are 'these the *French*, said they, that the *Jesuits* cry'd up 'so much for Men of Probity and Honour? Even 'the cruellest sort of Death that Imagination it self 'can reach, would be nothing to us in comparison 'with the odious and horrible Spectacle of the Blood 'of our Ancestors, that is shed so inhumanely before 'our eyes. Assuredly, the five Villages will revenge 'our Quarrel, and entertain an everlasting and just 'Resentment of the tyrannical Usage we now meet 'with.' I made up to one of these Wretches that was about five and twenty Years old, and had frequently regal'd me in his Hutt, not far from the Fort, during my six Weeks Service in that Place in the Year of Mr. *de la Barre*'s Expedition. This poor Man being Master of the *Algonkin* Language, I gave him to know, that I was heartily griev'd to see him in that dismal Posture; that I would take care to have Victuals and Drink convey'd to him twice a day, and would give him Letters for my Friends at *Montreal*, in order to his being us'd more favourably than his Companions. He reply'd, That he saw and was very well acquainted with the Horror that most of the *French* were affected with, upon the view of the Cruelty they underwent; and, that he scorn'd to be fed, or us'd more civilly than his Fellow Prisoners. He gave me an account of the manner in which they were surpris'd, and how their Ancestors were massacred; and truly, I do not believe that any one can be touch'd with more cutting and bitter Reflexions than this poor Man was, when he recounted the many Services he had done the *French*, during

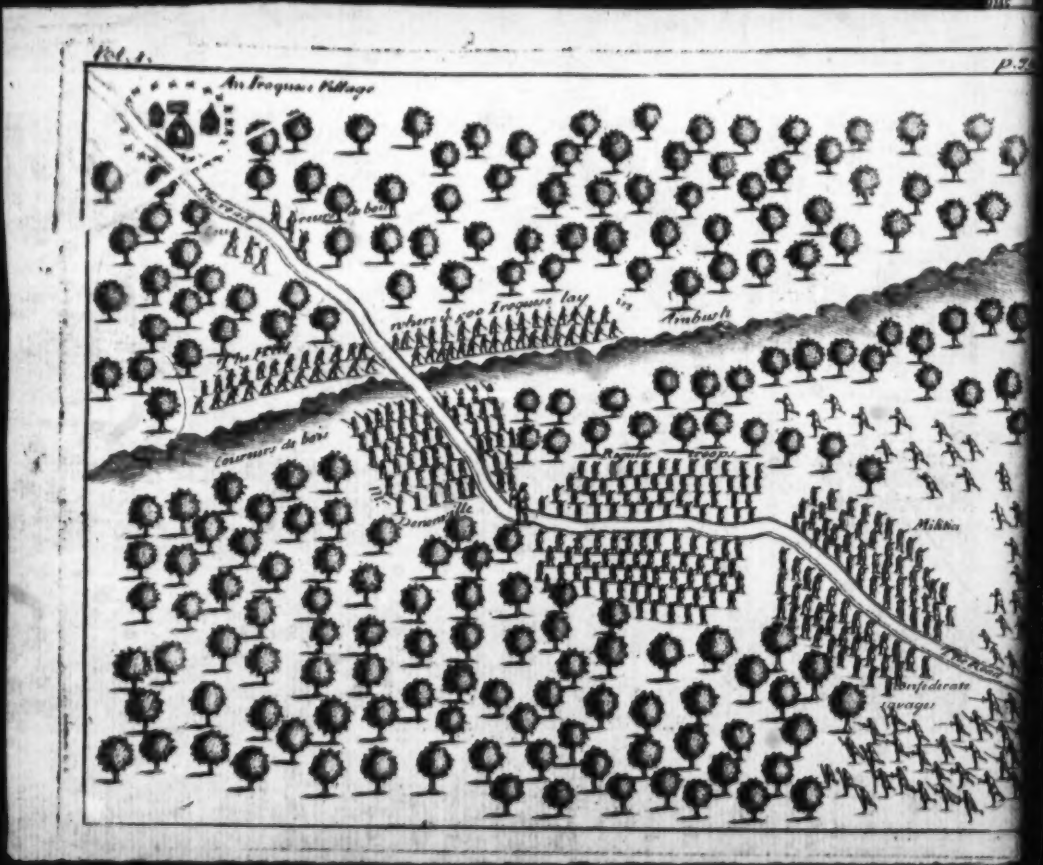
the

the whole courſe of his Life: At laſt, after many Sighs and Groans, he bow'd down his Head, and wrap'd himſelf up in Silence. *Quæque poteſt narrat, reſtabant ultima flevit.* But this was not the only thing that affected me, when I beheld the miſery of theſe innocent Creatures: I ſaw ſome young Savages of our ſide burn their Fingers with Fire in their lighted Pipes; which provok'd me to threſh 'em ſoundly: but I was ſeverely reprimanded for my pains, and confin'd to my Tent for five or ſix days, where I only repented that I had not dealt my blows in a double meaſure. Theſe Savages reſented the matter ſo highly, that they ran preſently to their Hutts, and flew to their Fuſees, in order to kill me. Nay, all that could be done was ſcarce ſufficient to appeaſe 'em; for the Diſpute came to that heighth, that they would have left us, if it had not been that our Men aſſur'd 'em I was ‖ drunk, that all the *French* were prohibited to give me either Wine or Brandy, and that I ſhould certainly be impriſon'd as ſoon as the Campaign were over. However, the poor Wretches, the Priſoners, were carried to *Quebec*; from whence they are to be ſent to the *French* Galleys. Much about that time, the Sieur *de la Foreſt*, one of the Mr. *de la Salle*'s Officers, arriv'd at the Fort in a great Canow, being conducted thither by eight or ten *Coureurs de Bois*. He gave Mr. *de Denonville* to underſtand, that a Party of the *Illineſe* and the *Oumamis* waited for the *Hurons* and the *Outaouas* at the Lake of *St. Claire*, in order to joyn 'em, and to march with joint Forces to the River of the *Tſonontouans*, that being the place of their general Rendezvous. He added, that in the Lake of the *Hurons* near *Miſſilimakinac*, Mr. *de la Durantaie*, aſſiſted by the Savages, our Allies, had taken an *Engliſh* Company conducted by ſome *Iroqueſe*, who had fifty thouſand

‖ *Among the Savages, drunken Perſons are always excus'd: for, the Bottle attones for all Crimes.*

thouſand Crowns-worth of Goods in their Canows, to be diſpos'd of in exchange with the Nations that dwell upon theſe Lakes: as alſo, That Mr. *Dulhut* had taken another *Engliſh* Convoy, being aſſiſted by the *Coureurs de Bois*, and the Savages, who had ſhar'd the former Capture; and that he had kept the *Engliſh* and *Iroqueſe* as Priſoners, as well as their Commander, who was call'd Major *Gregory*. In fine, he repreſented to Mr. *de Denonville*, that 'twas high time for him to ſet out from Fort *Frontenac*, if he mean'd to appear at the general Rendezvous, where the Auxiliary Troops ſent from the Lakes would arrive very ſpeedily. The next day, being the 3d of *July*, the Sieur *de la Foreſt* embarqued again for *Niagara*, and ſteer'd to the North-ſide of the Lake. At the ſame time we embarqued, and ſtood to the oppoſite ſide of the Lake, being favour'd by the Calms which in that Month are very common.

By good luck, our whole Body arriv'd almoſt at one and the ſame time in the River of the *Tſonontouans*; and upon that occaſion, the Savages, our Allies, who draw Predictions from the moſt trifling Accidents, ſhew'd their wonted Superſtition in taking this for an infallible Preſage of the utter Deſtruction of the *Iroqueſe*: tho' after all they prov'd falſe Prophets, as you will find by the ſequel of this Letter. The ſame Night that we Landed, we hawl'd our Canows and Boats out of the Water, and ſet a ſtrong Guard upon 'em. This done, we built a Fort of Stakes or Pales, where we left the Sieur *Dorvilliers* with four hundred Men to guard our Shipping and Baggage. The next day, a young *Canadeſe*, call'd *Fontaine Marion*, was unjuſtly ſhot to death. His caſe ſtood thus: Having travell'd frequently all over this Continent, he was perfectly well acquainted with the Country, and with the Savages of *Canada*; and after the doing of ſeveral good Services to the King, deſir'd Leave from the Governour general to continue


Vol. 1.
p. 76
An Iroquois Village
Ambush
where 2 000 Iroquois lay in
Coureurs de bois
Regular troops
Militia
Confederate Savages

nue his Travels, in order to carry on ſome little Trade: but his Requeſt was never granted. Upon that he reſolv'd to remove to *New England*, the two Crowns being then in Peace. The Planters of *New England* gave him a very welcome Reception; for he was an active Fellow, and one that underſtood almoſt all the Languages of the Savages. Upon this Conſideration he was employ'd to conduct the two *Engliſh* Convoys I ſpoke of but now, and had the Misfortune to be taken along with them. Now, to my mind, the Uſage he met with from us was extream hard; for, we are in Peace with *England*: and beſides, that Crown lays Claim to the Property of the Lakes of *Canada*.

The next Day we began our March towards the great Village of the *Tſonontouans*, without any other Proviſions than ten Biskets a Man, which every one carry'd for himſelf. We had but ſeven Leagues to march in a great Wood of tall Trees, upon a ſmooth even Ground. The *Coureurs de Bois*, with a Party of the Savages, led the Van, and the reſt of the Savages brought up the Rear, our Regular Troops and our Militia being poſted in the middle. The firſt Day the Army march'd four Leagues, and the advanc'd Guards made no Diſcovery. The ſecond Day our advanc'd Parties march'd up to the very Fields of the Village without perceiving any thing, tho' they paſt within a Piſtol-ſhot of five hundred *Tſonontouans*, who lay flat upon the Ground, and ſuffer'd 'em to paſs and repaſs without moleſtation. Upon their Intelligence we march'd up with equal Precipitation and Confuſion, being bouy'd up with the Apprehenſion that the *Iroqueſe* had fled, and that at leaſt their Women, Children, and ſuperannuated Perſons would fall into our hands. When we arriv'd at the bottom of the Hill upon which the Ambuſcade was plac'd, at the diſtance of a quarter of a League from the Village, they began to raiſe their wonted Cry, which

was

was follow'd by the firing of ſome Muskets. Had you but ſeen, Sir, what Diſorder our Troops and Militia were in amidſt the thick Trees, you would have joyn'd with me, in thinking that ſeveral thouſands of *Europeans* are no more than a ſufficient number to make head againſt five hundred Barbarians. Our Battalions were divided into ſtraggling Parties, who fell in to the right and left, without knowing where they went. Inſtead of firing upon the *Iroqueſe*, we fir'd upon one another. 'Twas to no purpoſe to call in the Soldiers of ſuch and ſuch a Battalion, for we could not ſee thirty Paces off: In fine, we were ſo diſorder'd, that the Enemy were going to cloſe in upon us with their Clubs in their hands; when the Savages of our ſide having rally'd, repuls'd the Enemy, and purſu'd 'em to their Villages with ſo much fury, that they brought off the Heads of eighty, and wounded a great many. In this Action we loſt ten Savages, and a hundred *French*: We had twenty or two and twenty wounded, in which number was the good Father *Angeleran* the Jeſuit, who receiv'd a Musket-ſhot in thoſe Parts which *Origen* choſe to lop off, in order to qualify himſelf for inſtructing the Fair Sex without the diſturbance of Paſſion, or the danger of Scandal. When the Savages brought in the Heads of their Enemies to Mr. *de Denonville*, they ask'd him why he halted, and did not march up? He made Anſwer, That he could not leave his wounded Men behind, and that he thought it proper to encamp, that the Surgeons might have time to dreſs their Wounds. To obviate this Pretence, the Savages offer'd to make Litters for the tranſporting of 'em to the Village that lay but a little way off. But our General did not approve of their Advice; upon which, notwithſtanding his Remonſtrances, they drew up into a Body, and tho' they conſiſted of ten different Nations, agreed in a joynt Reſolution of purſuing their Enemy, in hopes of taking, at leaſt

leaſt their Women, their Old-men, and their Children. Our General being acquainted with their Reſolution, gave 'em to know, that he earneſtly deſir'd they would reſt for one day, and not depart from his Camp, and that the next day he would burn their Villages, and ſtarve 'em to Death by ſpoiling their Crops. But they took this Compliment ſo ill, that moſt of 'em return'd to their own Country; remonſtrating, 'That the *French* came out to fetch a Walk, 'rather than to wage War, ſince they would not 'take the Advantage of the beſt Opportunity in the 'World: That their Ardour, like a flaſh of Fire, 'was extinguiſh'd as ſoon as kindled: That 'twas a 'fruitleſs Adventure, to draw together ſo many 'Warriours, from all Parts, to burn ſome Hutts of 'Bark, that the Enemy could rebuild in four days: 'That the *Tſonontouans* did not matter the ſpoiling of 'their Corn, for that the other *Iroqueſe* Nations were 'able to ſupply 'em: And in fine, That ſince they 'had joyn'd the *French* twice together to no purpoſe, 'they would never truſt 'em for the future, in ſpite 'of all the Remonſtrances they could make. Some are of the opinion, that Mr. *de Denonville* ought to have gone farther; and others affirm, that 'twas impoſſible for him to do more than he did. For my part, I ſhall not venture upon any Deciſion of the matter; thoſe who ſit at the Helm are moſt liable to be perplex'd. To purſue the bare matter of Fact; we march'd next day to the great Village, and carry'd our wounded Men upon Litters: but we found nothing there but Aſhes; for the *Iroqueſe* had burnt the Village themſelves, by way of Precaution. Then we ſpent five or ſix days in cutting down the *Indian* Corn with our Swords. From thence we march'd to the two little Villages of the *Thegaronhies* and the *Danoncaritaoui*, which lay about two or three Leagues off. Having done the like Exploits there, we return'd to the Lake ſide. In all theſe Villages we found

found plenty of Horſes, black Cattel, Fowl, and Hogs. All the Country round afforded us a very charming, pleaſant, and even Proſpect. The Foreſts thro which we march'd were repleniſh'd with Oak, Wall-nut, and wild Cheſnut-Trees.

Two days after we imbarqu'd for *Niagara*, which lay thirty Leagues off, and arriv'd there in four days. As ſoon as the Troops had debarqu'd, we imploy'd 'em in making a Fort of Pales with four Baſtions, which was finiſh'd in three days. Here we mean to leave 120 Soldiers under the command of Mr. *des Bergeres*, with Ammunition and Proviſions for eight Months. The Fort ſtands on the South ſide of the Streight of *Herrie* Lake, upon a Hill; at the foot of which, that Lake falls into the Lake of *Frontenac*. Yeſterday the Savages our Allies took leave of Mr. *de Denonville*, and made a Speech after their uſual manner; in which, among other things, they inſinuated, That they were pleas'd to ſee a Fort ſo conveniently plac'd, which might favour their retreat upon any Expedition againſt the *Iroqueſe*; That they depended upon his promiſe, of continuing the War till the five Nations ſhould be either deſtroy'd or diſpoſſeſs'd of their Country; That they earneſtly deſir'd that part of the Army ſhould take the Field out of hand, and continue in it both Winter and Summer, for that they would certainly do the ſame on their part; and in fine, That for as much as their Alliance with *France* was chiefly grounded upon the promiſes the *French* made of liſtening to no Propoſals of Peace, till the five Nations ſhould be quite extirpated; they therefore hop'd they would be as good as their Word; eſpecially conſidering that a Ceſſation of Arms would ſully the honour of the *French*, and infallibly diſengage their Allies. Mr. *de Denonville* gave them freſh aſſurances of his intention to carry on the War, in ſpite of all the efforts of the *Iroqueſe*; and in a word,

word, proteſted that he would proſecute this deſign ſo vigorouſly, that in the end theſe *Barbarians* ſhould be either quite cut off, or oblig'd to ſhift their Seats.

The General call'd for me that very day, and acquainted me, that in regard I underſtood the Language of the Savages, I was to go with a Detachment to cover their Country purſuant to their Requeſt. At the ſame time he aſſur'd me, he would inform the Court of the Reaſons that mov'd him to detain me in *Canada*, notwithſtanding that he had orders to give me leave to go home. You may eaſily gueſs, Sir, that I was thunderſtruck with theſe News, when I had fed my ſelf all along with the hopes of returning to *France*, and promoting my Intereſt, which is now ſo much thwarted. However, I was forc'd to be contented; for the greater Power bears the ſway all the World over. Purſuant to my orders, I made all ſuitable preparations for my Voyage, without loſs of time. I took leave of my Friends, who ſingled out the beſt Soldiers for me; and made me Preſents of Cloaths, Tobacco, Books, and an infinity of other things, that they could ſpare without any inconveniency, becauſe they were then upon their return to the Colony, which affords every thing that one can deſire. By good luck, I brought my Aſtrolabe with me from *Monreal*, which will enable me to take the Latitudes of this Lake, and to make ſeveral other uſeful Obſervations; for in all appearance, I ſhall be out two years or ſuch a matter. The Men of my Detachment are brisk proper fellows, and my Canows are both new and large. I am to go along with Mr. *Dulhut*, a *Lions* Gentleman, who is a Perſon of great Merit, and has done his King and his Country very conſiderable Services. Mr. *de Tonti* makes another of our Company; and a Company of Savages is to follow us. Mr. *de Denonville* will ſet out for

for the Colony by the North ſide of the Lake of *Frontenac*, in two or three days. He deſigns to leave at Fort *Frontenac*, a number of Men and Ammunition equal to what he leaves here. I herewith tranſmit ſome Letters for my Relations, which I beg you would convey to their Hands. If I meet with any opportunity, I'll ſend you a Journal of my Voyage the next year. In the mean time, I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

LETTER XIV.

Dated at *Miſſilimakinac May* 26. 1688.

The Author leaves Niagara, *and has an Incounter with the* Iroqueſe *at the end of the Land-Carriage. The after part of his Voyage. A Deſcription of the Country. He arrives at Fort St.* Joſeph *in the Mouth of the Lake of* Hurons. *A Detachment of the* Hurons *arrive at the ſame place. After an Ingagement, they ſet out for* Miſſilimakinac. *A ſtrange Adventure of Mr.* de la Salle's *Brother.* Miſſilimakinac *deſcrib'd.*

SIR,

I Am at a loſs to determine whether 'tis owing to Stupidity, or greatneſs of Mind, that the loſs of my Eſtate, which I infallibly foreſee, do's not at all affect me. Your Letter is but too ſhrewd a confirmation of my Prophecy: However, I cannot but purſue your ſeaſonable advice in writing to Court;

for

in the mean time ſuffer me to ſatisfie my promiſe, in preſenting you with a relation of my Voyages.

I imbarqued at *Niagara Auguſt* 3. on board a Canow mann'd with eight Soldiers of my Detachment; and after running three Leagues againſt the Current of the Streight, came that ſame day to the place where the Navigation ſtops. There I met with the Sieur *Griſolon de la Tourette*, Brother to Mr. *Dulhut*, who had ventur'd to come from *Miſſilimakinac* with a ſingle Canow to joyn the Army. The *4th* we commenc'd our great Land-Carriage to the Southward, being oblig'd to tranſport our Canows from a League and a half below the great Fall of *Niagara*, to half a League above it. Before we got at any beaten or level Path, we were forc'd to climb up three Mountains, upon which an hundred *Iroqueſe* might have knock'd us all on the head with Stones. While we were imploy'd in this tranſport Service, we were alarm'd twice or thrice; which caus'd us to keep a ſtrict guard, and to tranſport our Baggage with all poſſible Expedition: Nay, after all our precautions we were forc'd to leave one half of our Baggage about half way, upon the diſcovery of a thouſand *Iroqueſe* that march'd towards us. Do you judge, Sir, if we had not ſome reaſon to be alarm'd; and whether we would ſtand to Sacrifice all to the natural principle of Self preſervation; tho' indeed we were in danger of loſing our Lives as well as our Baggage: for we had not imbarqued above the Fall half a quarter of an hour, when the Enemy appear'd upon the Streight ſide. I aſſure you, I 'ſcap'd very narrowly; for about a quarter of an hour before, I and three or four Savages had gone five hundred paces out of our Road, to look upon that fearful Cataract; and 'twas as much as I could do, to get at the Canows before they put off. To be taken by ſuch cruel Fel-

lows, was to me no trifling thing. *Il morir e niente, ma il vivere brugiando & troppo. To die is nothing, but to live in the midſt of Fire * is too much.*

* The Priſoners taken by the *Iroqueſe* are frequently burnt.

As for the Waterfall of *Niagara*; 'tis ſeven or eight hundred foot high, and half a League broad. Towards the middle of it we deſcry an Iſland that leans towards the Precipice, as if it were ready to fall. All the Beaſts that croſs the Water within half a quarter of a League above this unfortunate Iſland, are ſuck'd in by force of the Stream: And the Beaſts and Fiſh that are thus kill'd by the prodigious fall, ſerve for food to fifty *Iroqueſe*, who are ſetled about two Leagues off, and take 'em out of the water with their Canows. Between the ſurface of the water that ſhelves off prodigiouſly, and the foot of the Precipice, three Men may croſs in a breaſt without any other dammage, than a ſprinkling of ſome few drops of water.

To return to the Story of the thouſand *Iroqueſe*; I muſt tell you, that we croſs'd the Streight with all the vigour we were maſters of, and after rowing all Night, arriv'd next Morning at the mouth of the Lake, which appear'd to be indifferent rapid. Then we were ſecure from all danger, for the *Iroqueſe* Canows are ſo dull and large, that they cannot ſail near ſo quick as thoſe made of Birch-bark. The former are made of Elm-bark, which is very heavy, and their form is very aukard; for they are ſo long and broad that thirty Men row in them, two abreaſt, whether ſitting or ſtanding, and the ſides are ſo low, that they dare not venture 'em upon the Lakes, tho' the wind be very ſlack. We coaſted along the North-Coaſt of the Lake of *Erie*, being favour'd by the Calms, which are in a manner conſtant in that ſeaſon, eſpecially in the Southern Countries. Upon the brink of this Lake we frequently ſaw flocks

flocks of fifty or ſixty Turkey's, which run incredibly faſt upon the Sands: And the Savages of our Company kill'd great numbers of 'em, which they gave to us in exchange for the Fiſh that we catch'd. The 25*th* we arriv'd at a long point of Land which ſhoots out 14 or 15 Leagues into the Lake; and the heat being exceſſive, we choſe to tranſport our Boats and Baggage two hundred paces over-land, rather than coaſt about for thirty five Leagues. *Septemb.* 6. We enter'd the Streight of the Lake of *Huron*, where we met with a ſlack Current of half a League in breadth, that continued till we arriv'd in the Lake of St. *Claire*, which is twelve Leagues in Circumference. The 8*th* of the ſame Month we ſteer'd on to the other end, from whence we had but ſix Leagues to run againſt the ſtream, till we arriv'd in the Mouth of the Lake of *Hurons*, where we landed on the 14*th*. You cannot imagine the pleaſant proſpect of this Streight, and of the little Lake; for their banks are cover'd with all ſorts of wild Fruit-Trees. 'Tis true, the want of Agriculture ſinks the agreeableneſs of the Fruit; but their plenty is very ſurpriſing. We ſpy'd no other Animals upon the ſhoar, but Herds of Harts, and Roe-bucks: And when we came to little Iſlands, we ſcour'd 'em, in order to oblige theſe Beaſts to croſs over to the Continent, upon which they offering to ſwim over, were knock'd on the head by our Canow-men that were planted all round the Iſlands. After our arrival at the Fort, of which I was order'd to take poſſeſſion, Mr. *Dulhut* and Mr. *de Tonti* had a mind to reſt themſelves for ſome days, as well as the Savages that accompany'd us. This Fort, which was built by Mr. *Dulhut*, was Garriſon'd upon his own charges by the *Coureurs de Bois*, who had taken care to ſow in it ſome Buſhels of *Turkey*-Wheat, which afforded a plentiful Crop, that prov'd of great uſe to me. The Garriſon ſurrendred their Poſt ve-

ry chearfully to my Detachment; and then purſued their Commerce with our Savages, for every one had leave to go where he pleas'd. This gave me an opportunity of ſending two Canows under a guard of Soldiers, to diſpoſe of a great Roll of Tobacco of 200 weight, that Mr. *Dulhut* had kindly preſented me with; for that honeſt Gentleman inform'd me, that my Soldiers might eaſily purchaſe Corn in exchange for Tobacco, ſooner than for any other Commodities. I am oblig'd to him as long as I live; but I am much affraid, the Treaſurer of the Navy will make him no better compenſation for this piece of Service, than for a thouſand other diſburſements upon the King's account. The Soldiers I ſent with the Tobacco, return'd in the latter end of *November*, and brought with 'em the Reverend Father *Avenau* the Jeſuit, who found no occaſion to trouble himſelf with preaching up Abſtinence from Meat in the time of *Lent*. They brought advice, that a Party of the *Hurons* being prepar'd to march out of their Villages, to attack the *Iroqueſe* Beaver-hunters, would ſpeedily repair to the Fort to reſt themſelves. In the mean time I waited with impatience for the arrival of one *Turett*, and four more of the *Coureurs de Bois*, who were to come to me in the beginning of *December*, along with ſome other Huntſmen that Mr. *de Denonville* had promis'd to ſend me: But hearing nothing of 'em, and our Commons being at that time very ſhort, I ſhould have been very much pinch'd, if four young *Canadeſe* who were expert Huntſmen, had not tarry'd with me all Winter. The above-mention'd Party of the *Hurons* arriv'd *Decemb.* 2. being headed by one *Saentſouan*, who left me his Canow and his Baggage, to keep till he return'd; for he could not poſſibly continue his Navigation longer, upon the account that the ſurface of the water began then to be cover'd with Ice. Theſe Savages choſe to march

over-

over-land to the Fort of *Niagara*, where they expected to receive intelligence before they enter'd the Country of the *Iroqueſe*. They march'd ten days, *i. e.* fifty Leagues, without ſeeing one Soul. But at laſt their Scouts perceiv'd the foot-ſteps of ſome Huntſmen, which they trac'd at a great pace for a whole Night, the Snow being then a foot deep. Towards the break of day they return'd, and gave notice to their Fellow-Adventurers, that they had diſcover'd ſix Hutts, with ten Men lodg'd in each of 'em. Upon this Intelligence the whole party made a halt, in order to paint their faces, to prepare their Arms, and to concert proper Meaſures. The attack was ſo form'd, that two Men made ſoftly up to the two doors of the Hutts with their Clubs in their Hands, to knock down any one that offer'd to come out, while the reſt were imploy'd in firing their pieces. And the Action was crown'd with wonderful Succeſs; for the *Iroqueſe* being ſurpriz'd and ſhut up in their bark Priſons, there was but two out of ſixty four that made their eſcape; and theſe two being naked and deſtitute of Fire-Arms, could not but periſh in the Woods. Three of the *Hurons* indeed were kill'd upon the ſpot, but to attone for that loſs, the Agreſſors carry'd off fourteen Priſoners, and four Women. This done, they march'd back to my Fort with all poſſible Expedition. Among the Captive Slaves, there were three who had made part of the number of the 1000 *Iroqueſe* that thought to have ſurpris'd us the year before, when we were imploy'd in the great Land-Carriage at *Niagara*. They gave us to underſtand, that the Fort of *Niagara* was block'd up by eight hundred *Iroqueſe*, who mean'd to appear before my Poſt without any delay. This troubleſom piece of news gall'd me to the laſt degree, for fear of being reduc'd to extremities; and with that view I was a very nice Husband of what Corn I had

left. I was not apprehenſive of being attack'd by 'em, for the Savages never fight fairly, neither do they ever attempt to pull up Paliſſadoes; but I was affraid that they would ſtarve us out by cramping our Huntſmen in their due range. However, the *Hurons* continuing fifteen days in my Fort to refreſh themſelves, I us'd the precaution of ingaging them to aſſiſt my Huntſmen in providing Meat: But as ſoon as they took leave of me in order to return home, our hunting was at at end, and the Gates were kept ſhut.

At laſt, finding that my Proviſions were almoſt out, I reſolv'd to go to *Miſſilimakinac*, to buy up Corn from the *Hurons* and the *Outaouans*. Accordingly, having left ſome Soldiers to guard the Fort in my abſence, I imbarqu'd with the reſt of my Detachment on the firſt of *April*, with a gentle South-Eaſt Gale; by the help of which we inſenſibly croſs'd the Bay of *Saguinan*. That little Gulf is ſix hours over, and in the middle of it there are two little Iſlands, which afford a very ſeaſonable ſhelter when a wind ariſes in the croſſing over. Before you have croſs'd this Bay, the Coaſt is all a long full of Rocks and Shelves, one of which that I ſaw was ſix Leagues broad: But above it the Coaſt is clean and low, eſpecially towards the Sand-River, which lies half way between that Bay and a place call'd *l'Anſe du Tonnere*. Now this laſt place is reckon'd thirty Leagues off the Bay. Having paſt that, we had but thirty Leagues more to ſail; which we did without any danger, by the help of an Eaſt-South-Eaſt Gale, that ſwell'd the Waves prodigiouſly. In the Mouth of the *Illineſe* Lake we met the party of the *Hurons* that I mention'd before; and four or five hundred *Outaouas*, who were bound home, after having ſpent the Winter in hunting of Beavers upon the River of *Saguinan*. Both they and we were forc'd to lye by in that place for three or four

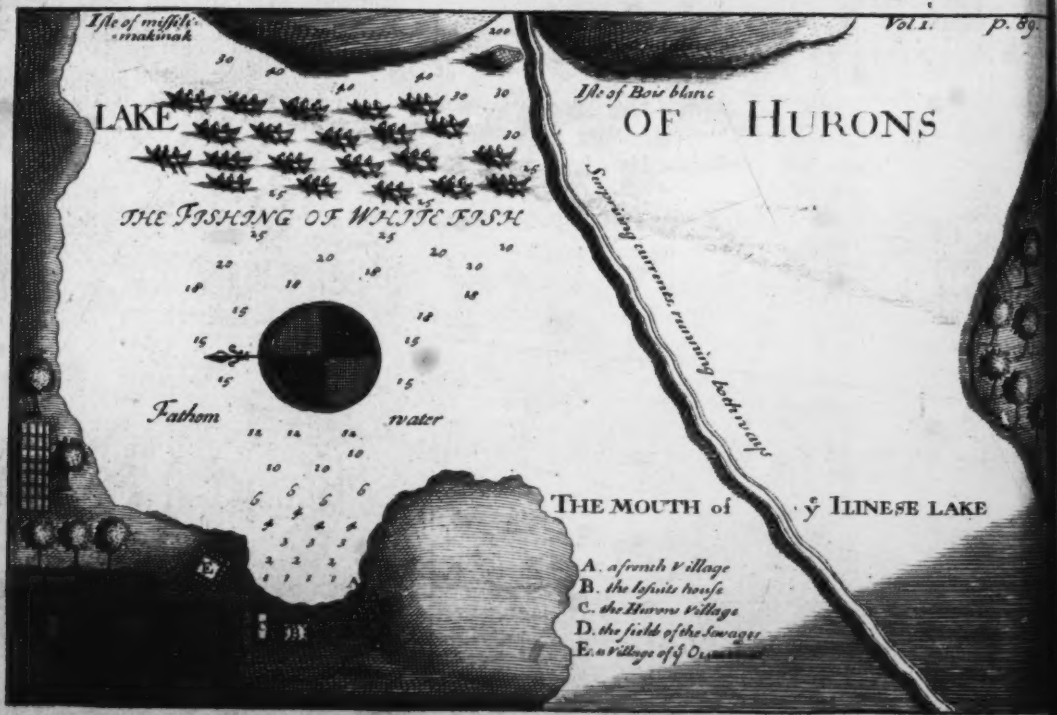
four days, by reaſon of the Ice: After which the Lake was clear'd, and we croſs'd it together. When the *Hurons* came aſhoar, they conſulted among themſelves how to diſpoſe of their Slaves: After which they made a Preſent of one of 'em to Mr. *de Fuchereau*, who commanded in that place; but the poor wretch was preſently ſhot to Death. Another of 'em was preſented to the *Outaouas*, who granted him his Life, for ſuch reaſons as you would eaſily apprehend, if you were better acquainted with the policy and cunning of that ſort of Men, whom you now take for Beaſts.

I arriv'd in this place on the 18*th* of *April*, and my uneaſineſs and trouble took date from the day of my arrival: For I found the *Indian* Corn ſo ſcarce by reaſon of the preceding bad Harveſts, that I deſpair'd of finding half ſo much as I wanted. But after all, I am hopeful, that two Villages will furniſh me with almoſt as much as I have occaſion for. Mr. *Cavelier* arriv'd here *May* 6, being accompany'd with his Nephew, Father *Anaſtaſe* the Recollet, a Pilot, one of the Savages, and ſome few *Frenchmen*, which made a ſort of a party-colour'd Retinue. Theſe *Frenchmen* were ſome of thoſe that Mr. *de la Salle* had conducted upon the diſcovery of *Miſſiſipi*. They give out, that they are ſent to *Canada*, in order to go to *France*, with ſome Diſpatches from Mr. *de la Salle* to the King: But we ſuſpect that he is dead, becauſe he do's not return along with 'em. I ſhall not ſpend time in taking notice of their great Journey over-land; which by the account they give cannot be leſs than eight hundred Leagues.

Miſſilimakinac, the place I am now in, is certainly a place of great Importance. It lies in the Latitude of forty five Degrees, and thirty Minutes; but as for its Longitude, I have nothing to ſay of it, for reaſons mention'd in my ſecond Letter. 'Tis not above half a League diſtant from the *Illineſe* Lake,

an account of which, and indeed of all the other Lakes, you may expect else-where. Here the *Hurons* and *Outaouas* have, each of 'em, a Village; the one being sever'd from the other by a single Palissadoe: But the *Outaouas* are beginning to build a Fort upon a Hill, that stands but 1000 or 1200 paces off. This Precaution they were prompted to by the murder of a certain *Huron*, call'd *Sandaouires*, who was assassinated in the *Saguinan* River by four young *Outaouas*. In this place the Jesuits have a little House, or Colledge adjoyning to a sort of a Church, and inclos'd with Pales that separate it from the Village of the *Hurons*. These good Fathers lavish away all their Divinity and Patience to no purpose, in converting such ignorant Infidels: For all the length they can bring 'em to, is, that oftentimes they'll desire Baptism for their dying Children, and some few superannuated Persons consent to receive the Sacrament of Baptism, when they find themselves at the point of Death. The *Coureurs de Bois* have but a very small settlement here; though at the same time 'tis not inconsiderable, as being the Staple of all the Goods that they truck with the South and the West Savages; for they cannot avoid passing this way, when they go to the Seats of the *Illinese*, and the *Oumamis*, or to the Bay *des Puants*, and to the River of *Missisipi*. The Skins which they import from these different places, must lye here some time before they are transported to the Colony. *Missilimakinac* is situated very advantageously; for the *Iroquese* dare not venture with their sorry Canows, to cross the Streight of the *Illinese* Lake, which is two Leagues over; besides that the Lake of the *Hurons* is too rough for such slender Boats: And as they cannot come to it by Water, so they cannot approach to it by Land, by reason of the Marshes, Fens, and little Rivers, which 'twould be very difficult to cross; not to mention that the Streight of the *Illinese* Lake lies still in their way.

You


Isle of missili-makinak
Vol. 1. p. 89.
LAKE
THE FISHING OF WHITE FISH
Fathom
water
Isle of Bois blanc
OF HURONS
Surprising currents running both ways
THE MOUTH of ye ILINESE LAKE
A. a fruitfull village
B. the Iesuits house
C. the Hurons village
D. the fields of the Sawages
E. a village of ye O

You can ſcarce believe, Sir, what vaſt ſholes of white Fiſh are catch'd about the middle of the Channel, between the Continent and the Iſle of *Miſſilimakinac*. The *Outaouas* and the *Hurons* could never ſubſiſt here, without that Fiſhery; for they are oblig'd to travel above twenty Leagues in the Woods, before they can kill any Harts or Elks, and 'twould be an infinite fatigue to carry their Carcaſes ſo far over Land. This ſort of white Fiſh in my opinion, is the only one in all theſe Lakes that can be call'd good; and indeed it goes beyond all other ſorts of River Fiſh. Above all, it has one ſingular property, namely, that all ſorts of Sauces ſpoil it, ſo that 'tis always eat either boil'd or broil'd, without any manner of ſeaſoning. In the Channel I now ſpeak of the Currents are ſo ſtrong, that they ſometimes ſuck in the Nets, though they are two or three Leagues off. In ſome ſeaſons, it ſo falls out that the Currents run three days Eaſtward, two days to the Weſt, one to the South, and four Northward; ſometimes more, and ſometimes leſs. The cauſe of this diverſity of Currents could never be fathom'd, for in a calm, they'l run in the ſpace of one day to all the points of the Compaſs, *i. e.* ſometimes one way, ſometimes another, without any limitation of time; ſo that the deciſion of this matter muſt be left to the Diſciples of *Copernicus*. Here the Savages catch Trouts as bigh as one's Thigh, with a ſort of Fiſhing-Hook made in the form of an Awl, and made faſt to a piece of Braſs wire, which is joyn'd to the Line that reaches to the bottom of the Lake. This ſort of Fiſhery is carried on not only with Hooks, but with Nets, and that in Winter, as well as in Summer: For they make holes in the Ice at a certain diſtance one from another, thro' which they conduct the Nets with Poles. The *Outaouas* and the *Hurons* have very pleaſant Fields, in which they ſow *Indian* Corn, Peaſe,

and

and Beans, beſides a ſort of Citruls, and Melons, which differs much from ours, and of which I ſhall take occaſion to ſpeak in another place. Sometimes, theſe Savages ſell their Corn very dear, eſpecially when the Beaver-hunting happens not to take well: Upon which occaſion they make ſufficient repriſals upon us for the extravagant price of our Commodities.

As ſoon as I have bought up ſixty ſacks of Corn, each of which may weigh fifty pound, I am to march with my Detachment alone to St. *Mary*'s Fort, in order to ingage the *Sauteurs* or the Inhabitants of *Saut Saint Marie*, to joyn the *Outaouas*; after which we mean to march with joynt Forces to the Country of the *Iroqueſe*. Beſides theſe, there's a party of a hundred *Hurons* ready to march, under the Command of the great Leader *Adario*, whom the *French* call the *Rat*; but they do not march our way. I ſhall write to you with the firſt Opporunity after my return from this Expedition. Perhaps the Jeſuits will ſend your Letters for me along with Mr. *Denonville*'s to Fort St. *Joſeph*, where I am to reſide. I ſhall expect their arrival with the utmoſt impatience. In the mean time I ſend you a Letter directed to Mr. *de Seignelai*, the purport of which I have here ſubjoyn'd. 'Twill be a very ſenſible obligation laid upon me, if you vouchſafe to believe that I always am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

LET-

The Letter directed to Mr. de Seignelay.

Honoured Sir,

I Am the Son of a Gentleman that ſpent three hundred thouſand Crowns in deepening the Water of the two *Gaves* of *Bearn*: He had the good luck to compaſs his End by conveying a great many Brooks to theſe two Rivers; and the Current of the *Adour* was by that means ſo far ſtrengthen'd as to render the Bar of *Bayonne* paſſable by a fifty Gun Ship, whereas in former times a Frigot of ten Guns durſt not venture over it. 'Twas in conſideration of this great and ſucceſsful Attempt, that his Majeſty granted to my Father and his Heirs for ever, certain Duties and Taxes, amounting to the Sum of three thouſand Livres a Year. This Grant was confirm'd by an Act of the Council of State, dated *January* 9. 1658, Sign'd *Boſſuet*, Collated, *&c.* Another Advantage accruing to the King and the Province from my Father's Services, conſiſts in the bringing down of Maſts and Yards from the *Pyrenean* Mountains, which could never have been effected, if he had not by his Care, and by the diſburſing of immenſe Sums, enlarged the quantity of Water in the *Gave* of *Oleron* to a double proportion. Theſe Duties and Taxes which had been juſtly intail'd upon him and his Heirs, ceas'd to be ours when he dy'd; and to inflame the Diſgrace, I loſt his Places, *viz.* that of being a Honorary Judge of the Parliament of *Pau*, and Chief Juſtice in Eyre for the Province of *Bearn*; all which were mine by Inheritance. Theſe Loſſes are now follow'd by an unjuſt Seizure that ſome pretended Creditors have made of the Barony of *la Hontan*,

tan, of a piece of Ground that lies contiguous to it, and of a hundred thouſand Livres that lay in the hands of the Chamber of *Bayonne*. Theſe faithleſs Creditors have no other reaſon to ſue me, but that I am now in the fagg end of the World, and that they are rich, and ſupported by the Credit and Protection of the Parliament of *Paris*, where they hope to make good their unjuſt Pretenſions in my Abſence. Laſt Year I obtain'd Leave to return to *France*, in order to take care of this matter; but now Mr. *de Denonville* has ſent me with a Detachment to theſe Lakes; from whence I humbly petition that your Honour would vouchſafe me Leave to come home the next Year, and at the ſame time honour me with your Protection. I am, with all poſſible reſpect,

Your Honours, &c.

LETTER XV.

Dated at *Miſſilimakinac*, *Sept.* 18. 1688.

Deſcribing the Fall call'd Saut St. Marie, *where the Author perſwades the Inhabitants to joyn the* Outaouas, *and march againſt the* Iroqueſe. *And containing an Account of the Occurrences of the Voyage between that Place and* Miſſilimakinac.

SIR,

I Am now return'd from the *Iroqueſe* Country, and have quitted the Fort of *St. Joſeph*, againſt my Will. I cannot allow my ſelf to doubt, but that you took care of the Letter directed for Mr. *de Seigneley*, which I tranſmitted to you three Months ago.

I ſet

I ſet out from hence in my Canow, *June* 2. And after my Arrival at the Water-fall call'd *Saut Sainte Marie*, I perſwaded forty young Warlike Fellows to joyn the Party of the *Outaouas* that I mention'd in my laſt. This *Saut Sainte Marie* is a Cataract, or rather a Water-fall of two Leagues in length, which gives vent to the Waters of the upper Lake, and at the bottom of which, not far from the Jeſuits Houſe, there's a Village of the *Outchipoues*, alias *Sauteurs*. This Place is a great Thoroughfare for the *Coureurs de Bois* that trade with the Northern People, who uſually repair to the brinks of that Lake in the Summer. The continual Fogg that riſes from the upper Lake, and ſpreads over the adjacent Country, renders the Ground ſo barren, that it bears no Corn. The 13th of the ſame Month I ſet out from the abovementi-on'd Village, being accompany'd by the forty young *Sauteurs*, who embark'd in five Canows, each of which held eight Men. The 16th we arriv'd at the Iſle of *Detour*, where my Soldiers and the Party of the *Outaouas* had tarry'd for me two days. The firſt day was ſpent by the *Outaouas* and the *Sauteurs* in Warlike Feaſts, Dancing, and Singing, purſuant to their wonted Cuſtom: The next day we all embark'd, and traverſing from Iſle to Iſle, made the Iſland of *Manitoualin* in four days. This Iſland is 25 Leagues long, and ſeven or eight broad. In former times 'twas poſſeſs'd by the *Outaouas* of *Talon*, call'd the *Otontagans*; who were diſlodg'd by the Progreſs of the *Iroqueſe*, that has ruin'd ſo many Nations. We coaſted upon that Iſle a whole day; and being favour'd by a Calm, croſs'd from Iſle to Iſle till we made the Eaſt-ſide of the Lake. In this Paſſage we croſs'd between two Iſlands that were ſix Leagues diſtant the one from the other; and upon that occaſion our Watermen, who were not us'd to venture ſo far out in their ſlender Boats, were fain to tugg hard at their Oars. The Savages ſtood out at firſt, and refus'd to ven-

venture ſo far from Land, for they would rather have gone fifty Leagues about; but at laſt I over-perſwaded 'em, by repreſenting that I would have been very loth to venture my own Perſon, if I had not been ſufficiently provided againſt all danger by an exact knowledge of the Winds and the Storms. The Calm continuing, we made the River of *Theonontaté* on the 25th. The next day there ſprung up a Gale from the Weſt-ſouth-weſt, which kept us back for four or five days; but our ſtop was of no great advantage to us, for it rain'd ſo heavily, that we could not hunt. This Country is the ancient Seat of the *Hurons*, as it appears from the Name they give to their Nations in their own Language, *viz. Theonontateronons, i. e.* the Inhabitants of *Theonontate.* But after the *Iroqueſe* had, upon divers occaſions, taken and defeated great numbers of 'em, the reſt quitted the Country to avoid the like Fate. We re-embark'd on the 29th, and on the 1ſt of *July* arriv'd at Fort *St. Joſeph*, where the Soldiers I had left waited for us with great Impatience. Having landed ſome Sacks Corn at the Fort, we ſet out again on the 3d of *July*, and purſued our Courſe with all diligence, in order to an early Appearance in the *Iroqueſe* Country. We ſail'd through the Streight or Neck, and ſtood to the South-ſide, of the Lake *Erie*; and being favour'd by the Weather, arriv'd on the 17th in the River of *Conde*, which I ſhall have occaſion to take notice of in deſcribing the Lakes of *Canada.* Immediately, upon our Landing, the Savages fell to work in cutting down Trees, and making a Redoubt of Stakes, or Pales, for the Security of our Canows and Baggage, and for a ſafe Retreat to our ſelves in caſe of neceſſity.

The 20th they march'd, each Man being provided with a light Covering, a Bow, and ſome Arrows, (or elſe a Fuſee) and a little Bag containing ten pound weight of the Flowr of the *Indian* Corn. They

They thought it moſt convenient to keep to the Banks of the River, upon which the *Goyogoans* are wont to fiſh for Sturgeon; for that Fiſh, which is ſix foot in length, comes out of the Lakes in hot Weather, and ſwims up the Rivers. They had reſolv'd likewiſe, if they found the Country clear, to march up and ſurpriſe the Villages of the *Goyogoans*: but they were ſoon eas'd of that trouble; for they had not march'd two days when their Scouts deſcry'd three hundred *Iroqueſe*: and on the other hand the *Iroqueſe* ſpy'd them to ſuch purpoſe, that the Scouts eſcap'd very narrowly, and had much ado to return to the body of the Party, which immediately betook themſelves to flight. I was mightily ſurpris'd when I heard the Centinel of our Redoubt cry out, *Aux Armes, our Men are beaten and purſued*; but I was yet more ſurpriz'd when I ſaw the Fugitives run at full ſpeed, when there was no body behind them. When they came up they were all ſilent for half an hour, purſuant to their Uſe and Wont; after which their Leader recounted to me the Particulars of the Adventure. I thought at firſt that their advanc'd Guards had miſtook the number of the Enemies; for I knew that the *Outaouas* had not the Reputation of too much Courage: but the next day a Party of the *Iroqueſe* appear'd in ſight of our Redoubt, which gave me occaſion to believe that they were in the right of it. Nay, this Truth was afterwards confirmed by a certain Slave call'd *Chaouanon*, who made his eſcape to the Redoubt, and aſſur'd me, that the *Iroqueſe* were not leſs than four hundred; to which he added, that they expected to be joyn'd by ſixty more that had march'd ſome Months before to the Country of the *Oumamis*. He inform'd us farther, That while the Marquis *de Denonville* was concerting meaſures for a Peace with the five Nations, an *Engliſhman*, of the Name of *Aria*, accompany'd with ſome others, endeavour'd to diſſwade them from Peace, by Orders

from

from the Governour of *New York*. In the mean time the Savages having preſs'd me to aſſiſt at a Council of War, they propos'd to lie by for a fair Wind, and then to embark. They repreſented, that they deſign'd to ſail to the end of the Lake, where they would infallibly light upon the ſixty *Iroqueſe* that I mention'd above; but withal, that they could not agree to ſet out in a Calm, becauſe that after their quitting the Redoubt, and launching out, a contrary Wind might force 'em aſhore, where their Throats might be cut if the Enemy purſu'd 'em. I reply'd, That 'twas then ſuch fine Weather, that we had nothing to expect but Calms; that if we tarry'd longer in this Place, our Enemies would thereby gain time to make Canows in order to a Purſuit; that ſince the favourableneſs of the Wind was ſo uncertain, we ought to embark without loſs of time; that we might ſail in the Night, and ſculk in the Day-time behind Rocks and Points of Land; and, that by this means the Enemy would be at a loſs to know whether we ſtood to the South or to the North ſide of the Lake. The Savages made Anſwer, That 'twas true their tarrying might be every way prejudicial; but 'twas equally true, that my Expedient was dangerous: However, they conſented to embark along with us, and for that end gumm'd their Canows. We embark'd on the 24th at night, and the Weather being fair, clear, and calm, made a great deal of way that night, and the ſucceeding day. The next Evening we came to an Anchor, deſigning to ſleep for three or four hours, but not to ſtir out of the Canows. About Midnight we weigh'd our little wooden Anchors, and one half of the Men row'd while the other was at reſt. Thus did we continue to ſteer with a great deal of Precaution and Care, rowing all night, and lying by all day.

July 28. when we were lying almoſt all aſleep in a Creek of a little Iſland, the Watch deſcrying ſome Canows

Canows that made towards us, wak'd ſome Savages that had gone a-ſhore to ſleep the more conveniently. The Noiſe having alarm'd us all, we preſently made our ſelves ready to get in head of theſe Canows; but at the ſame time, tho' we were but half a League off, we could not diſtinguiſh who they were, by reaſon that the Sun-beams falling perpendicularly, made the Surface of the Water look like a Looking-glaſs. Indeed there being but two of 'em, we reckon'd they were mann'd with *Iroqueſe*, and that each of 'em contain'd at leaſt twenty Men: upon which ſuſpicion, the Leader of the *Sauteurs* offered to go a-ſhore with his Men, and poſt himſelf at the Entry of a Wood, from whence he would ſoftly follow the Canows without being diſcover'd, till ſuch time as we forc'd 'em a-ſhore. At the ſame time he propos'd that the *Outaouas* and my Detachment ſhould ſuffer 'em to be within a Musket-ſhot of the Iſland before we diſcover'd our ſelves, or offer'd to give 'em chaſe, upon the apprehenſion that if we follow'd 'em cloſer, they would be ſo far from getting on ſhore, that they would fight as deſperate, and chooſe rather to be kill'd or drown'd than to be taken. This Propoſal was lik'd, and every thing was manag'd accordingly. As ſoon as our unknown Enemy perceiv'd us, they made the Shore with all imaginable Precipitation; and juſt when they were going to knock their Priſoners on the Head, the *Sauteurs* fell upon 'em, but miſs'd of their aim in taking 'em all alive; for they fought to the laſt gaſp, like Men that knew no Medium betwixt Conqueſt and Death. *Una ſalus victis nullam ſperare ſalutem.* This Engagement happen'd while we landed: however, the *Sauteurs* came off with Honour, for they loſt only four Men, and of twenty *Iroqueſe* they kill'd three, wounded five, and took the reſt Priſoners, ſo that not one of 'em eſcap'd. The *Iroqueſe* had along with them eighteen Slaves of the *Oumamis*, who were all wounded, and ſeven big-

belly'd Women, from whom we had Intelligence that the reſt of their Party were then upon their Return by Land upon the Banks of the Lake, having thirty four Priſoners, of both Sexes; and that they could not then be far off. When this Intelligence was laid before us, the *Outaouas* were of the opinion that we ſhould reſt ſatisfied with the Feats we had done, upon the Plea that the above-mention'd four hundred *Iroqueſe* would certainly get before us. On the other hand, the *Sauteurs* maintain'd that they had rather periſh than fail to attempt the Reſcue of theſe Priſoners, and the Defeat of the whole Party; and that if no body would ſecond 'em, they would make the Attempt by themſelves. The Bravery of this Reſolution oblig'd me to encourage and egg on the *Outaouas*. I remonſtrated to 'em, that in regard the *Sauteurs* ingroſs'd the Glory of the former Action, they had more reaſon than we to decline the riſque of a ſecond Engagement: that if we refus'd to back 'em, our Cowardice would cover us with everlaſting Infamy: and, that in order to render the Attack more ſecure, we ought to uſe a ſpeedy Precaution in finding out ſome Point or Elbow of Land where our Canows, our Baggage, and our Priſoners might be lodg'd ſafe. The *Outaouas* had a great deal of Reluctancy to the matter; however, after conſulting among themſelves, they comply'd with the Propoſal, more for Shame, than out of true Courage. Having laid down that joint Reſolution, we made up a little ſort of a Fence in ſeven or eight hours, and then ſent out Scouts on all hands, while the main Body was kept in readineſs to march upon the firſt Alarm.

Auguſt 4. two of our Spies return'd upon full ſpeed, to acquaint us that the *Iroqueſe* were not above three Leagues off, and that they advanc'd towards us; and withal, that upon the Road there was a little Brook, upon which an Ambuſcado might be conveniently laid. This Advice animated our Savages ſo much,

that

that they run immediately to take Poſſeſſion of that advantageous Poſt: but they knew not how to make the right uſe of it. The *Outaouas* were too haſty in firing; and by ſhooting at too great a diſtance, gave all the Enemies an opportunity of making their Eſcape, abating for ten or twelve whoſe Heads were brought into the little Fort where I ſtay'd. The Slaves indeed were all retaken, and ſo reſcued from the Cruelty of theſe Tygers; which encourag'd us to reſt ſatisfied. When the Expedition was over, we ſtow'd theſe poor Wretches in our Canows, and ſteer'd with all Expedition to the Streight or Neck of the Lake of *Huron*, which we made on the 13th. We enjoy'd a great deal of Pleaſure in ſtemming the Current of that Streight; the Iſlands of which, that I mention'd above, were cover'd with Roe-bucks. This opportunity we did not ſlight; nor did we grudge our ſtopping upon theſe Iſlands for eight days; during which time we were buſied in Hunting, and refreſh'd our ſelves with plenty of excellent Fruit that was fully ripe. Here the wounded and retaken Priſoners had an opportunity of reſting, and of drinking the Broth of ſeveral ſorts of Meat; and we had time to broil as much Meat as we could ſtow in our Canows, not to mention the great numbers of Turkeys that we were oblig'd to eat upon the ſpot, for fear that the heat of the Seaſon would ſpoil 'em.

In that ſpace of time the poor wounded Savages were carefully purg'd with ſuch Roots as the *Americans* are well vers'd in; which I mean to explain to you in its proper time and place; and they wanted not good Reſtoratives of Jelly-broth. The 24th we re-embark'd, and arriv'd at Night at Fort *St. Joſeph*, where I found a Party of eighty *Oumamis* commanded by one *Michitonka*, who being lately return'd from *Niagara*, expected my Arrival with the utmoſt impatience. When I landed, I was ſurpris'd to ſee the

Fort cramm'd with Savages; but on the other hand, they were equally astonish'd to find in our Company their Country-men, to whose hard Fortune they had been altogether Strangers. The joyful Meeting fill'd the Air with Acclamations, and Panegyricks rung all about to an extravagant degree. I wish, Sir, you had been there to partake of the Pleasure of so fine a Show: had you been present, you would have join'd with me in owning that all our *French* Rhetorick cannot reach such pithy and significant Figures, especially upon the score of *Hyperbole's*, as made up the bulk of the Harangues and Songs that these poor People utter'd with Rapture and Transport. *Michitonka* acquainted me, that after he went to the Fort of *Niagara*, with a Design to make some Expedition into the Country of the *Tsonontouans*, he found that the *Scurvey* had made such a terrible havock in that Fort, that it had sweep'd off the Commander, and all the Soldiers, bating twelve, who had the good luck to get over it, as well as Mr. *de Bergeres*, who by the advantage of a hale Constitution had stemm'd the raging Violence of that Distemper. He inform'd me farther, That Mr. *Bergeres* having resolv'd to set out with his twelve Men for the Fort of *Frontenac*, had desir'd of him a Reinforcement of some young *Oumamis*, which was granted him; that after Mr. *Bergeres* had embark'd, himself march'd over Land to the Country of the *Onnontagues*, where he rejoin'd the Reinforcement he had granted to Mr. *de Bergeres*, and understood from them, that during the Winter the *Scurvey* had carried off as many Soldiers at Fort *Frontenac* as at *Niagara*; and, that Mr. *de Denonville* was negotiating a Peace with the *Iroquese*.

The Governour of Fort *Frontenac* had requested *Michitonka* to engage in no Enterprise, and to return home with his Men; upon which that Leader being in full March homeward, was attack'd by three hundred

dred *Onnontagues*, whom he durſt not engage otherwiſe than in a running Fight, by which he loſt four Men. Being inform'd of all theſe Circumſtances, I conſulted with the three different Nations that were then poſted in my Fort. After a mature Reflection upon the Intelligence that was laid before 'em, they came to this Reſolution; That ſince the Marquis *de Denonville* had a mind to clap up a Peace, and the Fort of *Niagara* was abdicated, the Fort I then commanded would be of no uſe; that ſince I had neither Proviſions nor Ammunition for above two Months, I ſhould be oblig'd at the end of theſe two Months to retreat to the Place from whence I now write; that at that time of the Year our Navigation would be uneaſie and dangerous; that in regard I lay under an indiſpenſible neceſſity of making my Retreat, 'twas of no great moment whether I march'd off two Months ſooner or later; and, in fine, that ſince I had receiv'd no freſh Orders, nor no Succors, 'twas my Buſineſs to go off along with them. This Reſolution, which was a ſufficient Argument to ſway me, afforded matter of joy to the Soldiers, who were afraid of being oblig'd to a more rigorous courſe of Abſtinence in that Poſt than they had formerly undergone; for the meaſures of a critical Abſtinence do not ſit well upon a Soldiers Stomach. In fine, purſuant to our joint Reſolution, we ſet fire to the Fort on the 27th, and embarked that ſame day, and keeping cloſe to the South ſhore of the Lake that I took notice of in my laſt, arriv'd here on the 10th of *September*. The *Oumamis* march'd over Land to their own Country, and carry'd with 'em the Wounded, who were then in a condition to march.

Upon my Arrival in this Place, I found here Mr. *de la Durantay*, whom Mr. *Denonville* has inveſted with the Commiſſion of Commander of the *Coureurs de Bois* that trade upon the Lakes, and in the Southern Countries of *Canada*. The Governour has ſent me

Orders to return to the Colony if the Seaſon and other Circumſtances permit; or to tarry here till the Spring if I foreſee unſurmountable Difficulties in the Paſſage. In the mean time he has ſent me Effects to anſwer the Pay of my Detachment, and to ſubſiſt 'em in the Winter. Theſe Orders would be extream acceptable to me, if I could but contrive how to return to the Colony; but that ſeems to be abſolutely impoſſible, and both the *French* and the Savages agree that it is ſo. There are in that Paſſage ſo many Water-falls, Cataracts, and Places where there's a neceſſity of tedious Land-carriages, that I dare not run ſuch Hazards with my Soldiers, who cannot work the Boats but upon ſtagnating Water. Upon that conſideration I have thought it more proper to halt here till the next Year; at which time I deſign to take the Advantage of the Company of ſome *Frenchmen* and Savages, that promiſe to take into each of their Canows one of my Men. In the mean time, I am upon the point of undertaking another Voyage, for I cannot mew my ſelf up here all this Winter. I deſign to make the beſt uſe of my time, and to travel through the Southern Countries that I have ſo often heard of, having engag'd four or five good Huntſmen of the *Outaouas* to go along with me.

The Party of the *Hurons* that I mention'd in the beginning of my Letter, return'd hither two Months ago, and brought with 'em an *Iroqueſe* Slave, whom their Leader preſented to Mr. *de Iuchereau*, the late Colonel of the *Coureurs de Bois*, and whom that Colonel order'd to be immediately ſhot. The crafty Leader acted upon that occaſion a very cunning and malicious part, the fatal Conſequences of which I eaſily foreſee: He intruſted no body with the Secret but my ſelf; for he is my true Friend, and he knows that I am his. However, I muſt go no farther upon this matter, leſt my Letter ſhould be intercepted. Tho' after all, if the Blow were not already given,

or if 'twere poſſible to remedy it, my Friendſhip ſhould not hinder me from acquainting Mr. *de Denonville* with the Intrigue, that he might get clear of it as well as he could. If it pleaſes God to allow me a ſafe Return to *France*, I ſhall tell you the Story by word of mouth.

I underſtand by your laſt, that the King has preferr'd his Almoner, the Abbot of *St. Valiers*, to the Biſhoprick of *Quebec*; and that this Biſhop was conſecrated in St. *Sulpice*'s Church. This piece of News would be very welcome to me, if I thought he would be leſs rigid than Mr. *de Laval*, his Predeceſſor. But what likelyhood is there that the new Biſhop will be of a tractable temper? If 'tis true that he has refus'd other good Biſhopricks, he muſt be as ſcrupulous as the Monk *Dracontius*, that St. *Athanaſius* cenſures for not accepting of a Preſentation to a Biſhoprick that was offer'd him. In fine, if he is of that ſcrupulous Temper, his critical Strictneſs will ſcarce go down in this Country; for the People are already tyr'd out with his Predeceſſor's Excommunications.

I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

LETTER XVI.

Dated at *Miſſilimakinac*, *May* 28. 1689.

Containing an Account of the Author's Departure from, and Return to, Miſſilimakinac. *A Deſcription of the Bay of* Puants, *and its Villages. An ample Deſcription of the* Beavers; *follow'd by the Journal of a remarkable Voyage upon the Long River, and a Map of the adjacent Country.*

SIR,

THank God, I am now return'd from my Voyage upon the *Long River*, which falls into the River of *Miſſiſipi*. I would willingly have trac'd it up to its Source, if ſeveral Obſtacles had not ſtood in my way. I ſet out from hence the 24th of *Sept.* accompany'd with my own Detachment, and the five Huntſmen I mention'd in my laſt; who indeed did me a great deal of Service. All the Soldiers were provided with new Canows loaded with Proviſions and Ammunition, and ſuch Commodities as are proper for the Savages. The Wind, which ſtood then in the North, wafted me in three days to the Bay of *Pouteouatamis*, that lay forty Leagues off. The mouth of that Bay is in a manner choak'd with Iſles, and the Bay it ſelf is ten Leagues broad, and twenty five Leagues long.

The 29th we came to a little deep ſort of a River, which diſembogues at a place where the Water of the Lake ſwells three foot high in twelve hours, and decreaſes as much in the ſame compaſs of time. Our tarrying there three or four days gave me an opportunity of making this Remark. The Villages of the *Sakis*, the *Pouteouatamis*, and ſome *Malominis*, are ſeated

ſeated on the ſide of that River, and the Jeſuits have a Houſe or College built upon it. This is a place of great Trade for Skins and *Indian* Corn, which theſe Savages ſell to the *Coureurs de Bois*, as they come and go, it being the neareſt and moſt convenient Paſſage to the River of *Miſſiſipi*. The Soil of this Country is ſo fertile, that it produces (in a manner without Agriculture) our *European* Corn, Peaſe, Beans, and ſeveral other Fruits that are not known in *France*. As ſoon as I landed, the Warriours of theſe three Nations came by turns to my Apartment, to regale me with the *Calumet-Dance*, and with the *Captains-Dance*; the former being a ſignification of Peace and Friendſhip, and the latter of Reſpect and Eſteem. I return'd the Compliment with a Preſent of ſome Rolls of *Braſil* Tobacco, which they value mightily, and ſome ſtrings of *Venice* Beads, with which they imbroider their Coats. Next Morning I was invited to a Feaſt with one of the three Nations; and after having ſent to 'em ſome Diſhes and Plates, purſuant to the Cuſtom of the Country, I went accordingly about Noon. They began with congratulating my Arrival, and after I had return'd them thanks, fell a ſinging and dancing one after another, in a particular manner, of which you may expect a circumſtantial account when I have more leiſure. The Singing and Dancing laſted for two hours, being ſeaſon'd with Acclamations of Joy and Jeſts, which make up part of their ridiculous Muſick. After that the Slaves came to ſerve, and all the Company ſat down after the *Eaſtern* faſhion, every one being provided with his Meſs, juſt as our Monks are in the Monaſtery-Halls.

Firſt of all four Platters were ſet down before me, in the firſt of which there were two white Fiſh only boil'd in Water; in the ſecond the Tongue and Breaſt of a Roe-buck boil'd; in the third two Woodhens, the hind Feet or Trotters of a Bear, and the

the Tail of a Beaver, all roaſted; and the fourth contain'd a large quantity of Broth made of ſeveral ſorts of Meat. For Drink they gave me a very pleaſant Liquor, which was nothing but a Syrrup of Maple beat up with Water; but of this more elſewhere. The Feaſt laſted two Hours; after which I intreated one of the Grandees to ſing for me; for in all the Ceremonies made uſe of among the Savages, 'tis cuſtomary to imploy another to act for 'em. I made this Grandee a Preſent of ſome pieces of Tobacco, in order to oblige him to act my part till Night. Next day, and the day after, I was oblig'd to go to the Feaſts of the other two Nations, who obſerv'd the ſame Formalities. The moſt curious thing I ſaw in the Villages, was ten or twelve tame Beavers, that went and came like Dogs from the Rivers to the Cottages, without ſtragling out of the Road. I ask'd the Savages if theſe Animals could live out of the Water; and receiv'd this anſwer, that they could live aſhoar as well as Dogs, and that they had kept ſome of 'em above a year, without ſuffering them to go near the Rivers: From whence I conclude, that the *Caſuiſts* are out in not ranging Ducks, Geeſe, and Teals, in the number of Amphibious Animals, as the Naturaliſts are wont to do. I had heard the ſame ſtory from ſeveral *Americans* before; but being apprehenſive that there were different Species of Beavers, I had a mind to be better inform'd: And indeed there is a particular kind of 'em, which the Savages call the *Terreſtrial*, or Land-Beaver; but at the ſame time they tell you, theſe are of a different Species from the Amphibious ſort; for they make Holes or Dens in the Earth, like Rabbets or Foxes, and never go near the Water unleſs it be to drink. They are likewiſe call'd by the Savages, the lazy or idle kind, as being expell'd by the other Beavers from the Kennels in which theſe Animals are lodg'd, to the number

A Beaver 28 inches long from the head to the tail

wild Beeves

A beeve catch'd by ye horns with ropes

A beeve attack'd with Spears

A Savage springing upon a beeve

Savages drying their meat

number of 80. These Kennels I mean to describe afterwards; in the mean time I only take occasion to acquaint you, that the idle sort being unwilling to work, are expell'd by the others, just as Wasps are by Bees; and are so teas'd by 'em, that they are forc'd to quit the Kennels, which the better and more industrious Race huddles up to themselves in the Fens. This supine Beaver resembles the other sort in its Figure, excepting that the Hair is rub'd off the Back and the Belly, which is occasion'd by their rubbing against the Earth when they return to, or stir out from their Holes.

The Writers of Natural History are very much out, in fancying that the Beavers cut off their own Testicles, when pursued by the Huntsmen; for that which the Physicians call *Castoreum*, is not lodg'd in the Testicles, but in a certain Bag that Nature seems to have form'd on purpose for these Animals, and this Bag they make use of to clear their Teeth, after the biting of some gummy Shrub. But supposing the Testicles to be the proper Receptacle of the Castor, we must still conceive that 'tis impossible for a Beaver to pull out his Testicles, without rending the Nerves of the Groin, in which they are seated just by the Sharebone. 'Tis manifest that *Elian* and several other Naturalists, were scarce acquainted with Beaver-hunting; for had they known any thing of the matter, they would never have talk'd of the pursuing of these Animals, which never go from the side of the Pond where their Kennels are built; and which dive under water upon the least noise, and return to their Dens when the danger is over. If these Creatures were but sensible of the reason for which War is declar'd against 'em, they would flea themselves alive; for 'tis their Skin only that the Huntsmen want, the value of the Castor being nothing in comparison with that. A great Beaver is twenty six Inches long, from the

the hind-Head, to the root of the Tail. 'Tis about three Foot and eight Inches round, its Head is ſeven Inches long, and ſix broad; its Tail is fourteen Inches long, and ſix broad, and about the middle it has the thickneſs of an Inch and two lines. The figure of the Tail is Oval; the Scale with which 'tis cover'd, and which performs the Office of what the Phyſicians call the *Epidermis* or Scarf-skin, is an irregular Hexagon. The Beaver carries upon its Tail the Clay, the Earth and other Materials of which they make their Banks and Kennels, or Hutts, by a wonderful Inſtinct. Its Ears are ſhort, round and hollow; its Legs are five Inches long, its Feet ſix Inches and eight Lines, and its Paws are three Inches and a half from the Heel to the end of the great Toe. Its Paws are form'd much like a Man's Hand, and they make uſe of 'em in feeding, as Apes do. The five Toes are joyn'd like thoſe of a Duck, with a Membrane of a Slate-colour. Its Eyes are of the leſſer ſize, in proportion to the bulk of its Body, and bear the figure of a Rats Eyes. Before its Muzzle there are four Fore-Teeth or Cutters, *viz.* two in each Jaw, as in a Rabbet, beſides which it has ſixteen Grinders, that is, eight in the upper, and as many in the lower Mandible. The Cutters are above an Inch long, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of an Inch broad, being very ſtrong and ſharp like a Cutlas; for a Beaver aſſiſted by its Aſſociates, (if I may ſo call its fellow Beavers) cuts down Trees as big as a Hogſhead; which I could never have believ'd, if I had not obſerv'd with my own Eyes, above twenty Trunks of Trees cut down in that faſhion. A Beaver has two lays of Hair; one is long, and of a ſhining black colour, with a grain as big as that of Mans Hair; the other is fine and ſmooth, and in Winter fifteen lines long: In a word, the laſt is the fineſt Down in the World. The Skin of ſuch a Beaver as I have now deſcrib'd, will be two pound weight, but the price

price varies according to the goodneſs. In Winter and Autumn the Fleſh of a Beaver eats very well, if it be roaſted. Thus, Sir, I have preſented you with an exact Deſcription of theſe reputed Amphibious Animals which make ſuch Structures, that all the Art of Man can ſcarce equal. Upon another occaſion perhaps I may give you a circumſtantial Account of their wonderful Structure, which I decline at preſent, becauſe the Digreſſion would be too tedious.

To return to my Voyage. After our arrival in the Bay of *Ponteouatamis*, we bid adieu to the Navigation upon the Lakes of *Canada*; and ſetting out *September* 30, arriv'd *October* 2. at the foot of the fall of *Kakalin*, after ſtemming ſome little Currents in the River of *Puants*. The next day we accompliſh'd the ſmall Land-carriage, and on the 5*th* arriv'd before the Village of *Kikapous*, in the Neighbourhood of which I incamp'd the next day, in order to receive Intelligence. That Village ſtands upon the brink of a little Lake, in which the Savages fiſh great quantities of Pikes and Gudgeons. I found only thirty or forty Men fit for War in the place, for the reſt were gone a Beaver-hunting ſome days before. The 7*th* I reimbarq'd, and rowing hard made in the Evening the little Lake of *Malominis*, where we kill'd Bucks and Buſtards enough for Supper. We went aſhoar that Night, and built Hutts for our ſelves upon a point of Land that ſhoots out; by break of day I went in a Canow to the Village, and after an hours Conference with ſome of the Savages, preſented 'em with two Rolls of Tobacco, and they by way of Acknowledgment, made me a preſent of two or three Sacks of Oatmeal: For the ſides of the Lake are cover'd with a ſort of Oats, which grows in tufts with a tall Stalk, and of which the Savages reap plentiful Crops. The 9*th* I arriv'd at the foot of *Outagamis* Fort, where I found but

few

few People; however, they gave me a very kind Reception, for after dancing the *Calumet* before the Door of my Hutt, they made me a Present of Venison and Fish. Next day they convey'd me up the River, to the place where their folks were hunting the Beavers. The 11*th* we imbarq'd, and landed the 13*th* upon the shoar of a little Lake, where the Head of that Nation resided. After we had rear'd up our Hutts, that General gave me a Visit, and inquir'd which way I intended to move. I made answer, that I was so far from designing to march toward the *Nadoueſſious* his Enemies, that I should not come near 'em by 100 Leagues; and to confirm the innocence of my Intentions, I pray'd him to send six Warrious to accompany me to the long River, which I design'd to trace up to its Source. He reply'd, that he was extream glad to find that I carry'd neither Arms nor Cloaths for the *Nadoueſſious*; that he saw I had not the equipage of a *Coureur de Bois*, but that on the contrary, I had some discovery in my view. At the same time he caution'd me not to venture too far up that Noble River, by reason of the multitudes of People that I would find there, though they have no stomach for War: He mean'd, that some numerous Party might surprise me in the Night-time. In the mean time, instead of the six Warriours that I desir'd, he gave me ten, who understood the Lingua, and knew the Country of the *Eokoros*, with whom his Nation had maintain'd a Peace of twenty years standing. I stay'd two days with this General, during which time he regal'd me nobly, and walk'd about with me to give me the Satisfaction of observing the disposure of the Cottages of the Beaver-hunters; a description of which, you may expect in another place; I presented him with a Fusee, twelve Flint-stones, two pound of Powder, four pound of Ball, and a little Axe, and I gave each of his two Sons a great

great Coat, and a Roll of *Brasil* Tobacco. Two of the ten Warriours that he gave me, could speak the Language of the *Outaouas*, which I was well pleas'd with; not that I was a stranger to their own Language, for between that and the *Algonkin* there is no great difference, but in regard that there were several words that puzled me. My four *Outaouas* were transported with this little Reinforcement, and were then so incouraged, that they told me above four times, that we might venture safely so far as the Plantation of the Sun. I embarqed with this small Guard the 16*th* about Noon, and arriv'd that Night at the Land-carriage of *Ouisconsinc*, which we finish'd in two days, that is, we left the River of *Puants*, and transported our Canows and Baggage to the River *Ouisconsinc*, which is not above three quarters of a League distant, or thereabouts. I shall say nothing of the River we left, but that 'twas Muddy, full of Shelves, and incloſed with a steep Coast, Marshes, and frightful Rocks.

The 19*th* we embarqu'd upon the River *Ouisconsinc*, and being favour'd by a slack Current, arriv'd in four days at the place, where it empties it self into the River *Mississipi*, which is about half a League broad in that part. The force of the Current, and the breadth of that River, is much the same as that of the *Loire*. It lies North-East, and South-West; and its sides are adorn'd with Meadows, lofty Trees and Firs. I observ'd but two Islands upon it, though there may be more, which the darkness of the Night hid from us as we came down. The 23*d* we landed upon an Island in the River *Mississipi*, over against the River I spoke of but now, and were in hopes to find some wild Goats there, but had the ill fortune to find none. The day after we croſt to t'other side of the River, sounding it every where, as we had done the day before, and found nine foot water in the shalloweſt place. The

2*d* of

2*d* of *November* we made the Mouth of the *Long River*, having firſt ſtem'd ſeveral rapid Currents of that River, though 'twas then at loweſt Ebb. In this little paſſage we kill'd ſeveral wild Beeves which we broil'd, and catch'd ſeveral large Dabs. On the 3*d* we enter'd the Mouth of the *Long River*, which looks like a Lake full of Bull-ruſhes; we found in the middle of it a narrow Channel, upon which we ſteer'd till Night, and then lay by to ſleep in our Canows. In the Morning I enquir'd of my ten *Outagamis*, if we had far to ſail before we were clear of the Ruſhes, and receiv'd this anſwer, that they had never been in the Mouth of that River before, though at the ſame time they aſſur'd me, that about twenty Leagues higher, the Banks of it were clad with Woods and Meadows. But after all we did not ſail ſo far, for about ten a Clock next Morning the River came pretty narrow, and the Shoar was cover'd with lofty Trees; and after continuing our courſe the reſt of that day, we had a proſpect of Meadows now and then. That ſame Night we landed at a point of Land, with a deſign to dreſs our broil'd Meat, for at that time we had none freſh. The next day we ſtop'd at the firſt Iſland we ſaw, in which we found neither Man nor Beaſt; and the Evening drawing near, I was unwilling to venture far into it, ſo we e'en contented our ſelves with the catching of ſome ſorry Fiſh. The 6*th* a gentle Gale ſprung up, which wafted us to another Iſland about 12 Leagues higher, where we landed. Our paſſage to this place was very quick, notwithſtanding the great calm that always prevails upon this River, which I take to be the leaſt rapid River in the World. But the quickneſs of the paſſage was not the only ſurpriſal, for I was amaz'd that I ſaw no Harts, nor Bucks, nor Turkeys, having met with 'em all along in the other parts of my Diſcovery. The 7*th* the ſame Wind drove us

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to a third Iſland, that lay ten or twelve Leagues off the former, which we quitted in the Morning. In this third Iſland our Savages kill'd thirty or forty Pheaſants, which I was not ill pleas'd with.

The 8*th* the Wind proving unſerviceable to us, by reaſon that 'twas intercepted by Hills cover'd with Firs, we ply'd our Oars; and about two in the Afternoon, deſcry'd on the left Hand large Meadows, and ſome Hutts at the diſtance of a quarter of a League from the River. Upon this Diſcovery, our Savages and ten of the Soldiers jump'd upon the ſhoar, and directed their courſe to the Houſes, where they found fifty or ſixty Huntſmen prepar'd to receive 'em, with their Bows and Arrows. As ſoon as the Huntſmen heard the voice of the *Outagamis*, they threw down their Arms, and preſented the Company with ſome Deer that they had juſt kill'd, which they likewiſe help'd to carry to my Canows. The Benefactors were ſome of the *Eokoros*, who had left their Villages, and come thither to hunt. I preſented 'em, more out of Policy, than Acknowledgment, with Tobacco, Knives and Needles, which they could not but admire. Upon this, they repair'd with expedition to their Villages, and gave their Aſſociates to underſtand, what a good ſort of People they had met with; which had ſo much influence, that the next day towards the Evening, there appear'd upon the River ſide above two thouſand Savages, who fell a dancing as ſoon as they deſcry'd us. Thereupon, our *Outagamis* went aſhoar, and after a ſhort Conference, ſome of the principal Savages imbarqu'd on board of our Canows, and ſo we all ſteer'd to the chief Village, which we did not reach till Midnight. I order'd our Hutts to be made up on a point of Land near a little River, at the diſtance of a quarter of a League from the Village. Though the Savages preſs'd me extreamly to lodge in one of their Villages, yet none

went with 'em but the *Outagamus*, and the four *Outaouas*, who at the ſame time caution'd the Savages not to approach to our Camp in the Night-time. Next day I allow'd my Soldiers to refreſh and reſt themſelves; and went my ſelf to viſit the Grandees of this Nation, to whom I gave Preſents of Knives, Ciſſars, Needles, and Tobacco. They gave me to underſtand, that they were infinitely well pleas'd with our arrival in their Country, for that they had heard the Savages of other Nations ſpeak very honourably of the *French*. I took leave of 'em on the 12*th*, and ſet out with a Convoy of five or ſix hundred Savages, who march'd upon the ſhoar, keeping pace with our Canows. We paſs'd by another Village that lay to the right Hand, and ſtop'd at a third Village that was five Leagues diſtant from the firſt, but did not diſimbarque: For all that I deſign'd, was to make a Preſent to the leading Men of the Village, from whom I receiv'd more *Indian* Corn, and broil'd or dry'd Meat, than I had occaſion for. In fine, I paſs'd from Village to Village without ſtopping, unleſs it were to incamp all Night, or to preſent the Savages with ſome Trinkets; and ſo ſteer'd on to the laſt Village, with a deſign to get ſome Intelligence. As ſoon as we arriv'd at the end of this Village, the Great Governour, who indeed was a venerable old Gentleman, ſent out Hunters to bring us good Cheer. He inform'd me, that ſixty Leagues higher I ſhould meet with the Nation of the *Eſſanapes*, who wag'd War with him; that if it had not been for their being at War, he would have given me a Convoy to their Country; that, however he mean'd to give up to me ſix Slaves of that Country, which I might carry home, and make uſe of as I ſaw occaſion; and that in ſailing up the River, I had nothing to fear, but the being ſurpriz'd in the Night-time. In fine, after he had inſtructed me in ſeveral very uſeful Circumſtances, I immediately

ately made every thing ready for my Departure.

The Commanders of this People acquainted me, that they had twelve Villages peopled by 20000 Warriours; that their number was much greater before the War, which they wag'd at one time with the *Nadoneſſis*, the *Panimoha*, and the *Eſſanapes*. The People are very civil, and ſo far from a wild Savage temper, that they have an Air of Humanity and Sweetneſs. Their Hutts are long, and round at the top, not unlike thoſe of our Savages; but they are made of Reeds and Bulruſhes, interlac'd and cemented with a ſort of fat Earth. Both the Men and the Women go naked all over, excepting their Privities. The Women are not ſo handſom, as thoſe who live upon the Lakes of *Canada*. There ſeems to be ſomething of Government and Subordination among this People; and they have their Houſes fortified with the branches of Trees, and Faſcines ſtrengthen'd with fat Earth.

The 21*ſt* we imbarqu'd at the break of day, and landed that Night in an Iſland cover'd with Stones and Gravel, having paſs'd by another at which I would not put in, becauſe I would not ſlight the opportunity of the Wind, which then ſtood very fair. Next day the Wind ſtanding equally fair, we ſet out and continued our courſe all that Day, and the following Night; for the ſix *Eſſanapes* inform'd us, that the River was clean, and free from Rocks and Beds of Sand. The 23 we landed early in the Morning on the right ſide of the River, in order to careen one of our Boats that ſprung a Leak. While that was a doing, we dreſt ſome Veniſon that had been preſented me by the Commander of the laſt Village of the *Eokoros*; and the adjacent Country being repleniſh'd with Woods, the Savages of our Company went a ſhooting in the Foreſts; but they ſaw nothing but ſmall Fowls, that they did not think fit to ſhoot at. As ſoon as we reimbarqu'd, the Wind fell all of a ſudden, and ſo

we were forc'd to ply the Oars; but moſt of the Crew having ſlept but little the Night before, they row'd but very faintly, which oblig'd me to put in at a great Iſland two Leagues higher; the ſix *Eſſanapes* Slaves having inform'd me, that this Iſland afforded great plenty of Hares, which I found to be true. Theſe Animals had a lucky Inſtinct in taking ſhelter in this Iſland, for there the Woods are ſo thick, that we were forc'd to ſet fire to ſeveral places, before we could diſlodge 'em.

Having made an end of our Game, my Soldiers fed heartily, and thereupon fell ſo ſound aſleep, that I could ſcarce get 'em wak'd upon a falſe Alarm, occaſion'd by a Herd of Wolves that made a noiſe among the Thickets upon the Continent. We reimbarqued next day at ten a Clock in the Morning, and did not run above twelve Leagues in two days, by reaſon that the Savages of our Company would needs walk along the River ſide with their Guns, to ſhoot Geeſe and Ducks; in which they had very good Succeſs. After that we incampt juſt by the Mouth of a little River on the right Hand, and the *Eſſanapes* Slaves gave me notice, that the firſt of their Villages was not above ſixteen or eighteen Leagues off. Upon this Information, I ſent, by the advice of the Savages of our Company, two of the Slaves to give notice of our arrival. The 26*th* we row'd briskly, in hopes to reach the firſt Village that day; but being retarded by the huge quantities of floating Wood, that we met in ſeveral places, we were forc'd to continue all Night in our Canows. The 27*th* about ten or eleven a Clock we approach'd to the Village, and after putting up the great *Calumet* of Peace upon the Prow of our Canows, lay upon our Oars.

Upon our firſt appearance, three or four hundred *Eſſanapes* came running to the ſhoar, and, after dancing juſt over againſt us, invited us aſhoar. As ſoon

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as we came near the ſhoar, they began to jump into our Canows; but I gave 'em to know by the four *Eſſanapes* Slaves, that I deſir'd they ſhould retire, which they did immediately. Then I landed, being accompany'd with the Savages of our Company, namely, the *Outagamis*, and the *Outaouas*, and with twenty Soldiers. At the ſame time I gave orders to my Sergeants, to land and poſt Centries. As we ſtood upon the ſhoar, all the *Eſſanapes* proſtrated themſelves three or four times before us, with their Hands upon their Foreheads; after which we were convoy'd to the Village with ſuch Acclamations of Joy, as perfectly ſtun'd us Upon our arrival at the Gate, our Conductors ſtop'd us, till the Governour, a Man of fifty years of Age, march'd out with five or ſix hundred Men arm'd with Bows and Arrows. The *Outagamis* of my Company perceiving this, charg'd 'em with Inſolence in receiving Strangers with their Arms about 'em, and call'd out in the *Eokoros* Language, that they ought to lay down their Arms. But the *Eſſanapes* Slaves that I had ſent in the day before, came up to me, and gave me to underſtand, that 'twas their cuſtom to ſtand to their Arms on ſuch occaſions, and that there was no danger in the caſe. However, the obſtinate *Outagamis* oblig'd us to retire immediately to our Canows: Upon which the Leading Officer, and the whole Battalion, flung their Bows and Arrows aſide all on a ſudden. Then I return'd, and our whole Company enter'd the Village with their Fuſees in their Hands, which the Savages admir'd mightily. The Leader of the Savages conducted us to a great Hutt, which look'd as if no body had liv'd in it before. When I and my twenty Soldiers had enter'd the place, they ſtop'd the *Outagamis*, affirming, that they did not deſerve the priviledge of entring within the Cottage of Peace, ſince they had endeavour'd to create a difference, and occaſi-

on a War between us and the *Essanapes*. In the mean time I order'd my Men to open the Door, and to call out to the *Outagamis*, that they should offer no manner of Injury: But the *Outagamis* in stead of coming in, press'd me to return with all expedition to the Canows, which accordingly I did, without loss of time, and carry'd with me the four *Essanapes* Slaves, in order to leave 'em at the first Village we came to. We had no sooner imbarqued, than the two other Slaves came to acquaint me that the Governor would stop me in his River; but the *Outagamis* made answer, that he could not do that, without throwing a Mountain into it. In fine, we did not stand to dispute the matter; and tho' 'twas then late, we row'd straight to the next Village, which lay about three Leagues off. During the time of this passage, I us'd the precaution of taking from my six Slaves an exact information of the Constitution of their Country, and particularly of the principal Village. They having assur'd me, that the Capital Canton was seated upon a fort of a Lake, I took up a Resolution of not stopping at the other Villages, where I should only lose time, and lavish my Tobacco, and steering directly to the *Metropolitan*, in order to complain to their Generalissimo.

We arriv'd at the Capital Canton on the 3*d* of *November*, and there met with a very honourable Reception. The *Outagamis* of our Company complain'd of the affront they had receiv'd; but the Head General being already inform'd of the matter, made answer, that they ought to have carry'd off the Governour or Leading Officer, and brought him along with them. In passing from the first Village to this we run fifty Leagues, and were follow'd by a Procession of People, that were much more sociable than the Governour that offer'd us that Affront. After our Men had fitted up our Hutts at

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the diſtance of a Cannon ſhot from the Village; we went in a joynt body with the *Outagamis* and the *Outaouas*, to the *Cacick* of that Nation; and in the mean time the *Eſſanapes* Slaves were brought before him by ten of my Soldiers. I was actually in the preſence of this petty King, when theſe Slaves ſpent half an hour in proſtrating themſelves ſeveral times before him. I made him a Preſent of Tobacco, Knives, Needles, Ciſſars, two Firelocks with Flints, ſome Hooks, and a very pretty Cutlas. He was better ſatisfied with theſe triſling things, which he had never ſeen before, than I could have been with a plentiful Fortune. He teſtified his Acknowledgment of the Gift, by a Counter-preſent that was more ſolid, though not much more valuable, as conſiſting of Peaſe, Beans, Harts, Roe-bucks, Geeſe and Ducks, of which he ſent great plenty to our Camp: And indeed, we were extreamly well ſatisfied with ſuch a ſeaſonable Preſent. He gave me to know, That, ſince I deſign'd to viſit the *Gnacſitares*, he would give me a Convoy of two or three hundred Men: That the *Gnacſitares* were a very honeſt ſort of People; and that both they and his People were link'd by a common intereſt in guarding off the *Mozeemlek*, which were a turbulent and warlike Nation. He added, that the Nation laſt mention'd were very numerous; that they never took the Field without twenty thouſand Men at leaſt: That to repreſs the Incurſions and Inſults of that dangerous Enemy, the *Gnacſitares* and his Nation had maintain'd a Confederacy for ſix and twenty years; and that his Allies (the *Gnacſitares*) were forc'd to take up their Habitation in Iſlands, where the Enemy cannot reach 'em. I was glad to accept of his Convoy, and return'd him many thanks. I ask'd four Pirogues of him, which he granted very frankly, allowing me to pick and chooſe that number out of fifty. Having thus concerted my Meaſures, I

was resolv'd to lose no time; and with that view order'd my Carpenters to plane the Pirogues; by which they were thinner and lighter by one half. The poor innocent People of this Country, could not conceive how we work'd with an Axe; every stroke we gave they cry'd out, as if they had seen some new Prodigy; nay, the firing of Pistols could not divert 'em from that Amazement, though they were equally strangers both to the Pistol and the Axe. As soon as my Pirogues were got ready, I left my Canows with the Governour or Prince, and beg'd of him that they might remain untouch'd by any body; in which point he was very faithful to me.

I cannot but acquaint you in this place, that the higher I went up the River, I met with more discretion from the Savages. But in the mean time I must not take leave of the last Village, without giving some account of it. 'Tis bigger than all the rest, and is the Residence of the Great Commander or Generalissimo, whose Apartment is built by it self towards the side of the Lake, and surrounded with fifty other Apartments, in which all his Relations are lodg'd. When he walks, his way is strow'd with the leaves of Trees: But commonly he is carry'd by six Slaves. His Royal Robes are of the same Magnificence with those of the Commander of the *Okoros*: For he is naked all over, excepting his lower parts, which are cover'd with a large Scarf made of the barks of Trees. The large extent of this Village might justly intitle it to the name of a City. The Houses are built almost like Ovens, but they are large and high; and most of 'em are of Reeds cemented with fat Earth. The day before I left this place, as I was walking about, I saw thirty or forty Women running at full speed; and being surpris'd with the spectacle, spoke to the *Onagamis* to order my four Slaves to see what the matter was; for these Slaves were my only Interpreters in this

this unknown Country. Accordingly they brought me word, that 'twas ſome new married Women, who were running to receive the Soul of an old Fellow that lay a dying. From thence I concluded, that the People were *Pythagoreans*; and upon that Apprehenſion, ask'd 'em how they came to eat Animals, into which their Souls might be transfus'd: But they made anſwer, that the Tranſmigration of Souls is always confin'd to the reſpective Species, ſo that the Soul of a Man cannot enter into a Fowl, as that of a Fowl cannot be lodg'd in a quadruped, and ſo on. The *Okoros*, of both Sexes, are fully as handſom and as clever, as this People.

December the *4th*, I took leave of this Village, having ten Soldiers on board of my Pirogue, beſides the ten *Oumamis*, the four *Outaouas*, and the four *Eſſanapes* Slaves, that I have mention'd ſo often. Here ended the Credit and Authority of the *Calumet* of Peace, for the *Gnacſitares* are not acquainted with that Symbol of Concord. The firſt day we had enough to do to run ſix or ſeven Leagues, by reaſon of the Bulruſhes with which the Lake is incumber'd. The two following days we ſail'd twenty Leagues. The *4th* day a Weſt-North-Weſt wind ſurpris'd us with ſuch a boiſterous violence, that we were forc'd to put aſhoar, and lay two days upon a ſandy Ground, where we were in danger of ſtarving for Hunger and Cold; for the Country was ſo barren, that we could not find a chip of Wood wherewith to warm our ſelves, or to dreſs our Victuals; and as far as our Eye could reach, there was nothing to be ſeen but Fens cover'd with Reeds and Clay, and naked Fields. Having indur'd this Hardſhip we ſet out again, and row'd to a little Iſland, upon which we incamp'd, but found nothing there but green Fields; however, to make ſome amends we fiſh'd up great numbers of little Trouts, upon which we fed very heartily. At laſt, after

ſailing

ſailing ſix days more, we arriv'd at the Point or Lands-end of that Iſland which you ſee mark'd in my Map with a Flower-de-luce. 'Twas then the 19th day of *December*, and we had not yet felt all the rigorous Hardſhips of the Cold. As ſoon as I had landed and fitted up my Tents or Hutts, I detach'd my *Eſſanapes* Slaves to the firſt of the three Villages that lay before us; for I had avoided ſtopping at ſome Villages in an Iſland upon which we coaſted in the Night-time. The Slaves return'd in a great Alarm, occaſion'd by the unfavourable Anſwer they receiv'd from the *Gnacſitares*, who took us for *Spaniards*, and were angry with them for conducting us to their Country. I ſhall not be minute in every Particular that happen'd, for fear of tyring your Patience. 'Tis ſufficient to acquaint you, that upon the Report of my Slaves I immediately embark'd, and poſted my ſelf in another Iſland that lay in the middle between the great Iſland and the Continent; but I did not ſuffer the *Eſſanapes* to be in my Camp. In the mean time the *Gnacſitares* ſent expeditious Couriers to the People that live eighty Leagues to the Southward of them, to deſire they would ſend ſome of their number to examine us; for that People were ſuppos'd to be well acquainted with the *Spaniards* of *New Mexico*. The length of the Journey did not diſcourage 'em, for they came as chearfully as if it had been upon a National Concern: and after taking a view of our Cloaths, our Swords, our Fuſees, our Air, Complexion, and manner of Speech, were forc'd to own that we were not true *Spaniards*? Theſe Conſiderations, join'd to the Account I gave 'em of the Reaſons upon which I undertook the Voyage, of the War we were ingag'd in againſt *Spain*, and of the Country to the Eaſtward that we poſſeſs'd; theſe, I ſay, had ſo much influence, as to undeceive 'em. Then they invited me to encamp in their Iſland, and brought me a ſort of Grain

Grain not unlike our Lentils, that grows plentifully in that Country. I thank'd 'em for their Invitation, and told 'em that I would not be oblig'd to diſtruſt them, nor give them any occaſion to diſtruſt me. However, I croſs'd with my Savages and ten Soldiers well arm'd; and after breaking the Ice in certain places (for it had freez'd hard for ten or twelve days) I landed within two Leagues of one of their Villages, to which I walk'd up by Land. 'Tis needleſs to mention the Particulars of the Ceremony with which I was receiv'd, it being the ſame with what I deſcrib'd upon other occaſions; I ſhall only take occaſion to acquaint you, that my Preſents made a wonderful Impreſſion upon the Minds of theſe People, whom I ſhall call a raſcally Rabble, tho' at the ſame time they are the politeſt Nation I have yet ſeen in this Country. Their Governour bears the Figure of a King more than any of the other Commanders of the Savages. He has an abſolute Dominion over all the Villages which are deſcrib'd in my Map. In this and the other Iſlands I ſaw large Parks, or Incloſures, ſtock'd with wild Beeves for the uſe of the People. I had an Interview for two hours together with the Governour, or the *Cacick*; and almoſt our whole Conference related to the *Spaniards* of *New Mexico*, who, as he aſſured me, were not diſtant from his Country above eighty *Tazouz*, each of which is three Leagues. I muſt own indeed, I was as curious upon this Head as he was; and I wanted an Account of the *Spaniards* from him, as much as he did from me: In fine, we reciprocally inform'd one another of a great many Particulars relating to that Head. He requeſted me to accept of a great Houſe that was prepar'd for me; and his firſt piece of Civility conſiſted in calling in a great many Girls, and preſſing me and my Retinue to ſerve our ſelves. Had this Temptation been thrown in our way at a more ſeaſonable time, it had prov'd irreſiſtible; but 'twas not an agreeable Meſs for

for Paſſengers that were infeebled by Labour and Want. *Sine Cerere & Baccho friget Venus.* After he made us ſuch a civil Proffer, the Savages, upon my inſtance, repreſented to him, that my Detachment expected me at a certain hour, and that if I ſtay'd longer, they would be in pain for me. This Adventure happen'd on the 7th of *January.*

Two days after, the *Cacick* came to ſee me, and brought with him four hundred of his own Subjects, and four *Mozeemlek* Savages, whom I took for *Spaniards.* My Miſtake was occaſion'd by the great difference between theſe two *American* Nations; for, the *Mozeemlek* Savages were cloath'd, they had a thick buſhy Beard, and their Hair hung down under their Ears; their Complexion was ſwarthy, their Addreſs was civil and ſubmiſſive, their Meen grave, and their Carriage engaging. Upon theſe Conſiderations I could not imagine that they were Savages, tho' after all I found my ſelf miſtaken. Theſe four Slaves gave me a Deſcription of their Country, which the *Gnacſitares* repreſented by way of a Map upon a Deer's Skin; as you ſee it drawn in this Map. Their Villages ſtand upon a River that ſprings out of a ridge of Mountains, from which the Long River likewiſe derives its Source, there being a great many Brooks there which by a joint Confluence form the River. When the *Gnacſitares* have a mind to hunt wild Beeves, they ſet out in Pirogues, which they make uſe of till they come to the Croſs mark'd thus (+) in the Map, at the Confluence of two little Rivers. The Hunting of the wild Bulls, with which all the Valleys are cover'd in Summer, is ſometimes the occaſion of a cruel War: For the other Croſs (+) which you ſee in the Map is one of the Boundaries or Limits of *Mozeemlek*; and if either of theſe two Nations advances but a little beyond their Limits, it gives Riſe to a bloody Engagement. The Mountains I ſpoke of but now, are ſix Leagues broad, and ſo high

that

that one muſt caſt an infinity of Windings and Turnings before he can croſs 'em. Bears and wild Beaſts are their only Inhabitants.

The *Mozeemleck* Nation is numerous and puiſſant. The four Slaves of that Country inform'd me, that at the diſtance of 150 Leagues from the Place where I then was, their principal River empties it ſelf into a Salt Lake of three hundred Leagues in Circumference, the mouth of which is about two Leagues broad: That the lower part of that River is adorn'd with ſix noble Cities, ſurrounded with Stone cemented with fat Earth: That the Houſes of theſe Cities have no Roofs, but are open above like a Platform, as you ſee 'em drawn in the Map: That beſides the abovemention'd Cities, there were above an hundred Towns, great and ſmall, round that ſort of Sea, upon which they navigate with ſuch Boats as you ſee drawn in the Map: That the People of that Country made Stuffs, Copper Axes, and ſeveral other Manufactures, which the *Outagamis* and my other Interpreters could not give me to underſtand, as being altogether unacquainted with ſuch things: That their Government was Deſpotick, and lodg'd in the hands of one great Head, to whom the reſt paid a trembling Submiſſion: That the People upon that Lake call themſelves *Tabuglauk*, and are as numerous as the Leaves of Trees, (ſuch is the Expreſſion that the Savages uſe for an Hyperbole:) That the *Mozeemlek* People ſupply the Cities or Towns of the *Tabuglauk* with great numbers of little Calves, which they take upon the abovemention'd Mountains: and, That the *Tabuglauk* make uſe of theſe Calves for ſeveral ends; for, they not only eat their Fleſh, but bring 'em up to Labour, and make Cloaths, Boots, *&c.* of their Skins. They added, That 'twas their Misfortune to be took Priſoners by the *Gnacſitares* in the War which had laſted for eighteen Years; but, that they hoped a Peace would be ſpeedily concluded,

upon

upon which the Priſoners would be exchang'd, purſuant to the uſual Cuſtom. They glory'd in the poſſeſſion of a greater meaſure of Reaſon than the *Gnacſitares* could pretend to, to whom they allow no more than the Figure of a Man; for they look upon 'em as Beaſts otherwiſe. To my mind, their Notion upon this Head is not ſo very extravagant; for I obſerv'd ſo much Honour and Politeneſs in the Converſation of theſe four Slaves, that I thought I had to do with *Europeans:* But, after all, I muſt confeſs, that the *Gnacſitares* are the moſt tractable Nation I met with among all the Savages. One of the four *Mozeemlek* Slaves had a reddiſh ſort of a Copper Medal hanging upon his Neck, the Figure of which is repreſented in the Map. I had it melted by Mr. *de Ponti*'s Gun-ſmith, who underſtood ſomething of Mettals; but it became thereupon heavier, and deeper colour'd, and withal ſomewhat tractable. I deſir'd the Slaves to give me a circumſtantial Account of theſe Medals; and accordingly they gave me to underſtand, that they are made by the *Tabuglauk*, who are excellent Artizans, and put a great value upon ſuch Medals. I could pump nothing farther out of 'em, with relation to the Country, Commerce and Cuſtoms of that remote Nation. All they could ſay was, that the great River of that Nation runs all along Weſtward, and that the ſalt Lake into which it falls is three hundred Leagues in Circumference, and thirty in breadth, its Mouth ſtretching a great way to the Southward. I would fain have ſatisfied my Curioſity in being an eye-witneſs of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the *Tabuglauk*; but that being impracticable, I was forc'd to be inſtructed at ſecond hand by theſe *Mozeemlek* Slaves; who aſſur'd me, upon the Faith of a Savage, that the *Tabuglauk* wear their Beards two Fingers breadth long; that their Garments reach down to their Knees; that they cover their Heads with a ſharp-pointed Cap; that they

always wear a long Stick or Cane in their hands, which is tipp'd, not unlike what we uſe in *Europe*; that they wear a ſort of Boots upon their Legs which reach up to the Knee; that their Women never ſhew themſelves, which perhaps proceeds from the ſame Principle that prevails in *Italy* and *Spain*; and, in fine, that this People are always at War with the puiſſant Nations that are ſeated in the Neighbourhood of the Lake; but withal, that they never diſquiet the ſtrowling Nations that fall in their way, by reaſon of their Weakneſs: An admirable Leſſon for ſome Princes in the World, who are ſo much intent upon the making uſe of the ſtrongeſt hand.

This was all I could gather upon that Subject. My Curioſity prompted me to deſire a more particular Account; but unluckily I wanted a good Interpreter: and having to do with ſeveral Perſons that did not well underſtand themſelves, I could make nothing of their incoherent Fuſtian. I preſented the poor miſerable Slaves with ſomething in proportion to the Cuſtom of that Country, and endeavour'd to perſwade 'em to go with me to *Canada*, by making 'em ſuch Offers as in their eſteem would appear like Mountains of Gold: but the love they had for their Country ſtifled all Perſwaſion; ſo true it is, that Nature reduc'd to its juſt Limits cares but little for Riches.

In the mean time it began to thaw, and the Wind chop'd about to the South-weſt; upon which I gave notice to the great *Cacique* of the *Gnacſitares*, that I had a mind to return to *Canada*. Upon that occaſion I repeated my Preſents; in compenſation of which, my Pirogues were ſtow'd with Beef as full as they could hold. This done, I embark'd, and croſs'd over from the little Iſland to the Continent, where I fix'd a great long Pole, with the Arms of *France* done upon a Plate of Lead. I ſet out the 26th of *January*, and arriv'd ſafe on the 5th of *February* in the Country

of

of the *Eſſanapes*. We had much more pleaſure in ſailing down the River, than we had in going up; for we had the agreeable diverſion of ſeeing ſeveral Huntſmen ſhooting the Water-Fowl, that are plentiful upon that River. You muſt know, that the Stream of the Long River is all along very ſlack and eaſie, abating for about three Leagues between the fourteenth and fifteenth Village; for there indeed its Current may be call'd rapid. The Channel is ſo ſtraight, that it ſcarce winds at all from the Head to the Lake. 'Tis true 'tis not very pleaſant; for moſt of its Banks have a diſmal Proſpect, and the Water it ſelf has an ugly Taſte: but then its Uſefulneſs attones for ſuch Inconveniencies; for, 'tis navigable with the greateſt eaſe, and will bear Barques of fifty Tun, till you come to that place which is mark'd with a Flower-de-luce in the Map, and where I put up the Poſt that my Soldiers chriſten'd *la Hontan's Limit*. *March* 2. I arriv'd in the *Miſſiſipi*, which was then much deeper and more rapid than before, by reaſon of the Rains and Land-floods. To ſave the Labour of Rowing, we then left our Boats to the Current, and arriv'd on the 10th in the Iſland of *Rencontres*, which took its Name from the Defeat of 400 *Iroqueſe*, accompliſh'd there by 300 *Nadoueſſis*. The Story of the Encounter is briefly this: A Party of 400 *Iroqueſe* having a mind to ſurpriſe a certain People in the Neighbourhood of the *Otentas* (of whom more anon) march'd to the Country of the *Illineſe*, where they built Canows, and were furniſh'd with Proviſions. After that they embark'd upon the River *Miſſiſipi*, and were diſcover'd by another little Fleet that was ſailing down the other ſide of the ſame River. The *Iroqueſe* croſs'd over immediately to that Iſland, which is ſince call'd *Aux Rencontres*. The *Nadoueſſis*, *i. e.* the other little Fleet, being ſuſpicious of ſome ill Deſign, without knowing what People they were, (for they had no knowledge of the

Iroqueſe

Iroqueſe but by Hear-ſay; upon this ſuſpicion, I ſay, they tugg'd hard to come up with 'em. The two Armies poſted themſelves upon the point of the Iſland, where the two Croſſes are put down in the Map; and as ſoon as the *Nadoueſſis* came in ſight, the *Iroqueſe* cry'd out in the *Illineſe* Language, *Who are ye?* To which the *Nadoueſſis* anſwer'd, *Some body:* And putting the like Queſtion to the *Iroqueſe*, receiv'd the ſame Anſwer. Then the *Iroqueſe* put this Queſtion to 'em, *Where are you a going?* To hunt Beeves, reply'd the *Nadoueſſis*. *But pray*, ſays the *Nadoueſſis*, *what's your buſineſs? To hunt Men*, reply'd the *Iroqueſe*. *'Tis well*, ſays the *Nardoueſſis*, *we are men, and ſo you need go no farther.* Upon this Challenge the two Parties diſembark'd, and the Leader of the *Nadoueſſis* cut his Canows to pieces; and after repreſenting to his Warriours that they behov'd either to Conquer or Die, march'd up to the *Iroqueſe*; who receiv'd 'em at firſt Onſet with a Cloud of Arrows: But the *Nadoueſſis* having ſtood their firſt Diſcharge, which kill'd 'em eighty Men, fell in upon 'em with their Clubs in their hands, before the others could charge again; and ſo routed 'em entirely. This Engagement laſted for two hours, and was ſo hot, that two hundred and ſixty *Iroqueſe* fell upon the ſpot, and the reſt were all taken Priſoners. Some of the *Iroqueſe* indeed attempted to make their Eſcape after the Action was over; but the victorious General ſent ten or twelve of his Men to purſue 'em in one of the Canows that he had taken: and accordingly they were all overtaken and drown'd. The *Nadoueſſis* having obtain'd this Victory, cut off the Noſes and Ears of two of the cliveреſt Priſoners; and ſupplying 'em with Fuſees, Powder, and Ball, gave 'em the liberty of returning to their own Country, in order to give their Country-men to underſtand, that they ought not to employ Women to hunt after Men any longer.

The 12th we arriv'd at the Village of the *Otentas*, where we took in a plentiful Proviſion of *Turkey* Corn, of which theſe People have great ſtore. They inform'd us, that their River was pretty rapid, and took its Riſe from the neighbouring Mountains; and that the upper part of it was adorn'd with ſeveral Villages inhabited by the People call'd *Panimaha*, *Paneaſſa*, and *Panetonka*. But conſidering that I was ſtraitned for time, and that I ſaw no probability of learning what I wanted to know with reference to the *Spaniards*, I took leave of 'em the next day, which was the 13th, and in four days time, by the help of the Current and our Oars, made the River of the *Miſſouris*. This done, we run up againſt the Stream of that River, which was at leaſt as rapid as the *Miſſiſipi* was at that time; and arriv'd on the 18th at the firſt Village of the *Miſſouris*, where I only ſtop'd to make the People ſome Preſents that procur'd me a hundred Turkeys, with which that People are wonderfully well ſtock'd. After that, we row'd hard againſt the Stream, and landed next night near the ſecond Village. As ſoon as I arriv'd, I detach'd a Sergeant with ten Soldiers to convoy the *Outagamis* to the Village, while the reſt of my Crew were buſied in fitting up our Hutts and unloading our Canows. It happen'd unluckily that neither the Soldiers nor the *Outagamis* could make the Savages underſtand 'em; and the latter were juſt ready to fall upon 'em, when an old Fellow cry'd out, that the Strangers were not without more company, for that he had diſcover'd our Huts and Canows. Upon this, the Soldiers and the *Outagamis* retir'd in a great Conſternation, and adviſ'd me to keep a ſtrong Guard all night. About two a clock in the Morning two Men approach'd to our little Camp, and call'd in *Illineſe*, that they wanted an Interview; upon which the *Outagamis*, being extreamly well ſatisfied that there was ſome body among 'em who could underſtand what they ſaid, reply'd

ply'd in *Illineſe*, that they ſhould be very welcome as ſoon as the Sun appear'd in the Horizon. Nevertheleſs, the *Outagamis* reſented the former Affront ſo much, that they importun'd me all night long to ſet fire to the Village, and put all the ſcoundrel Inhabitants to the Sword. I made anſwer to 'em, that 'twas our buſineſs to be wiſer than they, and to bend our Thoughts, not upon a fruitleſs Revenge, but upon the Diſcovery that we were then in queſt of. At the break of Day the two Adventurers of the Night came up to us, and after putting Interfogatories to us for the ſpace of two hours, invited us to come up to their Village. The *Outagamis* reply'd, that the Head or Governour of their Nation ought to have ſaluted us ſooner: and this oblig'd 'em to go back to give him notice. After that we ſaw no body for three hours: but at laſt, when our Impatience was juſt beginning to boil, we perceiv'd the Governour, who accoſted us in a trembling Poſture. He was accompany'd with ſome of his own Men, who were loaded with broil'd or dry'd Meat, Sacks of *Turkey* or *Indian* Corn, dry'd Raiſins, and ſome ſpeckled or particolour'd Buck-skins. In conſideration of this Preſent, I made 'em another of leſs conſequence. Then I brought on a Conference between the *Outagamis* of my Company and the two Night Meſſengers, in order to make ſome diſcovery of the Nature of the Country; but they ſtill ſtop'd our Mouths with this Anſwer, that they knew nothing of the Matter, but that the other Nations that liv'd higher up were able to inform us. Had I been of the ſame mind with the *Outagamis*, we had done noble Exploits in this Place: but I conſider'd that 'twas my buſineſs to purchaſe the Knowledge of ſeveral things, which I could not obtain by burning the Village. To be ſhort, we re-embark'd that ſame day, about two a clock in the Afternoon, and row'd about four Leagues up the River, where we made the River of

the *Oſages*, and encamp'd by its Mouth. That Night we had ſeveral falſe Alarms from the wild Beeves, upon which we made ſufficient Repriſals afterwards; for the next day we kill'd many of 'em notwithſtanding that it rain'd ſo heavily that we could ſcarce ſtir out of our Hutts. Towards the Evening, when the Rain was over, and while we were tranſporting two or three of theſe Beeves to our little Camp, we ſpy'd an Army of the Savages upon a full March towards us. Upon that, my Men began to intrench themſelves, and to unload their Pieces with Worms, in order to charge 'em afreſh; but one of the Pieces happening to go off, the whole Body of the Enemy diſappear'd, ſome ſtraggling one way, and ſome another: for theſe People were upon the ſame foot with the Nations that live upon the Long River, foraſmuch as neither of them had ever ſeen or handled Fire-Arms. However, this Adventure mov'd the *Outagamis* ſo much, that to ſatisfie them, I was oblig'd to re-embark that very night, and return the ſame way that I came. Towards Midnight we came before a Village, and kept a profound Silence till Day-break, at which time we row'd up to their Fort; and upon our entring there, and diſcharging our Pieces in the Air, the Women, Children, and ſuperannuated Men, were put into ſuch a Conſternation, that they run from place to place calling out for Mercy. You muſt know, all their Warriours were abroad, and 'twas a Body of them that offer'd to attack us the day before. The *Outagamis* perceiving the Conſternation of the Women and Children, call'd out, that they behov'd to depart the Village, and that the Women ſhould have time to take up their Children. Upon that the whole Crew turn'd out, and we ſet fire to the Village on all ſides. This done, we purſu'd our Courſe down that rapid River, and enter'd the River *Miſſiſipi* on the 25th, early in the Morning: the 26th, about three a clock in the After-

Afternoon, we descry'd three or four hundred Savages employ'd in the Hunting of Beeves, which swarmed in all the Meads to the Westward. As soon as the Hunters spy'd us, they made a sign that we should make towards 'em. Being ignorant who, or how numerous they were, we made a halt at first; but at last we put in about a Musket-shot above 'em, calling out to 'em that they should not approach to us in a Body. Upon that, four of their number came up to us with a smiling Countenance, and gave us to know, in the *Ilinese* Language, that they were *Akansas*. We could not but credit their Report, for they had Knives and Scissars hanging upon their Necks, and little Axes about 'em, which the *Ilinese* present 'em with when they meet. In fine, being assur'd that they were of that Nation, which Mr. *de la Salle* and several other *French-men* were intimately acquainted with, we landed at the same place; and they entertain'd us first with Dancing and Singing, and then with all sorts of Meat. The next day they shew'd us a Crocodile that they had knock'd in the head two days before, by a Stratagem that you'll find describ'd in another place: After that they gave us the diversion of a Hunting Match; for 'tis customary with them, when they mean to divert themselves, to catch the Beeves by the different Methods laid down in this Cut. I put some Questions to 'em relating to the *Spaniards*, but they could not resolve 'em. All that I learn'd from 'em was, that the *Missouris* and the *Osages* are numerous and mischievous Nations, equally void both of Courage and Honesty; that their Countries were water'd with very great Rivers; and, in a word, were too good for them.

After we had spent two days with them, we pursued our Voyage to the River *Ouabach*, taking care to watch the Crocodiles very narrowly, of which they had told us incredible Stories. The next day we enter'd the Mouth of that River, and sounded it,

to try the truth of what the Savages reported of its depth. In effect, we found there three Fathom and a half Water; but the Savages of our Company alledg'd, that 'twas more ſwell'd than uſually. They all agreed, that 'twas Navigable an hundred Leagues up, and I wiſh'd heartily, that my time had allow'd me to run up to its Source; but that being unſeaſonable, I ſail'd up againſt the Stream, till we came to the River of the *Illineſe*, which we made on the 9*th* of *April* with ſome difficulty, for the Wind was againſt us the firſt two days, and the Currents was very rapid.

All I can ſay of the River *Miſſiſipi*, now that I am to take leave of it, is, that its narroweſt part is half a League over, and the ſhalloweſt is a Fathom and a half deep; and that according to the information of the Savages, its ſtream is pretty gentle for ſeven or eight Months of the year. As for Shelves or Banks of Sand, I met with none in it. 'Tis full of Iſles which look like Groves, by reaſon of the great plenty of Trees, and in the verdant ſeaſon of the year afford a very agreeable proſpect. Its Banks are Woods, Meadows and Hills. I cannot be poſitive, whether it winds much in other places; but as far as I could ſee, its courſe is very different from that of our Rivers in *France*; for I muſt tell you by the way, that all the Rivers of *America* run pretty ſtraight.

The River of the *Illineſe* is intitled to Riches, by vertue of the benign Climate, and of the great quantities of Deer, Roe-Bucks, and Turkeys that feed upon its brinks: Not to mention ſeveral other Beaſts and Fowls, a deſcription of which would require an intire Volume. If you ſaw but my Journal, you would be ſick of the tedious particulars of our daily Adventures both in Hunting and Fiſhing divers ſpecies of Animals, and in Rencounters with the Savages. In ſhort, the laſt thing I ſhall mention of this River,

River, is, that the Banks are repleniſh'd with an infinity of Fruit-Trees, which we ſaw in a diſmal condition, as being ſtrip'd of their verdure; and that among theſe Fruit-Trees, there are many Vines, which bear moſt beautiful Cluſters of very large Grapes. I ate ſome of theſe Grapes dry'd in the Sun, which had a moſt delicious Taſte. The Beavers are as unfrequent in this, as in the long River, where I ſaw nothing but Otters, of which the People make Furs for the Winter.

I ſet out from the *Illineſe* River on the 10*th* of *April*, and by the help of a Weſt-South-Weſt Wind, arriv'd in ſix days at the Fort of *Crevecoeur*, where I met with Mr. *de Tonti*, who receiv'd me with all imaginable Civility, and is juſtly reſpected and honour'd by the *Iroqueſe*. I ſtay'd three days in this Fort, where there were thirty *Coureurs de Bois* that traded with the *Illineſe*. The 20*th* I arriv'd at the Village of the *Illineſe*; and to leſſen the drudgery of a great Land-carriage of twelve great Leagues, ingag'd four hundred Men to tranſport our Baggage, which they did in the ſpace of four days, being incourag'd by a Bribe of a great Roll of *Braſil* Tobacco, an hundred pound weight of Powder, two hundred weight of Ball, and ſome Arms, which I gave to the moſt conſiderable Men of their number. The 24*th* I arriv'd at *Chekakou*, where my *Outagamis* took leave of me in order to return to their own Country, being very well ſatisfied with a Preſent I made 'em of ſome Fuſees, and ſome Piſtols. The 25*th* I reimbarqued, and by rowing hard in a Calm, made the River of the *Oumamis* on the 28*th* There I met four hundred Warriours, upon the very ſame place where Mr. *de la Salle* had formerly built a Fort. Theſe Warriours were then imploy'd in burning three *Iroqueſe*, who, as they ſaid, deſerv'd the Puniſhment; and invited us to ſhare in the pleaſure of the Show; for the Savages take it very ill if one

refuſes the diverſion of ſuch real Tragedies. The Tragical ſpectacle made me ſhrink, for the poor wretches were put to inconceiveable Torture; and upon that I reſolv'd to reimbarque with all expedition; alledging for an Apology, that my Men had great ſtore of Brandy with 'em, and would certainly make themſelves drunk, in ſolemniſing their Victory, upon which they would be apt to commit diſorders, that I could not poſſibly prevent. Accordingly I went immediately on board, and after coaſting along the Lake, croſs'd the Bay *de l'Ours*, and landed at *Miſſilimakinac* the 22*d*.

I am inform'd by the Sieur *de S. Pierre de Repantigni*, who travel'd from *Quebec* hither upon the Ice, that Mr. *de Denonville* has took up a reſolution of making a Peace with the *Iroqueſe*, in which he means to comprehend the other Nations that are his Allies; and with that view had given notice to his Allies, that they ſhould not infeſt the *Iroqueſe*. He acquaints me further, that Mr. *de Denonville* has ſent orders to the Governour of this place, to perſwade the *Rat*, (one of the Commanders of the *Hurons*) to go down to the Colony, with a deſign, to have him hang'd; and that the Savage General being aware of the deſign, has made a publick Declaration, that he will go thither on purpoſe to defie him. Accordingly he deſigns to ſet out to Morrow with a great body of *Outaouas*, and ſome *Coureurs de Bois*, under the command of Mr. *Dulhut*. As for the Soldiers of my Detachment, I have diſpers'd 'em in ſeveral Canows among the Savages, and the *Coureurs de Bois*; but having ſome buſineſs to adjuſt in this place, I am oblig'd to tarry my ſelf ſeven or eight days longer

This, Sir, is the true account of my little Voyage. I have related nothing but the Eſſential Circumſtances; chooſing to overlook the reſt, which are ſo trifling, as to be unworthy of your Curioſity.

ty. As for the *Illineſe* Lake, 'tis three hundred Leagues in Circumference, as you may ſee by the Scale of Leagues upon the Map. 'Tis ſeated in an admirable Climate; its Banks are cloath'd with fine and tall Trees, and have but few Meads. The River of the *Oumamis* is not worth your regard. The Bay *de l'Ours qui dort*, is of an indifferent large extent, and receives the River upon which the *Outaouas* are wont to hunt Beavers every third year. In ſhort, it has neither Shelves, Rocks, nor Banks of Sand. The Land which bounds it on the South ſide, is repleniſh'd with Roe-bucks, Deer, and Turkeys. Farewel, Good Sir: And aſſure your ſelf, that 'twill always be a ſenſible pleaſure to me, to amuſe you with an account of the greateſt Curioſities I meet with.

But now, Sir, I hope you will not take it ill, that the Relation I here give you, is only an Abridgment of my Voyage: For, in earneſt, to be minute upon every particular Curioſity, would require more time and leiſure than I can ſpare. I have here ſent you a view of the ſubſtantial part; and ſhall afterwards hope for an opportunity of recounting to you by word of Mouth, an infinity of Adventures, Rencounters, and Obſervations, which may call up the reflecting faculty of thinking Men. My own Thought is too Superficial to philoſophiſe upon the Origin, the Belief, the Manners and Cuſtoms of ſo many Savages; or to make any advances with reference to the extent of this Continent to the Weſtward. I have contented my ſelf with offering ſome thoughts upon the cauſes of the bad ſucceſs of the Diſcoveries, that ſeveral experienc'd Men have attempted in *America*, both by Sea and Land: And I flatter my ſelf, that my thoughts upon that head are juſt. The freſh Inſtances of Mr. *de la Salle*, and ſeveral other unlucky Diſcoverers, may afford a ſufficient and ſeaſonable caution to

thoſe,

thoſe, who for the future ſhall undertake to diſcover all the unknown Countries of this New World. 'Tis not every one that's qualify'd for ſuch an Enterpriſe, *non licet omnibus adire Corinthum.* 'Twere an eaſie matter to trace the utmoſt limits of the Country that lies to the Weſt of *Canada*, provided it be gone about in a proper Method. In the firſt place, inſtead of Canows, I would have ſuch Adventurers to make uſe of certain Sloops of a peculiar Structure, which might draw but little Water, and be portable, as being made of light Wood; and withall carry thirteen Men, with 35 or 40 hundred weight of Stowage, and be able to bear the ſhock of the Waves in the great Lakes. Courage, Health, and Vigilance, are not ſufficient of themſelves to qualifie a Man for ſuch Adventures; he ought to be poſſeſs'd of other Talents, which are rarely met with in one and the ſame Perſon. The Conduct of the three hundred Men that accompany'd me upon this Diſcovery, gave me a great deal of trouble. It requires a large ſtock of Induſtry and Patience, to keep ſuch a Company up to their Duty. Sedition, Mutinies, Quarrels, and an infinity of diſorders frequently take place among thoſe, who being in remote and ſolitary Places, think they have a right of uſing force againſt their Superiours. One muſt diſſemble, and even ſhut his Eyes upon occaſion, leaſt the growing Evil ſhould be inflam'd: The gentleſt Methods are the ſureſt, for him that commands in Chief; and if any Mutiny or Seditious Plot is in view, 'tis the buſineſs of the inferior Officers to ſtifle it, by perſwading the Mutineers, that the diſcovery of ſuch things to the Commanding Officer, would create a great deal of uneaſineſs. So, the chief Officer muſt ſtill make as if he were ignorant of what paſſes, unleſs it be, that the flame breaks out in his Preſence; then indeed he lies under an indiſpenſible Obligation, of inflicting ſpeedy

and

and private punishment, without his prudence directs him to put off the Execution, upon an apprehension of some pernicious consequences that may insue thereupon. In such Voyages he must overlook a thousand things, which upon other occasions he has all reason to punish. He must counterfeit a downright ignorance of their Intrigues with the She-Savages, of their Quarrels among themselves, of their negligence in not mounting the Guard, and not observing the other points of Duty; in a word, he must pretend to know nothing of an Infinity of such Disorders, as have no direct tendency to a Revolt. He ought to use the precaution of singling out a Spy in his little Army, and reward him handsomly for a dexterous Intelligence as to all that happens; to the end that he may remedy the growing disorders either directly or indirectly. This Spie may by good management, and due secrecy find out the Ringleader of a Club or Cabal; and when the Commanding Officer has receiv'd such satisfaction upon the matter, that there's no room left to doubt of the Criminal's Demerit; 'twill then be very convenient to make away with him, and that with such management, that no body should know what became of him.

Farther: He ought to give 'em Tobacco and Brandy now and then, to ask their advice upon some occasions, to fatigue 'em as little as possible, to call 'em up to dance and make merry, and at the same time to exhort 'em to live in a good understanding with one another. The best Topick he can make use of for inforcing their Duty, is Religion, and the Honour of their Country, and this he ought to descant upon himself: For though I have a great deal of Faith in the power of the Clergy; yet I know that sort of Men do's more harm than good, in Voyages of this nature; and for that reason I'd choose to be without their Company. The Person who

who undertakes to go upon a Diſcovery, ought to be very nice and cautious in the choice of his Men; for every one is not fit for his buſineſs. His Men ought to be between 30 and 40 years of Age, of a dry Conſtitution, of a peaceable Temper, of an active and bold Spirit, and inur'd to the fatigues of Voyages. The whole Retinue muſt conſiſt of three hundred Men; and of that number there muſt be ſome Ship-Carpenters, Gun-ſmiths, and Sawyers with all their Tools; beſides Huntſmen, and Fiſhermen with their Tackling. You muſt likewiſe have Surgeons among 'em, but their Cheſt ought to contain nothing but Razours, Lancets, External Medicines for Wounds, Orvietan and Senna. All the Men of the Detachment, ought to be provided with Buff-Coats and Boots to turn the Arrows; for, as I intimated above, the Savages of the unknown Countries are ſtrangers to Fire-Arms. They muſt be arm'd with a double barrel'd Gun, a double barrel'd Piſtol, and a good long Sword. The Commanding Officer muſt take care to provide a ſufficient quantity of the Skins of Deer, Elks, and Beeves, in order to be ſew'd together, and hung round his Camps upon certain Stakes fix'd at convenient diſtances from one another. I had as many as would go round a ſquare of thirty Foot every way; for each Skin being five Foot deep, and almoſt four Foot broad, I made two pieces of eight Skins a piece, which were rais'd and extended in a Minute. Beſides theſe, he ought to carry with him ſome Pot-Guns of eight Foot in length, and ſix in breadth; with two Hand-Mills for grinding the *Indian* Corn, Nails of all ſizes, Pickaxes, Spades, Hatchets, Hooks, Soap, and Cotton to make Candles of. Above all, he muſt not forget to take in good ſtore of Powder, Brandy, *Braſil* Tobacco, and ſuch things as he muſt preſent to the Savages whoſe Country he diſcovers. Add to this Cargo, an Aſtrolabe, a Semicircle, ſeveral

veral Sea-Compaſſes, ſome Simple, and ſome of Variation, a Load-ſtone, two large Watches of three Inches Diameter; Pencils, Colours, and Paper, for making Journals and Maps, for the deſigning of Land-Creatures, Fowl, Fiſh, Trees, Plants, Grain, and in a word, whatever ſeems worthy of his Curioſity. I would likewiſe adviſe him to carry with him ſome Trumpeters and Fidlers, both for animating his Retinue, and raiſing the admiration of the Savages. With this Equipage, Sir, a Man of Senſe, Conduct, and Action, I mean, a Man that's Vigilant, Prudent, Cautious, and above all, Patient and Moderate, and qualify'd for contriving Expedients upon all occaſions; a Man, I ſay, thus qualify'd, and thus fitted out, may boldly go to all the Countries that lye to the Weſt of *Canada*, without any apprehenſion of danger. As for my own part, I ſeriouſly declare, that if I were poſſeſs'd of all theſe qualities, I ſhould eſteem it my happineſs to be imploy'd upon ſuch an Enterpriſe, both for the Glory of his Majeſty, and my own Satisfaction: For the continu'd diverſity of Objects, did ſo charm me in my Voyages, that I had ſcarce time to reflect upon the fatigue and trouble that I underwent. I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

LETTER

LETTER XVII.

Dated at *Quebec September* 28. 1689.

The Author ſets out from Miſſilimakinac *to the Colony, and deſcribes the Country, Rivers, and Paſſes that he ſaw by the way. The* Iroqueſe *make a fatal incurſion into the Iſland of* Monreal: *Fort* Frontenac *is abandon'd. Count* Frontenac *is ſent to* Canada, *and the Marquis of* Denonville *is recall'd.*

SIR,

I Writ to you from *Miſſilimakinac* on the 28*th* of *May*. I left that place *June* the 8*th*, and ſet out for *Monreal*, accompany'd with twelve *Outaouas*, who were divided into two Canows, and row'd very hard. The 23*d*, I overtook the *Coureurs de Bois* in the River *Creuſe*, who had got the ſtart of me for ſome days. Mr. *Dulhut* us'd his utmoſt efforts to diſſwade me from going further with ſo weak a Retinue. He would have had me to go down along with him; and remonſtrated to me, that if my twelve Conducters perceiv'd either in the Land-carriage or upon the Rivers, any thing that might call up an apprehenſion of falling into the hands of the *Iroqueſe*, they would deſert me and the Canows, and fly to the Woods to avoid the Enemy. I rejected his Advice, though I had like to have repented of my reſolution not long after; for according to his Prediction, my Canow-Men threatn'd to run away to the Forreſts, at the Fall call'd *Long Saut*: And indeed if they had done it, I had follow'd 'em, upon the reflection, that of two Evils a Man ought to

to chooſe the leaſt; but this Storm blew over. In the great River of the *Outaouas*, not far from the River of *Lievre*, I met Mr. *de St. Helene* at the Head of a Party of the *Coureurs de Bois*, who was bound for *Hudſon's* Bay, in order to retake ſome Forts that the *Engliſh* had ſeiz'd upon. He acquainted me with the Prince of *Orange's* Expedition for *England*; and gave me to underſtand, that upon his arrival King *James* retir'd to *France*, and that the Prince was proclaim'd King, which ſeem'd to preſage a bloody and ſharp War in *Europe*. I aſſure you, Sir, this piece of News ſurpriz'd me extreamly; and notwithſtanding that I had it from the Mouth of a Man, whoſe word I rely very much upon, yet I had all the difficulty in the World to make my ſelf believe, that a Revolution of ſuch Importance could be accompliſh'd in ſo ſhort a time, without the effuſion of Blood; eſpecially conſidering what a ſtrict Alliance there was between our Court, and the Court of *England*, and how much 'twas the intereſt of both theſe Monarchs to give mutual aſſiſtance to one another. *July* the 9*th* I arriv'd at *Monreal*, after venturing down ſeveral fearful Cataracts in the River of the *Outaouas*, and induring the hardſhips of fifteen or twenty Land-carriages, ſome of which are above a League in length.

The Navigation is prety ſure from *Miſſilimakinac* to the River *des François*; for in coaſting along the Lake of *Hurons*, we meet with an infinity of Iſlands, which ſerve for a ſhelter. But in going up that River, there's ſome difficulty, for it has five Cataracts which oblige us to turn out and carry all over-land for thirty, fifty, and a hundred Paces. Having paſs'd that River, we enter'd the Lake of the *Nepicerinis*, from whence we are forc'd to tranſport our Canows and Baggage two Leagues over-land, to another River which has ſix or ſeven Water-falls that we commonly ſhoot. From that River we have a-

nother

nother Land-carriage to the River *Creuſe*, which falls with rapid Currents into the great River of the *Outaouas*, near a place call'd *Mataouan*. We continue our courſe upon this great River, till we come to the point of the iſland of *Monreal*, where 'tis loſt in the great River of St. *Laurence*. Theſe two Rivers joyn one another with very gentle Streams, and quitting their fearful Channels form the little Lake of St. *Louis*. I thought to have loſt my Life at the fall, call'd the fall of St. *Louis*, about three Leagues from *Monreal*, for our Canow having overſet in the Eddy, I was carry'd by the Current to the foot of that Cataract, from whence the Chevalier *de Vaudreuil* drag'd me out by a great chance. The Canows and the Skins belonging to the ſix Savages were loſt; and one of the Savages was drown'd. This is the only time I was in danger, through the whole courſe of my Voyages. As ſoon as I landed here, I repair'd with diligence to a Tavern to refreſh my ſelf, and to make up the loſſes I had ſuſtain'd by a neceſſary Abſtinence. The next day I waited upon Mr. *de Denonville*, and Mr. *de Champigni*, to whom I gave an account of my Voyages, and withal, gave in the News that a great company of the *Coureurs de Bois* and Savages would arrive very ſpeedily; which they did accordingly after fifteen days. The *Rat* I mention'd above came down hither, and return'd home notwithſtanding the threats that were levell'd againſt him. By this Adventure, he ſhew'd that he laugh'd at their Intrigues. But now that I have mention'd his name, I cannot forbear mentioning a malicious Stratagem that this cunning Savage made uſe of laſt year, to prevent the concluſion of a Peace between Mr. *de Denonville* and the *Iroqueſe*.

This Savage is the general and chief Counſellour of the *Hurons*; he is a Man of forty years of Age, and brave in his way. When he found himſelf preſs'd

preſs'd and importun'd by Mr. *de Denonville*, to enter into the Alliance concluded in the year 1687, that I took notice of before; he at laſt comply'd with his deſire, with this reſerve, that the War ſhould not be put to an end till the *Iroqueſe* were totally routed. This clauſe the Governour promis'd to make good, and gave him aſſurances to that purpoſe on the 3*d* of *September*, in the ſame year, which happen'd about two days before I ſet out from *Niagara*, upon my Voyage to the great Lakes. This Savage-General relying upon Mr. *de Denonville*'s promiſe, march'd from *Miſſilimakinac* at the Head of an hundred Warriours, as I inſinuated in my 14*th* Letter, in order to invade the *Iroqueſe* Country, and atchieve ſome glorious feats among 'em. In the mean time, to carry on his deſign the more cautiouſly, he thought it proper to paſs by the way of Fort *Frontenac*, where he might receive ſome intelligence. Upon his arrival at this Fort, the Governour told him that Mr. *de Denonville* was negotiating a Peace with the five *Iroqueſe* Nations, whoſe Embaſſadors and Hoſtages he expected in a ſhort time, in order to conclude and ratifie the Peace, he having orders to conduct 'em to *Monreal*: And that upon that Conſideration, 'twas moſt proper for him and his Warriours to return home, and to paſs no further. The Savage General was mightily ſurpris'd with this unexpected piece of News; eſpecially conſidering that by the means of that Peace, he and his Nation would be given up as a Sacrifice for the Wellfare of the French. When the Governor had made an end of his Remonſtrance, the *Rat* acknowledg'd, that what he offer'd was very reaſonable, but withal, that inſtead of following his Advice, he would go and tarry for the *Iroqueſe* Embaſſadours and Hoſtages at the Cataracts, by which they were oblig'd to paſs. He had not tarry'd there above five or ſix days, before the unhappy Depu-

ties arriv'd with a Train of forty young Men, who were all either kill'd or taken as they diſembarqued. The Priſoners were no ſooner fetter'd, than this crafty General of the *Hurons* repreſented to 'em, that the *French* Governour had ſent him notice to take up that Poſt, in order to lie in wait for a Party of fifty Warriours, that were to paſs that way at a certain ſet time. The *Iroqueſe* being much ſurpris'd with the apprehenſion of the perfidiouſneſs that he charg'd upon Mr. *de Denonville*, acquainted the *Rat* with the deſign upon which they came. Upon that the *Rat* counterfeited a ſort of Rage and Fury; and to play his Cards the better, flew out in invectives againſt Mr. *de Denonville*, declaring, that ſome time or other he would be reveng'd upon that Governour, for making him the Inſtrument of the moſt barbarous Treachery that ever was acted. Then he fix'd his Eyes upon all the Priſoners, among whom was the chief Embaſſadour call'd *Theganeſorens*, and ſpoke to this purpoſe; *Go my Brethren, though I am at War with you, yet I releaſe you, and allow you to go home. 'Tis the Governour of the* French *that put me upon this black Action, which I ſhall never be able to digeſt, unleſs your five Nations revenge themſelves, and make their juſt Repriſals.* This was ſufficient to convince the *Iroqueſe* of the ſincerity of his words; and they aſſur'd him upon the ſpot, that if he had a mind to make a ſeparate Peace, the five Nations would agree to it: However, the *Rat* having loſt one Man in this Adventure, kept an *Iroqueſe* Slave to ſupply the place of the Man he had loſt: And after furniſhing the Priſoners with Guns, Powder, and Ball, in order to their return homeward, march'd to *Miſſilimakinac*, where he preſented the *French* Governour with the Slave that he brought off. The poor wretch was no ſooner deliver'd, than he was condemn'd to be ſhot; for at that time the *French* Garriſon did not know that

Mr.

Mr. *de Denonville* deſign'd to clap up a Peace with the *Iroqueſe*. The condemn'd Priſoner gave an account of his Adventure, and that of the Ambaſſadours; but the *French* thought that the fear of Death made the fellow talk idely, and were confirm'd in that thought, by hearing the *Rat* and his Men ſay that he was Light-headed: Inſomuch, that the poor Fellow was put to death, notwithſtanding all the reaſons he could offer. The ſame day that he was ſhot, the *Rat* call'd an old *Iroqueſe* Slave that had ſerv'd him a long while, and told him he had reſolv'd to allow him the liberty of returning to his own Country, and ſpending the reſt of his days among his Friends and Country-men. At the ſame time he gave him to know, that ſince he had been an Eye-witneſs of the barbarous uſage that his Country-men had met with from the *French*, notwithſtanding what he offer'd in his own defence, it behov'd him to acquaint his Countrymen with the blackneſs of that Action. The manumitted Slave obey'd his orders ſo punctually, that ſoon after the *Iroqueſe* made an Incurſion, at a time when the Governour did not dream of any ſuch thing, for he had us'd the Precaution of giving the *Iroqueſe* to underſtand, that he diſallow'd of the *Rat's* Treachery; inſomuch, that he had a mind to have him hang'd; and upon this proſpect, expected hourly ten or twelve Deputies to conclude the Peace he ſo much deſir'd.

In effect the Deputies did come, but neither their Number nor their Deſign was ſuitable to what the Governour had promiſed to himſelf. Twelve hundred Warriours landed at the Lands-end of the Iſland of *Monreal*, and burnt and ſack'd all the Plantations in that Quarter: They maſſacred Men, Women, and Children; and Madam *de Denonville*, who was then at *Monreal* with her Husband, did not think her ſelf ſafe in that place. A general Conſternation was ſpread all about; for the *Barbarians* were not a-

bove three Leagues from *Monreal*. They burnt all the adjacent Settlements, and block'd up two Forts. Mr. *de Denonville* ſent out a Detachment of a hundred Soldiers and fifty Savages to oppoſe 'em, being unwilling to ſpare a greater number out of the City: but all the Men of the Detachment were either taken or cut in pieces, excepting twelve Savages, one Soldier, and Mr. *de Longueil* who commanded the Party, and was carried off by the twelve Savages after his Thigh was broke: The other Officers, namely, the *Sieurs de la Raberre, Denis, la Plante*, and *Villedenè*, were all taken Priſoners. In a word, the *Barbarians* laid almoſt the whole Iſland waſte, and loſt only three Men, who having drank to exceſs of the Wine they found in the Plantations, were decoy'd into a Fort by a *Canadeſe* Cow-keeper, that had been their Slave for ſome Years. As ſoon as the three unfortunate *Iroqueſe* arriv'd in the Fort, they were thrown into a Cellar to ſleep themſelves ſober; and, queſtionleſs, as ſoon as they wak'd they repented of their exceſſive drinking. When they wak'd, they fell immediately a ſinging; and when the Garriſon offer'd to fetter 'em, and carry 'em to *Monreal*, they flew to ſome Clubs that lay in the Cellar, and made ſuch a vigorous and brave defence, that the Garriſon was forc'd to ſhoot 'em upon the ſpot. The Cow-keeper being brought before Mr. *de Denonville*, he told him, That the Breach made by the *Rat*'s Contrivance was irreparable; that the five *Iroqueſe* Nations reſented that Adventure with ſo much warmth, that 'twas impoſſible to diſpoſe 'em to a Peace in a ſhort time; that they were ſo far from being angry with that *Huron* for what he did, that they were willing to enter into a Treaty with him, owning that he and his Party had done nothing but what became a braveMan and a good Ally. Doubtleſs this fatal Incurſion was a great Surpriſal to Mr. *de Denonville*, and afforded him a copious Field for Reflection. 'Twas already impoſſible

poſſible to continue the Poſſeſſion of Fort *Frontenac*, where they began to want Proviſions, and which could not be relieved without expoſing a great many Men to the danger of the Paſſes or Cataracts, which I have mention'd ſo often. There was a downright neceſſity of calling out the Garriſon, and blowing up the Fort; but the difficulty lay in finding a Man to carry Orders for that effect to the Governour, for no body durſt undertake it, till the Sieur *Peter d'Arpentigni* offer'd to go all alone through the Foreſts; and accordingly he went, and did his Buſineſs ſucceſsfully. The Orders were extream welcome to Mr. *de Valrenes*, the Governour of the Fort for the time; who, upon the receiving of 'em, run a Mine under the four Baſtions, which, with the Powder he put in, was reckon'd ſufficient to blow it up. This done, he embark'd, and came down the River through the Cataracts to *Monreal*, where he found Mr. *de Denonville*, and accompany'd him hither. That Officer did not only abdicate the Fort of *Frontenac*, but ſet fire to three great Barques that they us'd to ply with upon the Lake, both to awe the *Iroqueſe* in time of War, and to convey Commodities to 'em in time of Peace. Mr. *de Denonville* acted a prudent part in relinquiſhing both this Fort and that of *Niagara*; for, in earneſt, theſe two Poſts are indefenſible, by reaſon of the inacceſſible Cataracts, upon which an Ambuſcado of ten *Iroqueſe* may repulſe a thouſand *Frenchmen* by the throwing of Stones. But after all I muſt own, that the Welfare and Preſervation of our Colonies had an abſolute dependance upon theſe two Forts, which ſeem'd to inſure the utter Deſtruction of the *Iroqueſe*; for they could not ſtir out of their Villages to Hunt, or to Fiſh, without running the riſque of having their Throats cut by the Savages in Alliance with us, who being then aſſur'd of a ſafe Retreat, would have made continual Incurſions into the Country of thoſe *Barbarians*:

And by this means the *Iroquese* being unprovided with Beaver-skins to be given in exchange for Guns, Powder, Ball, and Nets, would be ſtarv'd to death, or at leaſt be oblig'd to depart their Country.

In the end of *September* Mr. *de Bonaventure*, Captain and Owner of a Merchant Ship, arriv'd in this Port, and brought the News of Mr. *de Frontenac*'s Reinſtallment in the place of Governour-General of *Canada*, and of the Re-calling of Mr. *de Denonville*, whom the Duke *de Beauvilliers* has recommended to the King, for the place of Sub-Governour to the Princes his Grandſons. Some People are uneaſie at the re-calling of this Governour; and 'tis ſaid, that the Reverend Fathers the Jeſuits, fall under the number of the Malecontents: For if we may credit the reports of the Country, they contributed in a great meaſure, to the re-calling of Mr. *de Frontenac* ſeven or eight years agoe, by acting in concert with the Intendant of *Cheſneau*, and the ſupreme Council, and drawing up Accuſations againſt him which had the deſired effect; though now the King ſhews that he is undeceiv'd, by reinſtating that Gentleman once more in this Government. In the mean time the Stateſmen of the Country that are moſt guilty, know not how to dreſs this kettle of Fiſh; for they make no queſtion but the New Governour will retain a juſt reſentment of what's paſt. But the Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Inhabitants, are making preparations for ſolemniſing his Arrival, which they expect with as much impatience, as the *Jews* do the *Meſſias*. The very Savages that live in the skirts of the Colony, ſhew an uncommon Joy upon the hopes of his return: And indeed, we need not think it ſtrange, for that Governour drew Eſteem and Veneration, not only from the *French*, but from all the Nations of this vaſt Continent, who look'd upon him as their Guardian Angel. Mr. *de Denonville* begins to pack up his Baggage, and that in effect,

fect, is all I can ſay of him. 'Tis none of my buſineſs to meddle with an infinity of Affairs, that relate to the Gentleman's private Intereſt. As to the queſtion, whether he has manag'd well or ill, during the courſe of his Government, or whether he was lov'd or hated, I know nothing of the matter. I am at a loſs to know whether he kept a good or a ſorry Table, for indeed I was never at it. Adieu.

I make account to ſet out for *Rochel*, when the Veſſel that brings our new Governour, returns for *France*. I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

LETTER XVIII.

Dated at *Quebec November* 15. 1689.

Giving an Account of Mr. de Frontenac's *Arrival, his Reception, his Voyage to* Monreal, *and the repairing of Fort* Frontenac.

SIR,

THE Intelligence you give me of the adjudging of the Lands of *Labontan*, would have drove me to deſpair; if you had not aſſur'd me at the ſame time, that I might recover it after a Century of years, (if I had the misfortune to live ſo long) upon the condition of reimburſing to the Poſſeſſour, the Sum that he pay'd for it, and of proving that I was actually in the Kings Service in the remote parts of the World, when that Eſtate was ſold. To ſpeak to the purpoſe, Mr. *de Frontenac* has

countermanded the leave I had to go for *France*, and has offer'd me a free acceſs to his Pocket and his Table. All the Arguments I offer'd, have no Influence upon him, and ſo I am bound to obey.

This new Governour arriv'd at *Quebec* the 15*th* of *October*. He came on ſhoar at eight a Clock at Night, and was receiv'd by the Supreme Council, and all the Inhabitants in Arms, with Flambeau's both in the City, and upon the Harbour, with a triple Diſcharge of the great and ſmall Guns, and Illuminations in all the Windows of the City. That ſame Night he was complimented by all the Companies of the Town, and above all, by the Jeſuits, who upon that occaſion made a very pathetick Speech, though the Heart had leſs hand in it, than the Mouth. The next day he was viſited by all the Ladies, whoſe inward joy appear'd in their Countenances, as much as in their Words. Several Perſons made Fire-works, while the Governour and his Retinue ſung *Te Deum* in the great Church. Theſe ſolemn Demonſtrations of Joy, increas'd from day to day, till the new Governour ſet out for *Monreal*; and the Conduct of the People upon this Head, afforded ſignal proofs of the ſatisfaction they had in his return, and of their reſting aſſur'd, that his wiſe Conduct, and noble Spirit, would preſerve the Repoſe and Tranquility that he always kept up; during his firſt ten years Government. All the World ador'd him, and ſtyl'd him *Redemptor Patriæ*; to which Title he had a juſt claim, for all the Inhabitants of theſe Colonies agree, that when he came firſt to *Canada*, he found all things in Confuſion and Diſtreſs. At that time the *Iroqueſe* had burnt all the Plantations, and cut the Throats of ſome thouſands of the *French*; the Farmer was knock'd on the Head in his Field; the Traveller was murder'd upon the Road, and the Merchant ruin'd for want of Commerce: All the Planters were pinch'd with Famine, the

the War render'd the Country deſolate; and in a word, New-*France* had infallibly periſh'd, if this Governour had not made that Peace with the *Barbarians*, that I ſpoke of in my fifth Letter. The bringing of that Peace to bear, was an action of greater Importance, than you can well imagine; for theſe *Barbarians* grounded all their Wars upon a perſonal Enmity, whereas the *European* Ruptures depend more upon Intereſt than upon pure Revenge.

Mr. *de St. Valiers* the Biſhop of *Quebec*, arriv'd likewiſe on the 15*th* at the ſame Port. He had imbarqu'd in the preceding Spring, on board of a Bark that he had hir'd to tranſport him to *Acadia*, to *Newfound-land*, and to the other Countries of his Dioceſs. Mr. *de Frontenac* our Governour, ſet out for *Monreal* in a Canow, four or five days after his Arrival; and I had the honour to accompany him. All Indeavours were us'd to diſſwade him from undertaking that Voyage, when the ſeaſon was ſo cold, and ſo far advanc'd: For, as I inform'd you before, the Ice is thicker and ſtronger here in *Octob.* than 'tis at *Paris* in *January*; which, is very ſtrange. Notwithſtanding all the Remonſtrances drawn from the Hardſhips and Inconveniences of the Voyage, he ſlighted the Fatigues of the Water, and threw himſelf into a Canow in the ſixty eighth year of his his Age. Nay, he took the abdication of Fort *Frontenac* ſo much to Heart, that he had gone ſtraight thither, if the Nobility, the Prieſts, and the Inhabitants of *Monreal*, had not intreated him with joynt Supplications, not to expoſe his Perſon to the danger of the Falls and Cataracts that lie in that Paſſage. In the mean time ſome Gentlemen of *Canada*, follow'd by a hundred *Coureurs de Bois*, under the command of Mr. *Mantet*, ventur'd upon the Voyage, with intent to learn the State of the Fort. I acquainted you in my laſt Letter, that Mr. *de Valrenes* had blown up the Walls of the Fort, when he

he made his Retreat; but by good luck, the damage was not ſo great as 'twas took to be; for the Party commanded by Mr. *Mantet*, have already rear'd up the ruinous Wall to the height of ſome Fathoms, and will continue to work upon the repair of the Fort all this Winter. This News Mr. *de Frontenac* receiv'd laſt Night, which was the ſixth after his return to this City.

I had forgot to tell you that he brought with him out of *France*, ſome of thoſe *Iroqueſe* that Mr. *de Denonville* had ſent to the Galleys, as I intimated in my thirteenth Letter; the reſt having periſh'd in their Chains. Of all theſe unfortunate *Barbarians* that he has brought back, the moſt conſiderable is one that goes by the name of *Oreouabè*. He was not us'd as a Galley Slave, in regard that he was the Leader of the *Goyoguans*, and the Governour has lodg'd him in the Caſtle, in conſideration of the eſteem he ſhews both for Mr. *de Frontenac*, and for the *French* Nation. Some flatter themſelves with the hopes, that ſome Accommodation with the five *Iroqueſe* Nations may be effected by his Mediation; and for that end propoſals of Peace are now in agitation: But I have three good reaſons for predicting, that ſuch a Deſign will prove abortive. I have already laid theſe Reaſons before Mr. *de Frontenac*, who gave me to know, that after the departure of the Ships, he would diſcourſe me upon that Head. I ſhall not offer at the particulars of his Interview, with Monſieur and Madam *de Denonville*; till ſuch time as you and I have an opportunity of talking under the Roſe. Some Officers accompany Mr. *Denonville* and his Lady to *France*, in hopes of being prefer'd. In all probability the Ships will ſet ſail to Morrow, for we have now a fair and gentle Weſterly Gale; beſides, that the ſeaſon for quitting this Port, is almoſt ſpent. I am,

SIR, *Yours*, &c.

LET-

LETTER XIX.

Dated at *Monreal October* 2. 1690.

*Relating the Attempts upon New-*England *and New-*York; *a fatal Embaſſy ſent by the* French *to the* Iroqueſe; *and an ill-concerted Interpriſe of the* Engliſh *and the* Iroqueſe, *in marching by Land to Attack the* French *Colony.*

SIR,

ABout fifteen days ſince a Ship of *Rochel* laden with Wine and Brandy, arriv'd in this Harbour; and the Captain took care to convey a Letter from you to my Hands. As to your deſire of having a circumſtantial Account of the Trade of *Canada*, I cannot ſatisfie it at preſent, for I am not as yet ſo thoroughly acquainted with all its Branches. But I aſſure you, that ſome time or other I ſhall ſend you ſuch Memoirs, as will give you ſatisfaction upon that Head. In the mean time, I hope you'll be contented with an account of what paſs'd in this Country ſince the date of my laſt.

As ſoon as Mr. *Denonville* ſet out from *Quebec*, upon his return to *France*, Mr. *de Frontenac* took poſſeſſion of the Fort, which is the common Reſidence of our Governour-General; and order'd one of our beſt Architects to make preparations for rebuilding it as ſoon as he could.

In the beginning of this year, Mr. *d'Iberville* attempted to pillage a ſmall Village in New-*York*, call'd by the *Iroqueſe Corlar*; which name they likewiſe give to all the Governours of that *Engliſh* Colony.

lony. This Gentleman, who is a *Canadeſe*, was attended by five hundred *Coureurs de Bois*, and the like number of Savages; and the whole Party made the Expedition over Snow and Ice, notwithſtanding they had three hundred Leagues to march backward and forward, and that the Roads were very rugged and troubleſome. Mr. *d'Iberville* met with wonderful Succeſs, for after he had pillag'd, burnt, and ſack'd that little Village, with the adjacent Cantons, he fell in with a Party of an hundred *Iroqueſe*, and defeated 'em intirely. Much about the ſame time Mr. *de Portneuf*, another *Canada* Gentleman, march'd out at the Head of three hundred Men, one half Savages, and the other half *Coureurs de Bois*, with intent to poſſeſs himſelf of a Fort belonging to the *Engliſh*, call'd *Kenebeki*, which ſtands upon the Sea-Coaſt of *New-England*, towards the Frontiers of *Acadia*. The Garriſon of this Fort made a brave defence: But there being great quantities of Granado's and other Fire-works thrown in upon 'em, while the Savages (contrary to their Cuſtom) ſcal'd the Paliſſadoes on all hands, the Governour was oblig'd to ſurrender upon Diſcretion. 'Tis ſaid, that in this Action the *Coureurs de Bois* did their duty very bravely, but the Enterpriſe had prov'd ſucceſsleſs without the aſſiſtance of the Savages.

As ſoon as the Rivers were navigable, Mr. *de Frontenac* offer'd to ſend me with Propoſals of Peace to the *Iroqueſe*. But I made anſwer, that ſince his Pocket and his Table had been free to me during the Winter, I could not imagine that he had a mind to be rid of me ſo ſoon. Being oblig'd by this reply to unfold my meaning, I remonſtrated to him, That, the King of *England* having loſt his Crown, and War being proclaim'd, the Governours of New-*England* and New-*York*, would infallibly uſe their utmoſt Efforts to excite theſe Bandito's to redouble their Incurſions; that for that end they would furniſh

niſh 'em with Ammunition *gratis*, and even joyn 'em in order to attack our Towns; and above all, that the Intrigue of the *Rat* had ſo provok'd 'em, that in my opinion, 'twas impoſſible to appeaſe 'em. Upon theſe Conſiderations, I humbly beſeech'd him to have ſome other Perſon in his view, in caſe he perſiſted in his deſign of making a Trial of that Nature. The Chevalier *Do* was ſingled out for this fatal Embaſſy, being attended by one *Colin*, as Interpreter of the *Iroqueſe* Language, and two young *Canadans*. They ſet out in a Canow, and when they came in ſight of the Village of the *Onnontagues*, were receiv'd with the honourable Salvo of ſeveral good blows, and conducted with the ſame Ceremony to the Village. Such a Retinue could not but be diſagreeable to the Gentleman that came to make offers of a Peace. The ancient Men being quickly aſſembled, thought it moſt proper to ſend 'em back with a favourable Anſwer, and in the mean time to ingage ſome of the *Agnies* and *Onnoyotes*, to lye in wait for 'em at the Cataracts of the River, and there kill two, ſending the third back to *Quebec*, and carrying the fourth to their Village, where there would be found ſome *Engliſh* that would ſhoot 'em, that is, that would give 'em the ſame uſage as the *Rat* did to their Ambaſſadours: So true it is, that that Action ſticks in their ſtomachs. This Project had actually been put in execution, if it had not been for ſome of the Planters of New-*York*, who were then among the *Barbarians*, having come thither on purpoſe to animate 'em againſt us. Theſe Planters knew ſo well how to influence the *Barbarians* that were already bent upon Revenge; that a Company of young *Barbarians* burnt 'em all alive, excepting the Chevalier *Do*, whom they tied Hand and Foot, and ſent him bound to *Boſton*, with a deſign to pump out of him, a view of the condition of our Colonies and Forces. This piece of News

we

we receiv'd two Months after, by ſome Slaves that made their eſcape from the *Iroqueſe*; and Mr. *de Frontenac*, when ſurpris'd with ſuch diſmal News, declar'd, that out of twenty Captains that offer'd to execute that Commiſſion, and would have taken the Imployment for an Honour, I was the only one that had been capable of foreſeeing its bad Succeſs.

June the 24*th*, I imbarqu'd for this place in a ſluggiſh Brigantine, that the Captain of the Governour's Guards had caus'd to be built the foregoing Winter. This venerable Veſſel had the honour to lodge the Intendant and his Lady; and all of us being in no haſte, ſpent ten or twelve days by the way, and feaſted like Kings every Night. Mr. *de Frontenac* mark'd out a Fort in his paſſage to the City of *Trois Rivieres*, which I ſpoke of before. Fifteen days after our arrival in this place, a certain Savage whoſe name was *Plake*, came and gave us notice, that he had diſcover'd a Body of a thouſand *Engliſh*, and five hundred *Iroqueſe* that march'd up to attack us. Upon this Intelligence, all our Troops croſs'd over to the Meadow of *Madelaine*, oppoſite to this City, and there incamp'd, in conjunction with three or four hundred Savages that were our Allies, in order to give the Enemy a warm Reception. Our Camp was no ſooner form'd, than Mr. *de Frontenac* detach'd two or three ſmall Parties of the Savages to obſerve the Enemy. Theſe Parties came ſoon back, after having ſurpris'd ſome ſtragling *Iroqueſe* at hunting on the Confines of *Champlaine* Lake: The Priſoners inform'd us, that the *Engliſh* being unable to encounter the fatigues of the march, and unprovided with a ſufficient ſtock of Proviſions, both they and the *Iroqueſe* were return'd to their own Country. This account being confirm'd by other Savages, our Troops decamp'd, and march'd back to this place, from whence I was detach'd

ſome

ſome days after to command a Party that was to cover the Reapers of Fort *Roland*, which lies in this Iſland. When the Harveſt was over I return'd to this place, along with the *Hurons* and the *Outaouas*, who had come down from their own Country, in purſuit of their uſual Trade in Skins, an account of which you had in my eight Letter. Theſe Traders continued here fifteen days, and then march'd home.

This, Sir, is a Summary of all our Occurrences of Moment ſince the laſt year. About fifteen days hence, I think to ſet out for *Quebec*, in Mr. *de Frontenac*'s Brigantin. I conclude with my uſual Complement,

S I R,

Yours, &c.

LETTER XX.

Dated at *Rochel January* 12. 1691.

Being a Relation of a ſecond and very important Expedition of the Engliſh *by Sea; in which is contain'd a Letter written by the* Engliſh *Admiral to the Count of* Frontenac, *with this Governour's Verbal Anſwer. As alſo an account of the Authour's departure for* France.

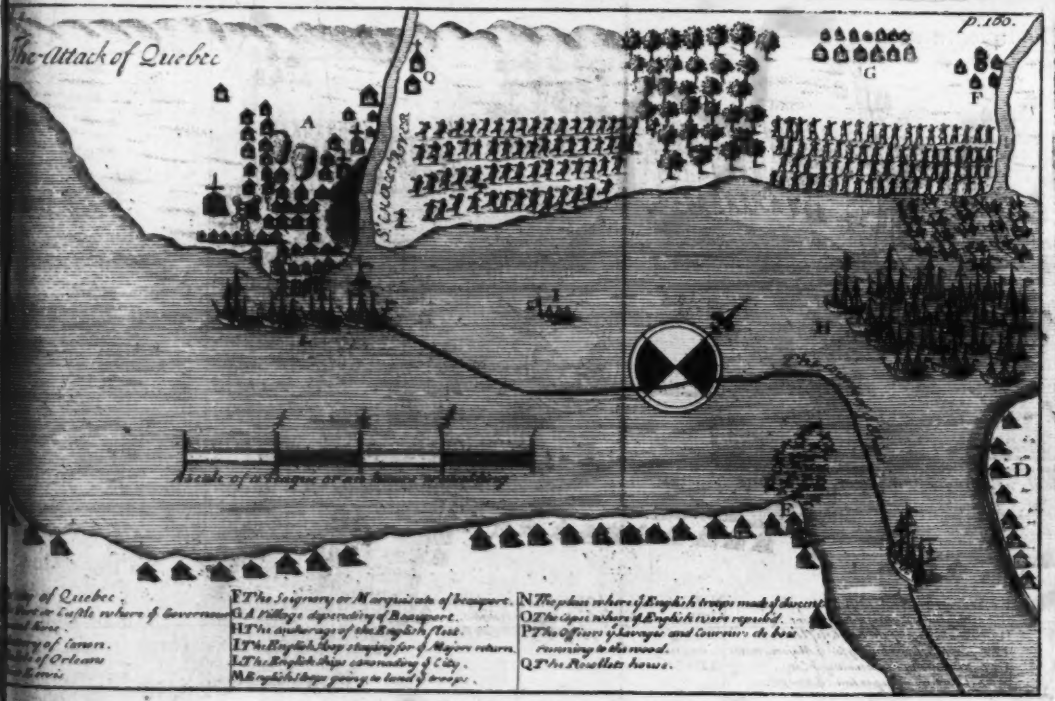
S I R,

I am arriv'd at laſt at *Rochel*, from whence I now tranſmit you a Relation of all that paſs'd in *Canada*, ſince the date of my laſt Letter. In the ſpace of a few days after that date, Mr. *de Frontenac* receiv'd advice that a ſtrong Fleet of *Engliſh* Ships,

Ships, amounting to thirty four Sail, was ſeen near *Tadouſſac*. Immediately he got on board of his Brigantine, and order'd all the Troops to imbarque in Canows and Boots, and to row Night and Day to prevent the Enemy; all which was happily put in execution. At the ſame time he gave orders to Mr. *de Callieres*, to bring down as many of the Inhabitants as poſſibly he could. We row'd with ſuch expedition, and diligence, that we arriv'd the 3*d* day at *Quebec*. As ſoon as Mr. *de Frontenac* debarqued, he view'd the weakeſt Poſts, and order'd 'em to be fortified without loſs of time: He rais'd Batteries in ſeveral places, and though in that capital City we had but twelve great Guns, and but little Ammunition, yet he ſeem'd to be reſolutely bent upon an obſtinate Reſiſtance to the efforts of the Enemy's Fleet, which in the mean time ſtood catching of Flies, at the diſtance of two Leagues from *Quebec*. We took the advantage of their ſlow approaches, and work'd inceſſantly to put our ſelves in a poſture of defence. Our Troops, our Militia, and our confederate Savages, came up to us on all hands. 'Tis certain, that if the *Engliſh* Admiral had made his Deſcent before our arrival at *Quebec*, or even two days after, he had carry'd the place without ſtriking a blow; for at that time there was not two hundred *French* in the City, which lay open, and expos'd on all hands. But inſtead of doing that, he caſt Anchor towards the point of the Iſland of *Orleans*, and loſt three days in conſulting with the Captains of the Ships, before they came to a Reſolution. He took the Sieur *Joliet* with his Lady and his Mother-in-Laws in a Bark in the River of St. *Laurence*. Three Merchant-men from *France*, and one laden with Beaver-Skins from *Hudſon* Bay, enter'd the River of *Saguenay*, by the way of *Tadouſſac*, where they ſculk'd, and after hauling their Guns aſhoar, rais'd very good Batte-

ries.

The Attack of Quebec



...y of Quebec.
... part or Castle where y Governour
...ral lives.
...ry of Canada.
...de of Orleans
...Lewis

F The Seigniory or Marquisate of Beauport.
G A Village depending of Beauport.
H The anchorage of the English Fleet.
I The English Ships staying for y Majors return.
L The English Ships commanding y City.
M English Ships going to land y troops.
N The place where y English troops made y descent.
O The steps where y English were repulsed.
P The Officers of Sauvages and Coureurs de bois running to the wood.
Q The Recollets house.

ries. To be ſhort, the Officers of the Enemy's Fleet came to a Reſolution after the loſs of three or four days in uſeleſs Conſultations, during which time we were joyn'd on all hands by great numbers of Inhabitants and Soldiers. Purſuant to the reſolution of the Councils of War, the *Engliſh* Admiral, namely, Sir *William Phips*, ſent out his Sloop with a *French* Flag upon its Prow, which made up to the City with ſound of Trumpet. Upon this, Mr. *de Frontenac* ſent out another with a *French* Officer to meet it, who found an *Engliſh* Major in the Sloop, who gave him to underſtand, that he had the charge of a Letter from his General, to the Governour of *Canada*, and hop'd he might be allow'd to deliver it himſelf. Upon that the *French* Officer took him into his Sloop, and having blindfolded him, conducted him to the Governour's Chamber; where his Face being uncover'd, he deliver'd him a Letter, the ſubſtance of which was this.

'I Sir *William Phips*, General of the Forces of '*New-England*, by Sea and Land, to Count *Frontenac*, Governour General of *Quebec*, by Orders from, 'and in the name of *William* III and *Mary* King 'and Queen of *England*; am come to make my ſelf 'Maſter of this Country. But in regard that I 'have nothing ſo much in view, as the preventing 'of the effuſion of Blood, I require you to ſurrender at diſcretion, your Cities, Caſtles, Forts, 'Towns, as well as your Perſons; aſſuring you at 'the ſame time, that you ſhall meet with all manner of good Uſage, Civility and Humanity. If 'you do not accept of this Propoſal without any 'Reſtriction, I will indeavour, by the aſſiſtance of 'Heaven, on which I rely, and the force of my 'Arms, to make a Conqueſt of 'em. I expect a poſitive anſwer in writing in the ſpace of an Hour, 'and in the mean time give you notice, that after

'the commencement of Hoſtilities, I ſhall not entertain any thoughts of Accommodation.

Sign'd, *William Phips.*

'After the Interpreter had tranſlated the Letter to Mr. *de Frontenac*, who was then ſurrounded with Officers; he order'd the Captain of his Guards to make a Gibbet before the Fort, in order to hang the poor Major, who in all appearance underſtood *French*; for upon the pronouncing of this fatal Sentence, he was like to ſwoon away. And indeed I muſt ſay, the Major had ſome reaſon to be affected, for he had certainly been hang'd, if the Biſhop and the Intendant, who to his good luck were then preſent, had not interceded on his behalf. Mr. *de Frontenac* pretended, that they were a Fleet of Pyrates, or of Perſons without Commiſſion, for that the King of *England* was then in *France*. But at laſt the Governour being appeas'd, order'd the Major to repair forthwith on board of his Admiral, againſt whom he could defend himſelf the better, for not being attack'd. At the ſame time he declar'd, that he knew no other King of *Great Britain*, than *James* II, that his rebellious Subjects were Pyrates, and that he dreaded neither their Force nor their Threats. This ſaid, he threw Admiral *Phips*'s Letter in the Major's face, and then turn'd his Back upon him. Upon that the poor Ambaſſadour took freſh courage, and looking upon his Watch, took the liberty to ask Mr. *de Frontenac*, if he could not have his Anſwer in Writing before the hour elaps'd. But the Governour made anſwer with all the haughtineſs and diſdain imaginable, that his Admiral deſerv'd no other anſwer, than what flew from the Mouth of Cannons and Muskets. Theſe words were no ſooner pronounc'd, than the Major was forc'd to take his Letter again, and being blind-folded, was reconducted to his Sloop, in which he row'd towards the Fleet with all expedition. The

The next day about two in the Afternoon, ſixty Sloops were ſent aſhoar with ten or twelve hundred Men, who ſtood upon the Sand in very good order. After that the Sloops went back to the Ships, and brought aſhoar the like Compliment of Men, which was afterwards joyn'd by a third Complement of the ſame number. As ſoon as theſe Troops were landed, they began to march towards the City with Drums beating, and Colours flying. This Deſcent was made over againſt the Iſle of *Orleans*, about a League and a half below *Quebec*; but 'twas not ſo expeditious, but that our Confederate Savages, with two hundred *Coureurs de Bois*, and fifty Officers, had time to poſt themſelves in a Copſe of thick Brambles, which lay half a League off the place of Landing. It being impoſſible for ſo ſmall a Party to come to an open Battle with a numerous Enemy, they were forc'd to fight after the manner of the Savages, that is, to lay Ambuſcadoes from place to place in the Copſe, which was a quarter of a League broad. This way of waging War prov'd wonderfully ſucceſsful to us, for our Men being poſted in the middle of the Copſe, we ſuffer'd the *Engliſh* to enter, and then fir'd upon 'em, lying flat upon the ground till they fir'd their pieces; after which we ſprung up, and drawing into knots here and there, repeated our fire with ſuch ſucceſs, that the *Engliſh* Militia perceiving our Savages fell into confuſion and diſorder, and their Battalions were broke; inſomuch, that they betook themſelves to flight, crying out, *Indians, Indians*, and gave our Savages the opportunity of making a bloody ſlaughter among 'em, for we found three hundred Men left upon the ſpot, without any other loſs on our ſide, than that of ten *Coureurs de Bois*, four Officers, and two Savages.

The next day the *Engliſh* landed four pieces of braſs Cannon mounted like Field-pieces, and fought

very bravely, though they were very ill diſciplin'd. 'Tis certain there was no want of Courage on their ſide, and their want of Succeſs muſt be imputed to their unacquaintedneſs with Military Diſcipline, to their being infeebled by the fatigues of the Sea, and to the ill conduct of Sir *William Phips*, who upon this Enterpriſe could not have done more than he did, if he had been ingag'd by us to ſtand ſtill with his hands in his Pockets. This day paſs'd over more peaceably than the next: For then the *Engliſh* made a freſh attempt to force their paſſage through the Copſe, by the help of their Artillery; but they loſt three or four hundred more in the attempt, and were forc'd to retire with all diligence to the Landing-place: On our ſide we loſt Mr. *de St. Helene*, who dy'd of a wound in his Leg, and about forty *French-men* and Savages. This Victory animated us ſo much, that we purſued the *Engliſh* to their Camp, and lay all Night flat upon the ground juſt by it, with a deſign to attack it by the break of day: But they ſav'd us the labour, for they imbarqued about Midnight with ſuch confuſion, that we kill'd fifty more of 'em, rather by chance, than by dexterity, while they were getting into their Boats. When day came, we tranſported to *Quebec* their Tents and their Cannon, which they had left behind 'em; the Savages being in the mean time imploy'd in ſtripping the dead in the Wood.

The ſame day that the Deſcent was made, Sir *William Phips* weigh'd and came to an Anchor with four great Ships, at the diſtance of a Musket-ſhot from the lower City, where we had only one Battery of ſix or eight Pounders. There he Cannonadoed for twenty four hours ſo handſomly, that the fire of the great Guns equal'd that of the ſmall Arms. The dammage they did to the roofs of the Houſes, amounted to five or ſix Piſtoles; for as I inform'd you in my firſt Letter, the Walls of the Houſes are ſo hard, that a Ball cannot pierce 'em. When

When Sir *William Phips* had made an end of theſe glorious Exploits, he ſent to demand of Mr. *de Frontenac* ſome *Engliſh* Priſoners, in exchange for the Sieur *Joliet*, with his Wife and his Mother, and ſome Seamen; which was forthwith put in execution. This done, the Fleet weigh'd Anchor and ſteer'd homeward. As ſoon as the three Merchantmen that lay ſculking in the River of *Saguenay*, ſaw the Fleet running below *Tadouſſac* with full Sail before a Weſterly Gale, they put their Guns aboard, and purſuing their Voyage with great ſatisfaction, arriv'd at *Quebec* on the 12*th* of *November*. They had ſcarce put their Cargoe on ſhoar, when the bitter cold cover'd the River with Ice, which dammag'd their Ships ſo much, that they were forc'd to run 'em aſhoar. This troubleſom Froſt was as uneaſie to me, as to Mr. *de Frontenac*; for I then ſaw that I was oblig'd to paſs another Winter in *Canada*, and Mr. *de Frontenac* was at a loſs, to contrive a way of ſending the King advice of this Enterpriſe. But by good luck, there came all of a ſudden a downfal of Rain, which was follow'd by a Thaw, and was equally acceptable to us both. Immediately the Governour order'd an unrigg'd Frigat to be rigg'd and fitted out; which was done accordingly with ſuch diſpatch, that the Ballaſt, Sails, Ropes, and Maſts, were all in order almoſt as ſoon as the Orders were given out. When the Frigat was ready to ſail, the Governour told me, that the making of *France* as ſoon as ever I could, would be a piece of important Service; and that I ought rather to periſh, than to ſuffer my ſelf to be taken by the Enemy, or to put in at any Port whatſoever by the way. At the ſame time he gave me a particular Letter to Mr. *de Seignelay*, the purport of which was much to my advantage.

I put to Sea the 20*th* of *November*, the like of which was never ſeen in that place before. At the Iſle of *Coudres* we 'ſcap'd luckily, for there the

North-East Wind blew ſo hard upon us, that after we had drop'd Anchor, we thought to have been ſplit in pieces in the Night-time. The reſt of our paſſage was good enough, for we encounter'd but one Storm till we arriv'd at this place. Indeed we met with contrary Winds, about 150 Leagues off the coaſt of *France*, which oblig'd us to traverſe, and lye by for a long time, and 'twas for this reaſon that our paſſage was ſo long.

I hear you are now in *Provence*, and that Mr. *de Seignelai* is gone upon a Voyage to the other World, which is of a quite different nature from that I have juſt perform'd. In earneſt, Sir, his Death is the laſt misfortune to the Navy of *France*, to the Colonies of the two *America*'s, and to me in particular, ſince Mr. *de Frontenac*'s Recommendatory Letter is thereby render'd uſeleſs to me. I am,

SIR, Yours, &c.

LETTER XXI.

Dated at *Rochel July* 26. 1691.

Containing a Deſcription of the Courts or Offices of the Miniſters of State, and a view of ſome Services that are ill rewarded at Court.

SIR,

THE Letter you writ to me two Months agoe came to my Hands at *Paris*; but I could not give you an anſwer there, becauſe I had not then done my buſineſs. Now that I am return'd to *Rochel*, I have leiſure time enough to inform you of all that befell me ſince my return to *France*. As ſoon as I arriv'd at *Verſailles*, I waited upon Mr. *de Pontchartrain*,

chartrain, who ſucceeded Mr. *de Seignelai*. I repreſented to him, that Mr. *de Frontenac* had given me a Letter to his Predeceſſour, in which he took notice of the Services I had done. I remonſtrated to him, that my Eſtate being ſeiz'd upon, and there being ſeveral Law-ſuits to be adjuſted, where my preſence was neceſſary, I hop'd his Majeſty would give me leave to quit his Service. He made anſwer, that he had been inform'd of the ſtate of my Affairs, and that I was allow'd to purſue the management of 'em, till the departure of the laſt Ships that are bound this year for *Quebec*, to which Place he mean'd I ſhould return. Having receiv'd this anſwer, I went from *Verſailles* to *Paris*, where my Relations drew me into a conſultation of ſeveral Counſellors, who declar'd that my Affairs were ſo perplex'd, that in their opinion, I could not have 'em adjuſted in ſo ſhorta time. In the mean time, the Crowns I was forc'd to lug out for this Conſultation, turn'd my Stomach againſt the going to Law with Perſons that had ſo much intereſt in the Parliament of *Paris*; inſomuch, that I was almoſt in the mind of loſing my Right, rather than to enter upon the Law-ſuit. However, I did not fail to put in for a proviſion upon my confiſcated Eſtate, by vertue of my being actually in the Service. But the ſolliciting of that, coſt me ſo much trouble and charges, that though my powerful Adverſaries had not been able to prevent the obtaining of my requeſt, yet the Sum adjudg'd thereupon, would not be ſufficient to anſwer the charges I was at. *Meſſieurs de Bragelone* are very honourable Gentlemen, as you know very well. 'Tis true, they love Piſtoles better than their Relations, and upon that Principle contented themſelves in doing me the honour of their good Advice, for their Generoſity do's not go much further; and if I had no other refuge than theirs, I ſhould be but in a ſorry condition. The Abbot of *Ecouttes*, who is more liberal,

tho' not ſo rich as they, made me a Preſent of a hundred *Louis d'ors*, which I applied to the payment of the Fees, for being receiv'd into the Order of St. *Lazarus*. The Ceremony of that Inſtallment was perform'd in Mr. *de Louvois* his Chamber, and did not laſt ſo long as the telling of the Money. I was in hopes that this generous Abbot would have beſtow'd upon me ſome ſimple Benefice that he might have thrown in my way, without injuring himſelf: But it ſeems, a ſcruple of Conſcience ſtood my Enemy. Upon the whole, Sir, I was e'en forc'd at laſt to go to *Verſailles* to ſollicit for a Place, which is the moſt cutting and vexatious Office in the World. Do but conſider, Sir, that in thoſe Royal Apartments Crowns fly, and no body knows where they go. One muſt patiently attend five or ſix hours a day in Mr. *de Pontchartrain's* Apartments, only to ſhew himſelf every time that that Miniſter goes out or comes in.

He no ſooner appears, than every one crowds in to preſent Memorials clogg'd with fifty Reaſons, which commonly fly off as light as the Wind. As ſoon as he receives theſe Petitions, he gives 'em to ſome Secretary or other that follows him; and this Secretary carries 'em to Meſſieurs *de la Touche*, *de Begon*, and *de Saluberri*; whoſe Footmen receive Piſtoles from moſt of the Officers, who without that Expedient, would be in danger of catching cold at the Door of the Office of theſe Deputies. 'Tis from that expedient alone, that their good or bad deſtiny muſt flow. Pray undeceive your ſelf, as to your notion of the protection of great Lords: The time is gone in which the Miniſters granted whatever they ask'd for their Baſtards, their Footmen, and their Vaſſals. There is but two or three Princes or Dukes, who being great Favourites, will meddle in protecting thoſe that have no immediate dependance upon 'em: And if theſe do it, 'tis very ſeldom;

ſeldom; for you know that the Gentry of *France* is in no great Circumſtances, and theſe great Lords have oftentimes poor Friends of their own, for whom they are oblig'd to ask places, in order to their Subſiſtence. As the World goes now, the Miniſters are upon ſuch a foot, that they'll refuſe any thing to Perſons of the higheſt Dignity about Court, by replying, the King will have it ſo, or the King will have it otherwiſe. And as for the Topick of Merit; that's ſuch a frightful Monſter, that it can have no Reception in the Miniſters Offices, nay, moſt of the Miniſters are ſtruck with horrour when they think of it. 'Tis the Miniſters, in effect, that diſpoſe of all places, though it appears as if 'twere the King. They do what they pleaſe, without being accountable to him, for he puts all upon the affection and zeal they ought to have for his Service. They carry Extracts to him, in which the merit of the Officers they mean to prefer, is either ſuppos'd or extoll'd. But the Memorials of thoſe they do not like, are far from appearing.

I'm ſorry I ſhould be oblig'd to lay this truth before you; however, I mention no particular Miniſter, for they are not all of that kidney. I know ſome of 'em that would ſcorn to do the leaſt injuſtice to any Man whatſoever; and would not ſuffer their Suiſſes, or their Lackeys, or even their Deputies or Clerks, to intrigue for the preferment of ſuch and ſuch Perſons by the means of Piſtoles. Theſe dexterous Intriguers, do by indirect means make more Officers, than you have hairs on your Head; and 'tis for that reaſon they are ſaluted a League off, and dignify'd as ſeriouſly with the Title of *Monſieur*, as their Maſters are with that of *Monſeigneur* or *Grandeur*. Theſe laſt Titles have been acquir'd by our Miniſters and Secretaries of State, with as much glory, as by our Biſhops. We muſt not think it ſtrange therefore, that even our General Officers have

have the words *Monſeigneur* and *Grandeur* ſo frequently in their Mouths, provided it be accompany'd with that of your *Excellency*. I ſwear, Sir, I could find matter for a Book of three hundred Pages in Folio, if I had a mind to be particular upon the intrigues of the Officers and Miniſters of State; upon the means by which the Sollicitors compaſs their ends, the notorious Knavery of a certain ſort of People, and the patience with which the Officers muſt be fortified; upon the contempt that thoſe meet with, who have no other Recommendation than Merit, and in a word, upon all the inſtances of Injuſtice, that are practis'd without the King's knowledge.

Let it be as it will, I muſt acquaint you that after a fruitleſs Sollicitation for what I thought I had ſome Title to, in conſideration of my Services, I receiv'd this Anſwer, that the King would order Mr. *de Frontenac* to provide for me as handſomly as he could, when an occaſion offer'd: So that I was forc'd to reſt ſatisfi'd with my Anſwer, and reſolve to continue a Captain for ever; for I know very well that the Governour of *Canada* can not prefer me to a higher Poſt.

Having left *Verſailles*, I came hither with all expedition, and then went to receive the commands of the Intendant of *Rochefort*. He acquainted me that the Ship call'd *Honorè* was fitting up, and that I might ſail as ſoon as 'twas ready. He recommended to me the Chevalier *de Meaupou*, Madam *Pontchartrain*'s Nephew, who is to go along with me. This Gentleman having the curioſity to ſee *Canada*, is come hither from *Paris*, with a handſom Retinue. 'Tis in vain to ſet forth to him the tediouſneſs of the Paſſage, the inconveniencies of the Sea, and the diſagreeableneſs of the Country; for all theſe Arguments ſerve only to inflame his Curioſity. The Count *d' Aunay* is to convoy us to the Latitude of Cape *Finiſterre*, at which place he

he is to take leave of us, and return to *Rochefort*. We only ſtay for a fair Wind to put to Sea. I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

LETTER XXII.

Dated at *Quebec Nov.* 10. 1691.

Which contains an Account of the Authors departure from Rochel *to* Quebec, *of his Voyage to the Mouth of the River St.* Laurence, *of a Ren-counter he had with an* Engliſh *Ship which he fought; of the ſtranding of his Ship; of his ſailing through the River St.* Laurence; *of the News he receiv'd, that a Party of the* Engliſh *and* Iroqueſe *had defeated a Body of the* French *Troops.*

SIR,

TWO days after I wrote to you, we ſet ſail from the Harbour of *Rochel*, upon our great Voyage to *Canada*. On the 5*th* of *Auguſt* we perceiv'd a great Ship, which the Count of *Aunay* gave chaſe to, who having a better Sailer, came up with her in three hours time, whereupon ſhe on a ſudden put up *Genoeſe* Colours. Some Guns were fir'd upon the Prow, to oblige her to ſtrike; but the Captain was ſo obſtinate, that Mr. *d'Aunay* was forc'd to give her a Broadſide, which kill'd four or five of the Seamen, whereupon the reſt were oblig'd to put out their Long-boat, and carry to his Ship their Paſſports and Bills of Lading. On the 10*th*, after they

they had taken the Latitude, the Pilots thinking that they were even with Cape *Finiſter*, Mr. *d'Aunay* ſent out his Long-boat, to acquaint me that he was then upon his return home, upon which I wrote him a Letter of thanks. Father *Becheſer* a Jeſuit, who had been many years Superior of the College of *Quebec*, whither he was now going in the ſame Capacity, was forc'd to throw himſelf into this Long-boat, in order to his return into *France*, having found himſelf continually indiſpos'd, from the firſt day we put to Sea. On the 23*d* of *Auguſt* we had a great Storm of Wind from the North-Weſt, which laſted about twenty four hours, being then a hundred Leagues off the Bank of *Newfound-Land*. *This Bank takes its Name from the Iſland of* Newfound-Land, *a Map of which is here annex'd.*

When the Storm was over, there ſucceeded a Wind from the North-Eaſt, which drove us in ten or twelve hours, to the Mouth of the River of St. *Laurence*. On the 6*th* of *September* we diſcover'd a Ship ſailing from the Coaſt of *Gaſpè*, which bore down upon us with a full ſail. We thought at firſt that they were *French* coming from *Quebec*, but their way of working the Ship diſcover'd to us within an hour after, that they were Enemies. After we knew them, we prepar'd to fight them, and they being about a League to the Windward of us, came quickly down upon us with full Sail, within Musket-ſhot. Preſently they put up *Engliſh* Colours, and gave us a Broad-ſide; and we put up our own Colours, and paid them home in their own Coyn. The Fight laſted two hours, and both ſides fir'd continually one upon another, but the Sea being tempeſtuous, we were oblig'd to ſhear off as Night came on, without ſuffering any other loſs, than the wounding of two Seamen, and the receiving of twenty eight or thirty ſhot in our Maſts, Sails, and Rigging. Two days after we met Mr. *Duta*, Captain of the *Hazardous*, who was homeward bound for

France,

France, being a Convoy to ten or twelve Merchant Ships. He gave me ſome Refreſhments, and told me ſome news of *Canada*, which were very acceptable. We purſu'd our courſe in ſpight of the South-East Wind, which oblig'd us to tack about ſeveral ways, till we came to *Portneuf*, near to *Tadouſſac*. In this place we were ſtranded by the fault of the Coaſting-Pilot, who being obſtinate for caſting Anchor near the Land, was like to have been the cauſe of a Shipwrack. At Midnight the Ship was ſo daſh'd againſt the Sand, that I thought ſhe was ſplit in pieces, but the Tide ebbing by degrees, ſhe was left lying upon the Coaſt, without any apparent Damage. I preſently caus'd a Kedger to be dropt in the deep Water belag'd with ſeveral Ropes call'd *Grelins Epiſſes* (*ſee the Explication Table*,) and the next Morning the Tide returning ſet the Ship afloat, and then we haul'd it in with the Capeſtan. On the 13*th* we caſt anchor near the *Red Iſland*, and the next day being the 14*th*, we paſs'd that Channel without danger, by the favour of a freſh Gale from the North-East.

On the 15*th* we caſt Anchor at the *Iſle of Hares*: On the 16*th* we paſs'd the *Iſle of Coudres*: On the 17*th* we weather'd the Cape of *Tourmente*, and the next day we anchor'd in this Port. From the Mouth of the River to this place, we had the fineſt Sunſhine days that ever were ſeen: During which time, I had both leiſure and opportunity to view the Coaſts on the right Hand and the left, while we tack'd about and about as the wind ſerv'd. When I ſaw a great many Rivers on the South ſide, I ask'd the Pilots why the Ships us'd to ſteer their courſe on the North ſide, where there is no Anchorage to be found, but at *Papinachoſe*, the ſeven *Iſles*, and *Portneuf*. They anſwer'd me, that the ordinary Breezes of the rough North-Weſt Wind, which blows upon this River for three quarters of a year, were

the

the true cauſe why they durſt not go far from the North ſide; and that no body could enſure a Ship that ſhould ſteer on the South ſide, except it were in the Months of *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*. If it were not for that, I believe it would be more pleaſant, more eaſie, and leſs dangerous to ſail on the South, than on the North ſide, becauſe one might caſt Anchor every Night at the entrance of thoſe Rivers which diſcharge themſelves all along that Coaſt, and would not be oblig'd to be veering about continually Night and Day, as he is forc'd to do, when he ſteers his courſe on the North ſide. This, Sir, is all I had to ſay at preſent about our ſailing in this River, which I ſhall have occaſión to mention to you again. After our Ship caſt Anchor before *Quebec*, I landed with the Chevalier *Meaupou*, whom I conducted to the Houſe of Mr. *Frontenac*, who offer'd to him as well as to me, the uſe of his Table and Houſe. I am inform'd that 300 *Engliſh*, and 200 *Iroqueſe*, approach'd about two Months agoe to the Iſle of *Monreal*; That the Governour of that Iſle tranſported 15 Companies from the other ſide of the River, to watch their Motions; That a Detachment of the Enemy having ſurpriz'd our Out-Guards, attack'd the whole Body of them, and our Camp at the ſame time with ſo much Vigour and Courage, that they kill'd upon the ſpot more than three hundred Soldiers, beſides two Captains, ſix Lieutenants, and five Enſigns; and that after this fatal Expedition, Mr. *Valrenes*, a Captain of the Marines, ſet out from *Monreal*, with a Detachment of *French* and Savages, to go to Fort *Chambli*, (for fear the *Iroqueſe* ſhould attack that Poſt) who having met in their paſſage a party of *Engliſh* and *Iroqueſe*, attack'd them vigorouſly, and defeated them.

All theſe different Adventures give me ground to conjecture, that it will be much more difficult than

than 'tis imagin'd, to make a good Peace with the five Nations of the *Iroqueſe*. Mr. *Frontenac* has given the neceſſary Orders to all the neighbouring Habitations, that they ſhould tranſport a great quantity of Stakes and Lime in the Winter time to the Neighbourhood of this City. Farewel Sir, the laſt Ships which are to depart hence for *France*, will ſail in three or four days. I am,

SIR, Yours, &c.

LETTER XXIII.

Dated at *Nants Octob.* 25. 1692.

Containing an Account of the taking of ſome Engliſh *Veſſels, of defeating a Party of the* Iroqueſe, *of an* Iroqueſe *burnt alive at* Quebec; *of another Party of theſe Barbarians, who having ſurpriz'd ſome* Coureurs de Bois, *were afterwards ſurpriz'd themſelves. Of the Project of an Enterprize propos'd by Mr.* Frontenac *to the Author. Of the Authors departure in a Frigat for* France, *and his ſtopping at* Placentia, *which was attack'd by an* Engliſh *Fleet that came to take that Poſt from us. How the* Engliſh *fail'd in their Deſign, and the Author purſu'd his Voyage.*

SIR,

THIS Letter comes from *Britany*, and not from *Canada*, from whence I parted ſuddenly to return into *France*, about two Months after I receiv'd your Letter, which I could not then anſwer for want of an opportunity. You tell me, that you are ſatisfi'd with the Deſcription I have ſent you of the

the River St. *Laurence*, and that you would be very glad to have as exact an account of the whole Country of *Canada*. I can ſcarce ſatisfie your deſire at preſent, becauſe I have not yet had time to ſort all my Memoirs, and therefore you muſt not take it amiſs, that I pray you to ſuſpend your curioſity for ſome time. In the mean time, here follows the Relation of ſome things that happen'd in *Canada*, which may be acceptable to you.

Immediately after the Ships parted from *Quebec* the laſt year, Mr. *Frontenac* order'd a Plan to be drawn of a Wall to encompaſs the City, and having tranſported thither all the Materials neceſſary for building ſome Redoubts of Stone, he took care to fortifie it during the Summer. Some days agoe a Gentleman of *New-England* call'd *Nelſon*, was brought priſoner to *Quebec*, who was taken in the River of *Kenebeki*, upon the Coaſt of *Acadia*, together with three Ships belonging to him, and becauſe he was a very gallant Man, Mr. *Frontenac* gave him a Lodging at his own Houſe, and treated him with all manner of Civility. About the beginning of this year, this Governour gave the command of a Party conſiſting of 150 Soldiers, to Chevalier *Beaucour*, with whom fifty of the Savages that were our Friends were joyn'd, in order to march on the Ice towards Fort *Frontenac*. About thirty or forty Leagues from *Monreal*, they met a Company of ſixty *Iroqueſe*, who were diſcover'd by the Foot-ſteps of ſome of their Hunters, that had ſtragled out of their Cottages, and the next day they were all ſurpriz'd, and either had their Throats cut, or were made Priſoners. The Sieur *de la Plante* who liv'd in Slavery with theſe Wretches, had the good fortune to be preſent in their Company when they were defeated, and he had certainly been kill'd with his Maſters, if he had not cry'd out with all his Might, *Spare me, I am a Frenchman*: He was one of the

the four Officers, who had the misfortune to be taken in that fatal Incurſion, which theſe Tygers made into *Monreal*, as I told you in my 17*th* Letter. The Chevalier *Beaucour* return'd again to the Colony with his Party, and brought along with him twelve Priſoners of the *Iroqueſe*, who were immediately conducted to *Quebec*: After they arriv'd, Mr. *Frontenac* did very judiciouſly condemn two of the wickedeſt of the Company, to be burnt alive with a ſlow Fire. This Sentence extreamly terrified the Governour's Lady, and the Jeſuits; the Lady us'd all manner of ſupplication to procure a moderation of the terrible Sentence, but the Judge was inexorable, and the Jeſuits employ'd all their Eloquence in vain upon this occaſion. The Governour anſwered them, "That it was abſolutely neceſſary to make "ſome terrible examples of Severity to frighten the "*Iroqueſe*; That ſince theſe Barbarians burnt almoſt "all the *French*, who had the misfortune to fall in-"to their Hands, they muſt be treated after the "ſame manner, becauſe the Indulgence which had "hitherto been ſhown them, ſeem'd to authorize "them to invade our Plantations, and ſo much the "rather to do it, becauſe they run no other hazard, "than that of being taken, and well kept at their "Maſter's Houſes; but when they ſhould under-"ſtand that the *French* caus'd them to be burnt, they "would have a care for the future, how they ad-"vanc'd with ſo much boldneſs to the very Gates "of our Cities; and in fine, That the Sentence of "Death being paſt, theſe two wretches muſt pre-"pare to take a Journey into the other World. This obſtinacy appear'd ſurprizing in Mr. *Frontenac*, who but a little before had favour'd the eſcape of three or four Perſons liable to the Sentence of Death, upon the importunate prayer of Madam the Governeſs; but though ſhe redoubled her earneſt Supplications, ſhe could not alter his firm Reſolution as

to theſe two Wretches. The Jeſuits were thereupon ſent to Baptize them, and oblige them to acknowledge the Trinity, and the Incarnation, and to repreſent to them the Joys of Paradiſe, and the Torments of Hell, within the ſpace of eight or ten hours. You will readily confeſs, Sir, that this was a very bold way of treating theſe great Myſteries, and that to endeavour to make the *Iroqueſe* underſtand them ſo quickly, was to expoſe them to their Laughter Whether they took theſe Truths for Songs, I do not know; but this I can aſſure you, that from the Minute they were acquainted with this fatal News, they ſent back theſe good Fathers without ever hearing them; and then they began to ſing the ſong of Death, according to the cuſtom of the Savages. Some charitable Perſon having thrown a Knife to them in Priſon, he who had the leaſt Courage of the two, thruſt it into his Breaſt, and died of the Wound immediately. Some young *Hurons* of *Lorette*, aged between fourteen and fifteen years, came to ſeize the other, and carry him away to the *Diamant Cape*, where notice was given to prepare a great pile of Wood. He ran to death with a greater unconcernedneſs, than *Socrates* would have done, if he had been in his caſe. During the time of Execution he ſung continually; "That he was a Warrior, brave and undaunted; that the moſt cruel "kind of Death could not ſhock his Courage, that "no Torments could extort from him any Cries, "that his Companion was a Coward for having "kill'd himſelf through the fear of Torment; and "laſtly, that if he was burnt, he had this Comfort, "that he had treated many *French* and *Hurons* after "the ſame manner. All that he ſaid was very true, and chiefly as to his own courage and firmneſs of Soul; for I can truly ſwear to you, that he neither ſhed Tears, nor was ever perceiv'd to Sigh; but on the contrary, during all the time that he ſuffer'd

fer'd the moſt horrible Torments that could be invented, and which laſted about the ſpace of three hours, he never ceas'd one Minute from ſinging. The ſoles of his Feet were roaſted before two great Stones red hot, for more than a quarter of an hour; the tops of his Fingers were ſcorch'd in a Stove of lighted Pipes; during which Torture he did not draw back his Hand. After this the ſeveral jovnts of his Body were cut off, one after another: The Nerves of his Limbs and Arms were diſtorted with a little Iron Wand, after ſuch a manner, as cannot poſſibly be expreſs'd. In fine, after many other Tortures, the hair of his Head was taken off after ſuch a manner, that there remain'd nothing but the Skull, upon which theſe young Executioners were going to throw ſome burning Sand, when a certain Slave of the *Hurons* of *Lorette*, by the order of Madam the Governeſs, knock'd him on the head with a Club, which put an end to his Martyrdom. As to my ſelf, I vow and ſwear, that the Prologue of this Tragedy, created in me ſo great a Horror, that I had not the curioſity to ſee the end of it, nor to hear this poor Wretch ſing to the laſt moment of his Life. I have ſeen ſo many burnt againſt my Will, amongſt thoſe People where I ſojourn'd, during the courſe of my Voyages, that I cannot think of it without trouble. 'Tis a ſad Spectacle, at which every one is obliged to be preſent, when he happens to Sojourn among theſe Savage Nations, who inflict this cruel kind of Death upon their Priſoners of War; for as I have told you in one of my Letters, all the Savages practiſe this barbarous Cruelty. Nothing is more grating to a civil Man, than that he is oblig'd to be a Witneſs of the Torments which this kind of Martyrs ſuffer; for if any one ſhould pretend to ſhun this Sight, or expreſs any Compaſſion for them, he would be eſteem'd by them a Man of no Courage.

After the Navigation was open and free, the Sieur St. *Michel* a *Canadan*, ſet out from *Monreal* for the Beaver Lakes, at the Head of a Party of the *Coreurs de Bois*, with ſeveral Canows laden with ſuch Goods as are proper for the Savages. In their paſſage from *Long-Saut*, to the River of the *Outaouas*, they met ſixty *Iroqueſe*, who ſurpriz'd them, and cut all their Throats except four, that had the good fortune to eſcape, and carry the news to *Monreal*. As ſoon as this fatal accident was known, the Chevalier *Vaudreuil*, put himſelf in a Canow with a Detachment, and purſu'd this party of *Iroqueſe*, being follow'd by a hundred *Canadans*, and ſome confederate Savages. I know not by what chance he had the good fortune to overtake them, but ſo it was, he ſurpriz'd them, and attack'd them with Vigour, upon which they fought deſperately, but at laſt they were defeated. This Victory coſt us the lives of many of our Savages, and of three or four of our Officers. The *Iroqueſe* that were taken, were carried to the City of *Monreal*, near which place they were regal'd with a Salvo of Baſtinadoes.

About the beginning of the Month of *July*, Mr. *Frontenac* having receiv'd ſome News from the Commander of the Lakes, ſpoke to me of a certain Project, which I had formerly ſhown him to be of great Importance: But becauſe he did not ſufficiently conſider all the advantages that might be reap'd from it, and on the contrary, apprehended a great many difficulties would attend the putting it in execution, he had altogether neglected this Affair, of which I ſhall give you the following account.

I obſerv'd to you in my 17*th* Letter, the great Importance and Advantage of the Forts of *Frontenac* and *Niagara*, and that in the conjuncture of Circumſtances wherein Mr. *Denonville* then found them, it was impoſſible to preſerve them. You have alſo remarqu'd

remarqu'd the advantages which the Savages have over the *Europeans*, by their way of fighting in the Forreſts of this vaſt Continent. Since we cannot deſtroy the *Iroqueſe* with our own ſingle Forces, we are neceſſarily oblig'd to have recourſe to the Savages that are our Allies: And 'tis certain, as they themſelves foreſee, that if theſe *Barbarians* could compaſs the Deſtruction of our Colonies, they would be ſubdued by them ſooner or later, as it has happen'd to many other Nations, ſo they know it to be their Intereſt to joyn with us to deſtroy theſe *Banditi's*. Now ſince they are well affected to this deſign, we muſt endeavour to facilitate to them the means of putting it in execution, for you may eaſily believe that theſe People, as ſavage as they are, are not ſo void of Senſe, as to travel two or three hundred Leagues from their own Country, to fight againſt their Enemies, without being ſure of a place of retreat, where they may repoſe themſelves, and find Proviſions. There is no queſtion therefore, but we ſhould build Forts upon the Lands of the *Iroqueſe*, and maintain them in ſpite of their Teeth. This, Sir, is what I propos'd above a year agoe to Mr. *Frontenac*, and it is what he would have me ſtill to undertake. I project therefore, to build and maintain three Forts upon the courſe of the Lakes, with ſome Veſſels that ſhall go with Oars, which I will build according to my Fancy; but they being light, and of great carriage, may be manag'd either with Oars or a Sail, and will alſo be able to bear the ſhocks of the Waves. I demand fifty Seamen of the *French Biſcay*, for they are known to be the moſt dexterous and able Mariners that are in the World. I muſt alſo have two hundred Soldiers, choſen out of the Troops of *Canada*. I will build three little Caſtles in ſeveral places, one at the mouth of the Lake *Errie*, which you ſee in my Map of *Canada*, under the name of Fort *Suppoſe*, beſides two

others. The ſecond I will build in the ſame place where it was when I maintain'd it, in the years 1687, and 1688. whereof I have wrote to you in my 14*th* and 15*th* Letter: and the third at the Mouth of the Bay of *Toronto*, upon the ſame Lake. Ninety Men will be ſufficient to Garriſon theſe three Redoubts, and perhaps a ſmaller number; for the *Iroqueſe* who never ſaw a Canon, but in a Picture, and to whom an ounce of Powder is more precious than a Lewis-D'or, can never be perſwaded to attack any kind of Fortification. I deſire of the King for putting this Project in execution, 15000 Crowns a year, for the Maintenance, Entertainment, Subſiſtance, and pay of theſe 250 Men. It will be very eaſie for me to tranſport with the abovemention'd Veſſels 400 Savages, into the Country of the *Iroqueſe*, whenever I have a mind. I can carry Proviſions for 2000, and tranſport as many Sacks of *Indian* Corn, as are neceſſary for maintaining theſe Forts both in Winter and Summer. 'Tis eaſie to have plenty of Hunting and Shooting in all the Iſles, and to contrive ways for croſſing the Lakes; and it will be ſo much the more eaſie to purſue the *Iroqueſe* in their Canows, and ſink them, that my Veſſels are light, and my Men fight under a Cover. In fine, if you ſaw the Memorial which I am to preſent to Mr. *Pontchartrain*, you would find that this Enterprize is the fineſt and moſt uſeful that can be invented, to diſtreſs the *Iroqueſe* in time of War, and confine them within bounds in time of Peace. Mr. *Frontenac* has joyn'd to it a private Letter to Mr. *Pontchartrain*, wherein he obſerves to him, that if this Project were well put in execution, theſe terrible Enemies would be oblig'd in two years time, to abandon their Country. After this he adds, that he judges me ſufficiently qualified to go upon ſuch an Interpriſe; and believes I will make my point good. Perhaps he might have light on others that know the Country and Cuſtoms of the Savages better than

I do

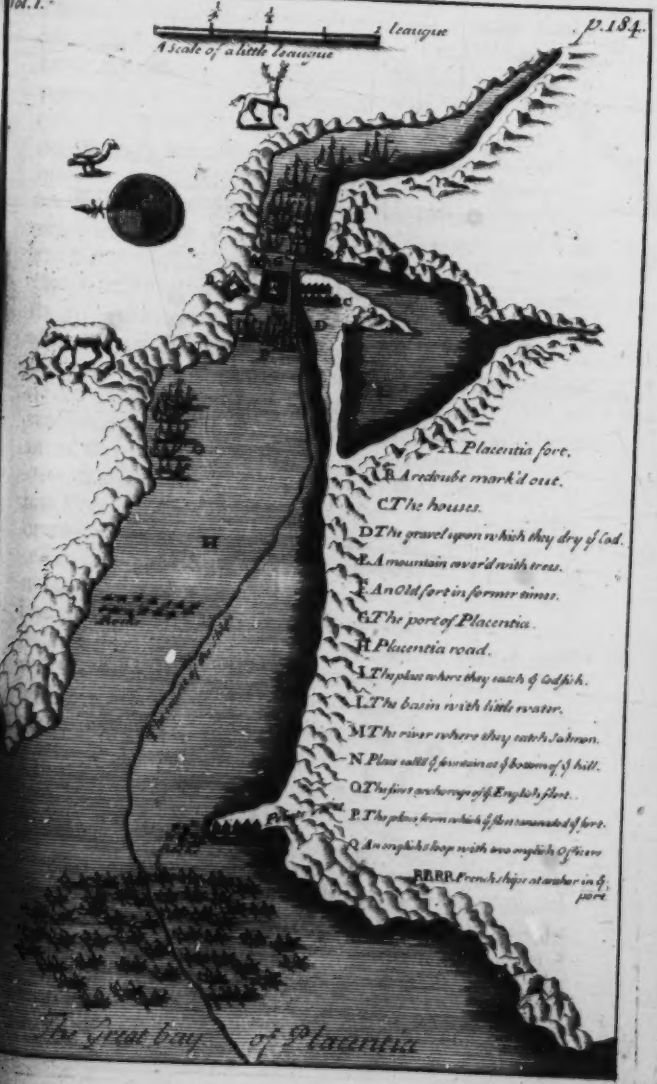
I do: But by an accident which do's not tend much to my advantage, I have purchas'd the Eſteem and Friendſhip of theſe Savages, which in my opinion was the only reaſon that mov'd Mr. *de Frontenac* to ſingle out me for this Service.

July the 27*th* the Governour having given me his Packet for the Court, and the St. *Ann* Frigat being rigg'd and fitted out according to his Orders, I imbarqu'd in the Port of *Quebec*, and after five days ſailing, we met in the River of St. *Laurence*, over againſt *Monts notre dame*, twelve Merchantmen bound from *France* for *Quebec*, under the Convoy of Mr. *d' Iberville*, Captain of the *Poli*. *Auguſt* the 8*th*, we got clear of the Bay of St. *Laurence*, by the help of a Weſterly Gale, and that in ſuch fair and clear Weather, that we deſcry'd the Iſlands of Cape *Breton* and *Newfound-Land*, as diſtinctly, as if we had been within a Musket-ſhot of 'em. The nine or ten following days were ſo far of a different ſtamp, that we could ſcarce ſee from the Prow to the Poop of the Ship, for all of a ſudden there fell the thickeſt and darkeſt Fog that ever I ſaw. At the end of theſe days the Horiſon clearing up, we ſtood in for *Newfound-Land*, deſcrying Cape St. *Mary*; and by making all the ſail we could, arriv'd that very day in the Port of *Placentia*.

In that Port I found fifty Fiſhermen, moſt of which were of *French Biſcay*, and thought to have ſet out for *France* along with them in a few days: But they were longer in getting ready than I thought for, and when we were juſt ready to break ground, we were inform'd by ſome Fiſhermen, that five large *Engliſh* Ships were come to an Anchor near Cape St. *Mary*. This Intelligence prov'd very true, for on the 15*th* of *September* they caſt Anchor in ſight of *Placentia*. The 16*th* they weigh'd, and came to an Anchor in the Road, out of the reach of our Guns. Upon this the Governour was not a little perplex'd, for he had but fifty Soldiers in his Fort, and a very

ſmall moiety of Ammunition. Beſides, the Fort was commanded by a Mountain, from whence he might be gall'd with Stones flung out of Slings; and 'twas to be fear'd, the *Engliſh* would poſſeſs themſelves of that high Ground. I march'd with ſixty of the Seamen belonging to the Fiſhermen, to prevent their Landing, in caſe they attempted to make a Deſcent at a certain place call'd *la Fontaine*; and I compaſs'd my end without firing a Gun. In effect, ſix or ſeven hundred *Engliſh* put in to the Land in twenty Sloops, with a deſign to have landed at that place; upon which my vigorous *Cantabrians* being full of fire and forwardneſs, appear'd too ſoon upon the ſhoar, in ſpite of my Teeth, and by that means oblig'd the *Engliſh* to take another courſe, and row with all their might to the back of a little Cape, where they threw in a Barrel of Pitch and Tar that burnt two arpents of Thickets. The 18*th* about Noon, perceiving that a little Sloop put off from the Admiral with a white Flag on its Prow, and made towards the Fort, I run in thither immediately. The Governour had took care to ſend out one of his own Sloops with the ſame Flag, to meet the other, and was ſurpris'd when ſhe return'd with two *Engliſh* Officers on board. Theſe Officers gave the Governour to underſtand, that the Admiral deſir'd he would ſend an Officer on board of him, which was done accordingly; for Mr. *de Coſte-belle* and I, went on board of the Admiral, who receiv'd us with all Reſpect and Civility, and regal'd us with Sweet-meats, and ſeveral ſorts of Wines, with which we drank the Healths of the Admirals of *France*, and *England*. He ſhew'd us his whole Ship, to the very Carriages of the Guns, and then gave the Sieur *de Coſtebelle* to know, that 'twould be a great trouble to him to be oblig'd to take *Placentia* by the force of Arms, in regard that he foreſaw, ſuch an Enterpriſe would prove fatal to the Governour, to the Garriſon, and all the

Inhabi-


1 league
A Scale of a little league
A. Placentia fort.
B. A redoubt mark'd out.
C. The houses.
D. The gravel upon which they dry y^e Cod.
E. A mountain over'd with trees.
F. An Old fort in former times.
G. The port of Placentia.
H. Placentia road.
I. The place where they catch y^e Codfish.
L. The basin with little water.
M. The river where they catch Salmon.
N. Place call'd y^e fountain at y^e bottom of y^e hill.
O. The first anchorage of y^e English fleet.
P. The place from which y^e first encamped to fort.
Q. An english shop with two english Officers
RRRR. French ships at anchor in y^e port
The Great bay of Placentia

Inhabitants, upon the account that he would find a great deal of difficulty in preventing the Pillaging and other Disorders; That in order to avoid this Misfortune, 'twould be a prudential part in the Governour, to come to a Composition. Our Officer being fully acquainted with the Governour's Mind, made answer in his name, that he was resolv'd upon a vigorous defence, and would rather spring the place in the Air, than surrender it to the Enemies of the King his Master. After a mutual exchange of Compliments, we took leave of him, and being ready to get into our Sloop, he told us with embraces, that he was infinitely sorry he could not salute us with his Guns, in the room of which he order'd five or six Huzza's, with a *Long live the King*. When we went into the Boat, we return'd him the same number of shouts, to which he return'd a seventh, that finish'd the Ceremony. Upon our return to the Fort, Mr. *de Costebelle* gave the Governour an account of the force of the Admiral's-Ship. The St. *Albans* (so the Ship was call'd) carried sixty six Guns mounted, and six hundred Men Complement, but the other Ships appear'd to be of less force.

The next day, which was the 19*th*, they advanc'd within Canon-shot of the Fort, where they lay bye, while a Sloop row'd up to the Batteries. The Governour sent out another Sloop to know what the matter was, and was answer'd, that if he had a mind for a Parley in the time of the Ingagement, he should put up a red Flag for a Signal. I was then posted at *la Fontaine*, to oppose a Descent; for that was the only place that could be serviceable to the *English*, in order to master *Placentia*. The *English* ought to have consider'd, that their Cannon would do no service against an impenetrable Rampart, and that they would lose their labour in shooting against Flints and Earth. But it seems, they were oblig'd by express Orders from the Prince of *Orange*, to do

it,

it, and at the ſame time to expoſe themſelves to the danger of being ſunk, which had certainly been effected, if we had had Powder and Ball enough, for the Canonading laſted almoſt five hours.

The 20*th* a *French* Pilot who was Priſoner on board of the Admiral, made his eſcape by throwing himſelf into the Sea in the Night-time. He landed at the place where I lay in Ambuſcade; and after he had given me an account of what paſs'd in the Fleet, I ſent him to the Governour's Houſe. He inform'd me, that they had deſign'd a Deſcent with ſeven or eight hundred Men, but alter'd their Reſolution, upon the apprehenſion, that there were fourteen or fifteen hundred Seamen ready to oppoſe them; that they were of the opinion, that my ſixty *Biſcayans* who diſcover'd themſelves upon the ſhoar at *la Fontaine*, in ſpite of all I could do, had no other view but to draw 'em into an Ambuſcade, by tempting 'em to come up. The 21*ſt* they ſet ſail with a North-Eaſt Gale, after having burnt all the Houſes at *Pointe Verte*, where the Governour had ſent a Detachment by way of Precaution that ſame very day; but the ways were ſo impracticable, that the Detachment could not get there in time to oppoſe the Enemy. This one may juſtly ſay, that if it had not been for the Captains of the *Biſcay* Ships that were then at *Placentia*, that place had undoubtedly fallen into the hands of the *Engliſh*: And this I can convince you of, when you and I meet. In this bloody Expedition, the *Engliſh* loſt ſix Men; and on our ſide the Sieur *Boat*, Lieutenant of a *Nantes* Veſſel, had his Arm ſhot off. In fine, the *Engliſh* did all that Men could do, ſo that nothing can be ſaid againſt their Conduct.

October the 6*th*, I took ſhipping in purſuit of my Voyage to *France*, being accompany'd with ſeveral other Veſſels. The Weſterly Winds were ſo favourable to us in our paſſage, that we came to an Anchor

chor on the 23*d* at St. *Nazere*, which lies but eight or nine Leagues for this place. I am to ſet out immediately for *Verſailles*; in the mean time, I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

LETTER XXIV.

Dated at *Nantes May* 10. 1693.

Containing an Account of Mr. Frontenac's *Project, which was rejected at Court, and the reaſon why it was rejected. The King gives the Author the Lieutenancy of the* Iſle of Newfound-Land, *&c. together with a free Independant Company.*

SIR,

I Am now once more at *Nantes*, from whence I wrote to you in *October laſt*. I am now return'd from Court, where I preſented to Mr. *Pontchartrain* Mr. *Frontenac*'s Letters, and the Memorial I mention'd in my laſt. I was anſwer'd, that it would not be proper to execute the Project I propos'd, becauſe the forty Seamen which were neceſſary for my purpoſe, could not now be allow'd me, and beſides the King had given Orders to Mr. *Frontenac*, to make Peace with the *Iroqueſe* upon any terms whatſoever. This Inconveniency alſo was found to attend the Project, that after the Forts which I intended to build upon the Lakes were intirely finiſh'd, the Savages that are our Friends and Confederates, would rather ſeek after Glory, by making

War

War upon the *Iroqueſe*, than take pleaſure in Hunting the Beavers, which would be a conſiderable damage to the Colonies of *Canada*, that ſubſiſt only as one may ſay, by the trade of Skins, as I ſhall ſhew you more particularly in a proper place. The *Engliſh* will by no means take it ill, that we do not build theſe Forts, for beſides that, they are too much concern'd for the preſervation of the *Iroqueſe*, they will always be ready to furniſh with Merchandize the Savage Nations, that are our Allies, as they have done hitherto. I muſt own my ſelf mightily oblig'd to the *Engliſh*, who attack'd us at *Placentia* the laſt year; they declar'd publickly, though without any juſt ground, after they arriv'd in *England*, that they would infallibly have taken that place, if I had not oppos'd their Deſcent. I have already inform'd you, that I did not at all hinder them from Landing at the place where I was poſted with ſixty *Biſcayan* Seamen: So that they attribute to me a glorious Action, in which I had no ſhare, and by that means have done me ſo much Honour, that his Majeſty hath beſtow'd upon me the Lieutenancy of the Iſle of *Newfound-Land* and *Acadia*, which I never deſerv'd upon that ſcore. Thus you ſee, Sir, that many times ſuch Perſons are preferr'd, who have no other Patrons in the World, but pure Chance. However, I ſhould have been better pleas'd, if I could have put the abovemention'd Project in execution, for a ſolitary Life is moſt grateful to me, and the manners of the Savages are perfectly agreeable to my Palate. The corruption of our Age is ſo great, that it ſeems the *Europeans* have made a Law, to tear one another in pieces by cruel Uſage and Reproaches, and therefore you muſt not think it ſtrange, if I have a kindneſs for the poor *Americans*, who have done me ſo many favours. I am to ſet out the next day after to Morrow, from this

place,

place, in order to embark at St. *Nazere*. The *Meſſieurs d'Angui*, two *Nantes* Merchants, have taken upon them to maintain the Garriſon of *Placentia*, upon condition of certain Grants made by the Court, who furniſhes them with a Ship, wherein I am to have my Paſſage. Pray ſend me your News by ſome Ships of S. *John de Luz*, which are to ſail from this place within two Months, in order to truck with the Inhabitants of *Placentia*.

I cannot conclude this Letter, without giving you ſome account of a Diſpute I had very lately at my Inn, with a *Portugueze* Phyſician, who had made many Voyages to *Angola*, *Brezil*, and *Goa*. He maintain'd, that the People of the Continent of *America*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, were deſcended from three different Fathers, which he thus attempted to prove. The *Americans* differ from the *Aſiatics*, for they have neither Hair nor Beard; the features of their Face, their colour and their cuſtoms are different; beſides that, they know neither *meum* nor *tuum*, but have all things in common, without making any property of Goods, which is quite contrary to the *Aſiatic* way of living. He added, that *America* was ſo far diſtant from the other parts of the World, that no body can imagine, how a Voyage ſhould be made into this New Continent, before the uſe of the Compaſs was found out; That the *Africans* being black and flat Nos'd, had ſuch monſtrous thick Lips, ſuch a flat Face, ſuch ſoft woolly Hair on their Head, and were in their Conſtitution, Manners, and Temper, ſo different from the *Americans*, that he thought it impoſſible, that theſe two ſorts of People ſhould derive their Original from *Adam*, whom this Phyſician would have to reſemble a *Turk* or a *Perſian* in his Air and Figure. I anſwer'd him preſently, that ſuppoſing the Scripture did not give convincing evidence, that all Men in general are deſcended from one firſt Father, yet his reaſoning would not be ſufficient

ficient to prove the contrary, ſince the difference that is found between the People of *America* and *Africa*, proceeds from no other cauſe but the different qualities of the Air and Climat in theſe two Continents: That this appears plainly to be true, becauſe a *Negro* Man and Woman, or a Savage Man and Woman, being tranſplanted into *Europe*, will produce ſuch Children there, who in four or five Generations, will infallibly be as white, as the moſt ancient *Europeans*. The Phyſician deny'd this matter of Fact, and maintain'd, that the Children deſcended from this *Negro* Man or Woman, would be born there as black as they are in *Guinea*; but that afterwards the Rays of the Sun being more oblique and leſs ſcorching than in *Africa*, theſe Infants would not have that black ſhining Luſtre, which is ſo eaſily diſtinguiſhed upon the Skin of ſuch *Negroes* as are brought up in their own Country. To confirm his *Hypotheſis*, he aſſur'd me, that he had ſeen many *Negroes* at *Lisbon*, as black as in *Africa*, tho' their Great Grandfather's Grandfather had been tranſplanted into *Portugal* many years agoe. He added alſo, that thoſe who were deſcended from the *Portugueze*, that dwelt at *Angola*, Cape *Vert*, *&c.* about a hundred years agoe, are ſo little tawn'd, that 'tis impoſſible to diſtinguiſh them from the Natives of *Portugal*: He further confirm'd his way of reaſoning, from an unconteſtable matter of fact, for, ſays he, if the Rays of the Sun were the cauſe of the blackneſs of the *Negroes*, from hence it would follow, that the *Brazilians* being ſituate in the ſame degree from the Equator with the *Africans*, ſhould be as black as they are; but ſo they are not, for 'tis certain their Skin appears to be as clear as that of the *Portugueſe*. But this was not all, he maintain'd farther, that theſe who are deſcended from the firſt Savages of *Brazil*, that were tranſported into *Portugal*, above an Age agoe, have as little Hair and

Beard

Beard as their Anceſtors, and on the contrary, thoſe who are deſcended from the firſt *Portugueze*, who peopl'd the Colonies of *Brazil*, are as hairy, and have as great Beards, as if they had been born in *Portugal*. But after all, continued he, though all that I have ſaid is abſolutely true, yet there are ſome People, who raſhly maintain, that the Children of the *Africans* and *Americans*, will by degrees degenerate in *Europe*. This may happen to thoſe whoſe Mothers receive the imbraces of *Europeans*, which is the reaſon why we ſee ſo many *Mullatto's* in the Iſles of *America*, in *Spain*, and in *Portugal*: Whereas if theſe Women had been as cloſely kept up in *Europe*, as the *Portugueze* Women are in *Africa* and *America*, the Children of the *Braſilians* would no more degenerate than thoſe of the *Portugueze*. Such Sir, was the reaſoning of this Doctor, who hits the matter pretty juſtly towards the end of his Diſcourſe; but his Principle is moſt falſe, and moſt abſurd, for no Man can doubt, unleſs he be void of Faith, good Senſe and Judgment, but that *Adam* was the only Father of all Mankind. 'Tis certain, that the Savages of *Canada*, and all the other People of *America*, have not naturally either Hair or Beard; that the features of their Face, and their colour approaching to an Olive, ſhow a vaſt difference between them and the *Europeans*. What is the cauſe of theſe things I know not, and yet I cannot believe them to be the effect of their Air and Food. For at that rate, thoſe who are deſcended from the *French*, that firſt ſetled in *Canada* near a hundred years agoe, and for the moſt part run up and down in the Woods, and live like the Savages, ſhould have neither Beard nor Hair, but degenerate alſo by degrees into Savages, which yet never happens. After this Phyſician had alledg'd all theſe Reaſons, he digreſs'd from this Subject, and having a mind to diſcover his extravagant Opinions, ask'd me what I

thought

thought of the Salvation of ſo many *Americans*, to whom in all probability the Goſpel was never preach'd. You may very well believe, that I made no ſcruple to condemn them by wholeſale to Eternal Fire, which he took very ill. 'How can you, ſaid he, 'condemn theſe poor People with ſo much aſſu-'rance: 'Tis probable that their firſt Father, having 'never ſinn'd as our *Adam* did, had a good Soul, 'and an upright Heart, ſince his Poſterity do ex-'actly obſerve the Law of natural Equity, which is 'expreſs'd in *Latine* in theſe well known words, '*Alteri ne feceris quod tibi fieri non vis*; and allow no 'property of Goods, nor any Diſtinction or Sub-'ordination among them, but live as Brethren, with-'out Diſputes, without Suits, without Laws, and 'without Malice. But ſuppoſing, added he, that 'they were originally deſcended from *Adam*, we 'ought not to believe, that they are damn'd for their 'ignorance of the Chriſtian Doctrine, for who can 'tell but God may impute to them the Merits of 'Chriſt's Blood, by ways ſecret and incomprehen-'ſible to us; and beſides, (ſuppoſing that Man has 'a Free Will) his Divine Majeſty without doubt 'will have a greater regard to his moral Actions, 'than to his Worſhip and Belief. The want of 'Knowledge, continued he, is an Unhappineſs, but 'not a Crime, and who can tell but God has a mind 'to be honour'd by infinite ways of paying him 'Homage and Reſpect, as by Sacrifices, Dances, 'Songs, and the other Ceremonies of the *Americans*? He had ſcarce made an end of his Diſcourſe, when I fell foul upon him with all my might, as to the preceding Points; but after I had given him to underſtand, that if among the *multi vocati*, *i. e.* thoſe who profeſs the true Religion, who are but a handful of Men, there are found but *Pauci electi*, all the *Americans* muſt be in a very deplorable condition: He anſwer'd me impudently, that I was very raſh

to

to determine who ſhould be in the number of the Reprobate at the laſt Judgment, and to condemn them without giving any Quarter; for, ſays he, this is to inſult the Wiſdom of God, and to make him deal as capriciouſly by his Creatures, as St. *Paul*'s Potter did by his two Veſſels. Nevertheleſs, when he ſaw that I treated him like an impious, unbelieving Wretch, he to be even with me, reply'd in theſe fooliſh words, *Fidem ego hic quæ adhibetur Myſteriis ſacris interpello, ſed fidem illam quæ bonæ mentis ſoror eſt, quæq; rectam rationem amat.* From hence you may judge, Sir, whether this fine Phyſician was able to remove Mountains. I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

LETTER XXV.

Dated at *Viana* in *Portugal January* 31. 1694.

The Author's departure from France *for* Placentia. *A Fleet of* 30 Engliſh *Ships came to ſeize upon that place; but is diſappointed, and ſheers off. The Reaſons why the* Engliſh *have bad ſucceſs in all their Enterpriſes beyond Sea. The Author's Adventure with the Governour of* Placentia. *His departure for* Portugal. *An Engagement with a Fluſhing Privateer.*

SIR,

I Do not at all doubt but you will be ſenſibly affected with my ſad and fatal Miſadventure, which I am now to give you an account of. And firſt

you muſt know, that after we had waited for a fair Wind fifteen or twenty days at St. *Nazere*, we ſet ſail on the 12*th* of *May* laſt. Our Paſſage was neither long nor ſhort, for we arriv'd at the Harbour of *Placentia* the 20*th* of *June*, having taken an *Engliſh* Ship laden with Tobacco, on the edges of the Bank of *Newfound Land*. After I landed, I went to ſalute Mr. *Brouillon*, Governor of *Placentia*, and declar'd to him how glad I was to obey the Orders of ſo wiſe a Commander. He anſwer'd, that he was much ſurpriz'd to find, that I had ſollicited to be employ'd there, without acquainting him with it the preceding year; and that he now plainly perceiv'd, that the Project about the Lakes of *Canada*, (which I had mention'd to him) was a mere ſham pretence. I endeavour'd in vain to perſwade him to the contrary; for it was not poſſible for me to undeceive him. Nevertheleſs, I landed my Goods, and hir'd a private Houſe, till ſuch time as I could build one for my ſelf, which I carried on with ſo much diligence, that it was finiſh'd in *September*, by the aſſiſtance of the Ship-Carpenters, who were lent me *gratis*, by all the *Biſcay* Captains. The Sieur *Beray* of St. *John de Luz*, arriv'd at *Placentia* on the 18*th* of *July*, with one of his Ships, and brought me a Letter, wherein you acquaint me, that in regard your Nephew deſires to viſit *Canada* the next year, you would be very glad to have a Dictionary of the Language of the Savages, together with the Memoirs which I promis'd you.

On the 16*th* of *September* we perceiv'd an *Engliſh* Fleet of twenty four Sail, which caſt Anchor in the Road much about the time that it was diſcover'd. It was commanded by Sir *Francis Wheeler*, who had gone to *Martinico* with a deſign to ſeize that Iſle, and in his return from thence had ſail'd to *New-England*, to take in ſome Forces and Ammunition there, in order to make himſelf Maſter of

of *Placentia*; but when he diſcover'd a Redoubt of Stone lately built upon the top of the Mountain, which I mention'd to you in my laſt Letter but one, he thought it more adviſable to return quietly into *Europe*, than to make a fruitleſs Attempt. We had planted four Canon upon this high Redoubt, which ſo gaul'd the Ships of his Fleet, that they were forc'd to weigh Anchor, and hoiſt Sail ſooner than they intended. The fault of the *Engliſh* upon this occaſion, was, that they did not enter the Harbour the ſame day that they appear'd before the place. I have obſerv'd it many times, that Attempts do commonly miſcarry, by delaying them for a little while; and of this I could give you at leaſt fifteen or ſixteen Inſtances within the compaſs of my own Knowledge. But now I return to the Quarrel the Governour had with me.

Fancying that I had ſollicited my Employments without taking notice of him, he treated me with all manner of Reproaches and Outrages, from the time of my Landing, to that of my Departure, and was not ſatisfy'd with appropriating to himſelf the Profits and Advantages of the free Company that was given me, but likewiſe ſtop'd without any ſcruple, the pay of the Soldiers that were employ'd in the Cod-fiſhing by the Inhabitants, and made the reſt work without Wages. I ſhall take no notice of his publick Extortion; for tho' he has formally counteracted the ten Articles contain'd in the Orders of *Lewis* the 10*th*, yet he had ſo many Friends in all the Courts, that he could not be found guilty: There's ſome pleaſure in making Preſents in his way, for by them he has made 50000 Crowns *per fas & nefas*, in the ſpace of three or four years. I ſhould never have done, if I offer'd to give you a particular account of all the trouble and vexation he gave me. I ſhall only mention three Inſtances which crown'd all the reſt.

On the 20*th* of *November*, *i. e.* a Month after our Fiſhermen ſet ſail, while I was entertaining at Supper ſome of the Inhabitants, he came Mask'd into my Houſe, with his Servants, and broke the glaſs Windows, Bottles, and Drinking-Glaſſes, and threw down the Tables, Chairs, Cheſts of Drawers, and every thing that came to hand. Before I had time to get into my Chamber, and take my Piſtols, this inſolent Mob diſappear'd very ſeaſonably; for I would have loaded my Piſtols and purſu'd them, if my Gueſts had not hindred me. Next Morning his Servants fell upon mine, who expected nothing leſs than to be threſh'd to death with Clubs. This ſecond inſult having provok'd my Patience to the laſt degree, I was meditating ſome Revenge upon theſe Aſſ[illegible]ins, when the Recollets came and remonſtrated to me, that I muſt diſſemble my Reſentment, to prevent any Innovation in the King's Affairs. Then I reſolv'd to ſhut my ſelf up, and apply my ſelf to Study, to divert the vexatious Thoughts, of not being able to pull off my Mask. The third trick which he play'd me, at the end of three days, was this; he ſent to arreſt two Soldiers, whom I had imploy'd to cut down ſome Graſs in the Meadows, about half a League from the Garriſon: They were ſeiz'd while they were Mowing, bound and carried away Priſoners, under the pretence of being Deſerters, becauſe they had lain two Nights out of the Garriſon, without his leave; and, which would have prov'd yet more fatal to theſe innocent Men, he had certainly caus'd 'em to be knock'd on the Head, on purpoſe to vex me, if the Recollets, and his own Miſſe, had not earneſtly interceded on their behalf.

After this Accident, the Recollets adviſed me to go and ſee him, and to entreat him to put an end to all his Perſecutions, aſſuring him at the ſame time, that I was entirely his Servant and Friend. *Durus eſt hic ſermo.* Whatever reluctancy I had to yield to an advice ſo con-

contrary to nature, which, I muſt confeſs, ſtruggled furiouſly within me, yet I offer'd ſo much violence to my ſelf, that I ſubmitted to it. I was at his Houſe, went into his Chamber, and being with him all alone, I ſpoke to him for a quarter of an hour in the moſt ſubmiſſive Terms, that any Slave could uſe. I am aſham'd to make this Confeſſion to you, for I bluſh to my ſelf every time I think of ſo mean a ſubmiſſion. However, inſtead of his liſtening to my Reaſons, and treating friendly with me, he fell into a moſt furious Paſſion, and loaded me with a torrent of moſt bitter Reproaches. In this caſe, Sir, I preferr'd the Service of the King, before the Punctilio's of Honour, for I did nothing but retir'd to my own Houſe, being well ſatisfy'd that I was not aſſaſſinated by his Domeſticks: But the diſorder which this Affair produc'd, would require a long Diſcourſe. It will be more to the purpoſe, to come to matter of Fact; I do aſſure you, that he would have laid me up, if the Inhabitants had appear'd to be in his Intereſt. He pretended that he had been inſulted, and conſequently that he was in the right in revenging himſelf, whatever it coſt him. But the tragical end of a Governour, whoſe Throat was cut in this Country about thirty or forty years agoe, furniſh'd him with abundant matter of Reflexion. He judg'd it therefore his ſafeſt way to diſſemble his Anger, being perſwaded, that if I ſhould have run him through with my Sword, the Soldiers and Inhabitants would have favour'd my eſcape to the *Engliſh*, in the neighbourhood of *Placentia*. In the mean time the Recollets, who had a mind to compoſe theſe growing Differences, found no great trouble in reconciling us, for they Remonſtrated to him, of what conſequence it would be for us to live in a good Correſpondence, and to avoid the troubles that would enſue upon our quarrels. This propoſal of an Accommodation, was in ap-

pearance moſt agreeable to him, and ſo much the rather, becauſe he was glad to diſſemble his Reſentments by the external ſigns of Friendſhip. So we ſaw and embrac'd one another with mutual Proteſtations of forgetting all that had paſs'd between us.

After this Reconciliation, I had reaſon to believe, that his Heart would not give the lye to his Mouth, becauſe I thought he was not ſo imprudent as to inform the Court of ſome Trifles, wherein he would appear to have proſtituted his Honour; but I was deceiv'd, for he took the pains to add afterwards to the Verbal Proceſs he had given in before our Accommodation, ſome falſhoods which he ought to have conceal'd. 'Tis needleſs to acquaint you, how by chance his Papers fell into my Hands; that Indiſcretion might prove a diſadvantage to ſome Perſons, whom Heaven bleſs. I ſhall only tell you, that after the Recollets had ſeen and read the Allegations contain'd in his Papers, they made no ſcruple to adviſe me to take care of my ſelf, and ingenuouſly declar'd to me, that they never intended to meddle any more in that Affair, becauſe they perceiv'd that they had innocently contributed to do me a prejudice, by reſtoring peace between him and me. This wholſom advice made me perceive the danger to which I ſhould be expos'd, if I continued any longer at *Placentia*, inſomuch, that the fear I had of being ſent to the *Baſtile*, after the arrival of the Ships from *France*, made me reſolve to abandon all hopes of making my fortune here, and to throw up my Places. After the Inhabitants were acquainted with this News, all of 'em except three or four, came running to my Houſe, to aſſure me they were ready to ſign my Verbal Proceſs, in caſe I would change my Reſolution: But inſtead of accepting their offer, I gave them to underſtand, having thank'd them firſt for their Good-will, that

they

they would bring Miſchief upon themſelves, and be look'd upon at Court as Seditious Perſons, and Diſturbers of the publick Peace; ſince by a deteſtable principle of Politicks, an inferior Perſon is always judg'd to be in the wrong, whatever reaſon he may have on his ſide. Indeed I would gladly have avoided this fatal neceſſity of throwing up my Places, which ſeem'd inſenſibly to lead me to ſome great Fortune; but at laſt the confinement in the *Baſtile*, made ſuch a deep impreſſion upon my Mind, after I had ſeriouſly reflected upon the troubleſom Circumſtances of my Affairs, that I made no ſcruple to embark in a little Veſſel, which was the only one, and the laſt that was to go to *France*. The Propoſal I made to the Captain of preſenting him with a 1000 Crowns, was ſo well receiv'd, that he engag'd to land me upon the Coaſt of *Portugal* for that Sum, upon condition that I ſhould keep the Secret. The beſt of the matter was, that my Enemy had uſed the precaution of writing to the Governors of *Belle* Iſle, of the Iſle of *Re*, and of *Rochelle*, to ſeize me as ſoon as I ſhould land. He reckon'd, and not without reaſon indeed, that this Veſſel would put into one of theſe three Ports: But three hundred Piſtoles, dexterouſly convey'd to the hands of ſome People that are not much accuſtom'd to finger Gold, have a wonderful effect; for that very Sum, which indeed I was loth to part with, ſav'd me my Liberty, and perhaps my Life.

Purſuant to this Reſolution, I imbarqu'd the 14*th* of the laſt Month, notwithſtanding the riſque that one runs by ſailing in the Winter time, through ſuch a Sea as lies between *Newfound-Land* and *France*. 'Tis needleſs to inform you, that I left at *Placentia* a great deal of Houſhold Furniture, which I could neither ſell nor carry off. 'Twill be more edifying for you to hear the Journal of our Voyage. We incounter'd three terrible Storms in our Paſſage,

without any damage; and in the laſt of theſe, which laſted three days, the Wind at North-Weſt, we run a hundred and fifty Leagues without any Sail. This laſt Storm was ſo violent, that the Seamen imbrac'd, and bid an eternal adieu to one another; for every Minute they expected to be ſunk without relief. As this Storm alarm'd us, ſo the contrary Winds from the Eaſt and North-Eaſt, that ſprung upon us a hundred Leagues to the Weſtward of Cape *Finiſterre*, occaſion'd an equal dread; for we were oblig'd to traverſe the Sea for three or four and twenty days, after which we deſcry'd the Cape by vertue of our frequent tackings, and by a ſtrange accident, were attack'd by a *Fluſhing* Privateer, which could not board us, becauſe the Sea roll'd ſo high, but contented her ſelf with firing upon us, and that with ſo little effect, that we did not loſe one Man. Our Maſts and Rigging indeed was ſo dammag'd, that after we were parted from the Privateer, by the help of the Night and a great Fog, we could ſcarce make uſe of our Sails. However, we refitted with all poſſible diligence, and the Captain of the Ship having then a fair pretence to luft out of the direct courſe ſtood to the South-Eaſt in the Night-time. This feign'd courſe did not ſecure us from the Privateer, which might happen to ſteer the ſame courſe; ſo that in the Night-time we put our ſelves in a readineſs to renew the fight in the Day-time. In effect, he did not purſue us, as we apprehended: But about Noon we eſcap'd yet more narrowly, for we were purſu'd by a *Sallyman* in ſight of the Coaſt for four hours, and were within a hairs breadth of being taken, before we got under the Canon of the Fort of this City. Had we been catch'd, the Governour of *Placentia* would have had ſome ground for the joyful Exclamation, *Incidit in Scillam*, &c. But thank God we were only frighted.

As

As ſoon as we came to an Anchor, I paid down my 1000 Crowns to the Captain, who has reaſon to look upon this Action, as one of the beſt he ever did in his Life-time. The Long-boat was no ſooner in the Water, than I went aſhoar with all my Baggage; and as ſoon as I came into this City, I procur'd Ammunition and Proviſions for the Ship with that Expedition, that the Captain weigh'd Anchor the very next day, and ſo continu'd his courſe to *France*.

As for the Memoirs of the Country of *Canada*, which you have ſo often deſir'd, I have addreſs'd 'em to the *Rochel* Merchant, who convey'd your Letters to me all the while I was in *Canada*. To theſe I have tack'd a ſmall Catalogue of the moſt neceſſary words of the *Algonkin* Language; which, as I have often told you, is the fineſt and the moſt univerſal Language in that Continent. If your Nephew continues his deſign of undertaking a Voyage to that Country, I would adviſe him to learn theſe words in the time of his Paſſage, that ſo he may be able to ſtay five or ſix Months with the *Algonkins*, and underſtand what they ſay. I have likewiſe ſent you an explication of the Sea-Terms, made uſe of in my Letters. The making of this little Table, was a diverſion to me in my Voyage; for in peruſing my Letters, I drew out ſome remarks which I deſign to impart to you, if I find that the inſuing Memoirs give you ſatisfaction.

You will readily gueſs, that from the year 1683, to this very day, I have renounc'd all manner of ties to my Country. The curious Adventures that I have related to you in Writing ſince that time, will undoubtedly afford an agreeable diverſion to your Friends; provided they are not of the number of thoſe unſufferable Devotees, who would rather be crucifi'd, than ſee an Eccleſiaſtick expos'd. Pray be ſo kind as to write to me to *Lisbon*, and inform

me

me of what you hear, in reference to my concern You have ſuch good Correſpondents at *Paris*, tha you cannot miſs of knowing how things go. I doubt not but my Adverſary feeds himſelf with the hopes, that his uſual Preſents would procure the apprehending of me in *France*, where he thinks I would be the fool to land: But now to be ſure he'll fret his Heart out, for that he cannot gall me to his Wiſhes. However, 'tis as much his intereſt to ſollicit my Death, (purſuant to his unjuſt Charge againſt me) as 'tis my Glory to procure him a long Life. Upon this foot, Sir, the longer he lives, the more revenge I ſhall have; and conſequently I ſhall have an opportunity of an eaſie ſolace for the loſs of my Places, and the Diſgrace I have met with from the King. I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

MEMOIRS
OF
North-*America*;

Containing a Geographical Deſcription of that vaſt Continent; the Cuſtoms and Commerce, of the Inhabitants, &c.

SIR,

IN my former Letters, I preſented you with a view of the *Engliſh* and *French* Colonies, the Commerce of *Canada*, the Navigation upon the Rivers and Lakes of that Country, the courſe of ſailing from *Europe* to *North-America*, the ſeveral Attempts made by the *Engliſh* to maſter the *French* Colonies, the Incurſions of the *French* upon New-*England*, and upon the *Iroqueſe* Country: In a word, Sir, I have reveal'd a great many things, that for reaſons of State or Politicks, have been hitherto conceal'd; inſomuch, that if you were capable of making me a Sacrifice to your Reſentment, 'tis now in your power to ruine me at Court, by producing my Letters.

All that I writ in the foregoing Letters, and the whole ſubſtance of the Memoirs I now ſend you, is truth as plain as the Sun-ſhine. I flatter no Man, and I ſpare no body. I ſcorn to be partial; I beſtow due praiſe upon thoſe who are in no capacity to ſerve me,

me, and I censure the Conduct of others, that are capable of doing me an injury by indirect Methods. I am not influenc'd by that principle of Interest and Party-making, that is the rule of some folks words. I sacrifice all to the love of Truth, and write with no other view, than to give you a just Representation of things as they are. 'Tis beneath me to mince or alter the matter of fact, contain'd either in the Letters I sent you some ten or twelve years agoe, or in these Memoirs. In the course of my Voyages and Travels, I took care to keep particular Journals of every thing; but a minute relation of all Particulars, would be irksom to you, besides, that the trouble of taking a copy of the Journals, before I have an opportunity of shewing you the Original, would require more time than I can well spare. In these Memoirs you'll find as much as will serve to form a perfect *Idea* of the vast Continent of North-*America*. In the course of our Correspondence from the year 1683, to this time, I sent you five and twenty Letters, of all which I have kept a double very carefully. My only view in writing of these Letters, was to inform you of the most essential things; for I was unwilling to perplex and confound your Thoughts, with an infinity of uncommon things, that have happen'd in that Country. If you'll consult my Maps, as you read the abovemention'd Letters, you'll find a just Representation of all the places I have spoke of. These Maps are very particular, and I dare assure you, they are the correctest yet extant. My Voyage upon the Long River, gave me an opportunity of making that little Map, which I sent you from *Missilimakinac* in 1699, with my sixteenth Letter. 'Tis true, it gives only a bare Description of that River, and the River of the *Missouris*: But it requir'd more time than I could spare, to make it more compleat, by a knowledge of the adjacent Countries, which have hitherto

hitherto been unknown to all the World, as well as that great River, and which I would never have visited, if I had not been fully inſtructed in every thing that related to it, and convoy'd by a good Guard. I have plac'd the Map of *Canada* at the front of theſe Memoirs, and deſire that favour of you, that you would not ſhew it to any body under my Name. To the latter part I have ſubjoyn'd an Explication of the *Marine*, and other difficult Terms, made uſe of in my Letters, as well as in theſe Memoirs; which you'll pleaſe to conſult, when you meet with a word that you do not underſtand.

1 *A ſhort Deſcription of* Canada.

You'll think, Sir, that I advance a Paradox, when I acquaint you that New-*France*, commonly call'd *Canada*, comprehends a greater extent of Ground, than the half of *Europe*: But pray mind what proof I have for that Aſſertion. You know that *Europe* extends South and North, from the 35 to the 72 degree of Latitude, or if you will, from *Cadiz* to the North Cape on the confines of *Lapland*; and that it's Longitude reaches from the 9*th* to the 94*th* Degree, that is, from the River *Oby*, to the Weſt Cape in *Tſlandia*. But at the ſame time, if we take the greateſt breadth of *Europe*, from Eaſt to Weſt, from the imaginary Canal, (for Inſtance) between the *Tanais* and the *Volga*, to *Dinglebay* in *Ireland*, it makes but 66 Degrees of Longitude, which contain more Leagues than the Degrees allotted to it towards the Polar Circle, though theſe are more numerous, by reaſon that the degrees of Longitude are unequal: And ſince we are wont to meaſure Provinces, Iſlands, and Kingdoms by the ſpace of Ground, I am of the Opinion, that we ought to make uſe of the ſame Standard, with reſpect to the four parts of the World. The Geographers who parcel

cel out the Earth in their Closets, according to their fancy; these Gentlemen, I say, might have been aware of this advance, if they had been more careful. But, to come to *Canada*;

All the World knows, that *Canada* reaches from the 39*th* to the 65*th* Deg. of Latitude, that is, from the South side of the Lake *Erriè*, to the North side of *Hudson*'s Bay; and from the 284*th*, to the 336*th* Degree of Longitude, *viz.* from the River *Missisipi*, to Cape *Rase* in the Island of New-*Foundland*. I affirm therefore, that *Europe* has but 11 Degrees of Latitude, and 33 of Longitude, more than *Canada*, in which I comprehend the Island of New-*Foundland*, *Acadia*, and all the other Countries that lye to the Northward of the River of St. *Laurence*, which is the pretended great boundary that severs the *French* Colonies from the *English*. Were I to reckon in all the Countries that lye to the North-West of *Canada*, I should find it larger than *Europe*: But I confine my self to what is discover'd, known and own'd; I mean, to the Countries in which the *French* trade with the Natives for Beavers, and in which they have Forts, Magazines, Missionaries, and small Settlements.

'Tis above a Century and a half since *Canada* was discover'd. *John Verasan* was the first Discoverer, though he got nothing by it, for the Savages eat him up. *James Cartier* was the next that went thither, but after sailing with his Ship above *Quebec*, he return'd to *France* with a sorry opinion of the Country. At last better Sailors were imploy'd in the Discovery, and trac'd the River of St. *Laurence* more narrowly: And about the beginning of the last Century, a Colony was sent thither from *Rouan*, which setled there after a great deal of opposition from the Natives. At this day the Colony is so populous, that 'tis computed to contain 18oooo Souls. I have already given you some account of that Country in my

my Letters, and therefore ſhall now only point to the moſt noted places, and take notice of what may gratifie your curioſity beyond what you have yet heard.

We are at a loſs to find the Head of the River of St. *Laurence*, for tho' we have trac'd it ſeven or eight hundred Leagues up, yet we could never reach its ſource; the remoteſt place that the *Coureurs de Bois* go to, being the Lake *Lenemipigon*, which diſimbogues into the *Upper Lake*, as the *Upper Lake* do's into the Lake of *Hurons*, the Lake of *Hurons* into that of *Erriè* alias *Conti*, and that of *Erriè*, into the Lake of *Frontenac*, which forms this laſt great River, that runs for twenty Leagues with a pretty gentle Stream, and ſweeps thro' thirty more with a very rapid Current, till it reaches the City of *Monreal*; from whence it continues its courſe with ſome moderation to the City of *Quebec*; and after that ſpreads out, and inlarges it ſelf by degrees to its Mouth, which lies a hundred Leagues further. If we may credit the North-Country Savages, this River takes its riſe from the great Lake of the *Aſſinipouals*, which they give out to be larger than any of the Lakes I mention'd but now, being ſituated at the diſtance of fifty or ſixty Leagues from the Lake of *Lenemipigon*. The River of St. *Laurence* is 20 or 22 Leagues broad at its Mouth, in the middle of which there's an Iſland call'd *Anticoſti*, which is twenty Leagues long. This Iſland belongs to the Sieur *Joliet* a *Canadan*, who has built a little fortify'd Magazine upon it, to guard his Goods and his Family from the Incurſions of the *Eskimaux*, of whom more anon. He deals with the other Savage Nations, namely, the *Montagnois*, and the *Papipanachois* in Arms and Ammunition, by way of exchange for the Skins of Sea-Wolves or Sea-Calves, and ſome other Furs.

Over againſt this Iſland, to the Southward of it, we find the Iſle call'd *L' Iſle Percèe*, which is a great Rock with a paſſage bor'd through it, in which the

the Sloops can only paſs. In time of Peace the *Biſcayans* of *France*, and the *Normans*, us'd to fiſh for Cod at this place: For here that Fiſh are very plentiful, and at the ſame time larger, and more proper for drying than thoſe of *New-Foundland*. But there are two great Inconveniencies that attend the fiſhing upon this Iſland; one is, that the Ships ride in great danger, unleſs they have good Anchors and ſtrong Cables; another Inconvenience is, that this place affords neither Gravel nor Flint-ſtones to ſtretch out the Fiſh upon before the Sun, and that the Fiſhermen are forc'd to make uſe of a ſort of Hurdles.

There are other Fiſhing-places beſides this, which lie ſome Leagues higher up upon the ſame ſide of the River. Such is that call'd *Gaſpè*, where the Ships Crew ſometimes trade in Skins with the *Gaſpeſians*, to the prejudice of the Proprietors of this River. The other places for Cod-fiſh lie toward *Monts notre dame*, in the little Bays or Rivers that empty themſelves into the River of St. *Laurence*.

On the other ſide of the River, there lies the wide extended Country of *Labrador*, or of the *Eskimaux*, who are ſuch a wild barbarous People, that no means whatſoever, have hitherto been able to civiliſe 'em. One would think that good old *Homer* had this People in his view, when he ſpeaks of the Cyclopes; for the Character of the one, ſuits the other admirably well, as it appears from theſe four Verſes, in the ninth Book of his *Odyſſea*, which are ſo pretty, that I cannot forbear inſerting them in this place.

Τοῖσιν δ' οὔτ' ἀγοραὶ βουληφόροι οὔτε θέμιστες.
Ἀλλ' οἵγ' ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων νάοισι κάηνα
Ἔν σπέσι γλαφυροῖσι· θεμιστεύει δὲ ἕκαστος
Παίδων ἠδ' ἀλόχων· οὐδ' ἀλλήλων ἀλέγουσι.

That

That is; this People do not perplex themſelves with voluminous Laws, and vexatious Suits; they delight only in the tops of Mountains, and deep Caves, and every one confines his care to the management of his own Family, without troubling his Head about his Neighbour. The *Danes* were the firſt diſcoverers of this Country, which is full of Ports, Havens, and Bays, that the *Quebec* Barques reſort to in the Summer, in order to truck with the Savages for the Skins of Sea-Calves. The Commerce I ſpeak of, is carried on after this manner. As ſoon as the *Quebec* Barques come to an Anchor, theſe Devils come on board of them in their little Canows made of the Skins of Sea-Calves, in the form of a Weavers Shuttle, with a hole in the middle of it, reſembling that of a Purſe, in which they ſtow themſelves with Ropes, ſitting ſuqat upon their Brech. Being ſet in this faſhion they row with little Slices, ſometimes to the Right, and ſometimes to the Left, without bending their Body for fear of Over-ſetting. As ſoon as they are near the Barque, they hold up their Skins upon the end of the Oar, and at the ſame time make a demand of ſo many Knives, Powder, Ball, Fuſees, Axes, Kettles, *&c.* In fine, every one ſhews what he has, and mentions what he expects in exchange: And ſo when the Bargain is concluded, they deliver and receive their Goods upon the end of a Stick. As theſe pitiful Fellows uſe the precaution of not going on board of our Boats, ſo we take care not to ſuffer too great a number of Canows to ſurround us; for they have carry'd off oftner than once, ſome of our ſmall Veſſels, at a time when the Seamen were buſied in hauling in the Skins, and delivering out the other Goods. Here, we are oblig'd to be very vigilant in the Night-time, for they know how to make great Sloops, that will hold thirty or forty Men, and run as faſt as the Wind: And 'tis for this

reaſon that the *Malouins*, who fiſh for Cod at *Petit Nord*, and the *Spaniards* who follow the ſame Fiſhery at *Portocboua*, are oblig'd to fit out long Barques to ſcour the Coaſt and purſue 'em; for almoſt every year they ſurpriſe ſome of the Crew on ſhoar, and cut their Throats, and ſometimes they carry off the Veſſel. We are aſſur'd, that their number of Warriours, or Men that bear Arms, amounts to thirty thouſand; but they are ſuch cowardly fellows, that five hundred *Cliſtino's* from *Hudſons Bay*, uſed to defeat five or ſix thouſand of them. They are poſſeſs'd of a very large Country, extending from over againſt the Iſles of *Mingan* to *Hudſons* Streight. They croſs over to the Iſland of *Newfound-Land* every day, at the Streight of *Belle* Iſle, which is not above ſeven Leagues over; but they never came ſo far as *Placentia*, for fear of meeting with other Savages there.

Hudſon's Bay adjoyns to this *Terra* of *Labrador*, and extends from the 52*d* Degree and thirty Minutes to the 63 of Latitude. The Original of its name was this. Captain *Henry Hudſon*, an *Engliſh* Man by Birth, obtain'd a Ship from the *Dutch*, in order to trace a paſſage to *China* through an imaginary Streight to the Northward of North-*America*. He had firſt form'd a deſign of going by the way of *Nova Zembla*; but upon ſeeing the Memoirs of a *Daniſh* Pilot, who was a friend of his, he drop'd that thought. This Pilot, namely, *Frederick Anſchild*, had ſet out from *Norway* or *Yſlandia*, ſome years before, with a deſign to find out a Paſſage to *Japan* by *Davis*'s Streight, which is the Chimerical Streight I ſpoke of. The firſt Land he deſcry'd was *Savage* Bay, ſeated on the North ſide of the *Terra* of *Labrador*; then ſweeping along the Coaſt, he enter'd a Streight, which about twenty or thirty years afterwards, was chriſten'd *Hudſon*'s Streight. After that, ſteering to the Weſtward, he came upon ſome Coaſts

Coasts that run North and South; upon which he stood to the North, flattering himself with the hopes of finding an open passage to cross the Sea of *Jesso*; but after sailing to the Latitude of the Polar Circle, and running the risque of perishing in the Ice, I do not know how often, without meeting with any passage or open Sea, he took up a resolution of turning back; but the Season was then so far advanc'd, and the Ice so cover'd up the surface of the Water, that he was forc'd to put in to *Hudson's Bay*, and winter there in a Harbour, where several Savages furnish'd his Crew with Provisions and excellent Skins. As soon as the Sea was open, he return'd to *Denmark*. Now, Captain *Hudson* being afterwards acquainted with this *Dane*, undertook upon his Journals to attempt a passage to *Japan* through the Streight of *Davis*; but the Enterprise fail'd, as well as that of one *Button*, and some others. However, *Hudson* put in to the Bay that now goes by his name, where he receiv'd a great quantity of Skins from the Savages; after that, he discover'd *New Holland*, which is now call'd *New-York*, and some other Countries retaining to *New-England*: upon the whole, 'tis not fair to call this Streight and this Bay, by the name of *Hudson*; in regard that the abovemention'd *Dane, Frederick Anschild*, was the first discoverer of them; he being the first *European* that descry'd the Countries of North-*America*, and chalk'd out the way to the others. Upon this *Hudson's* Journals, the *English* made several attempts to settle a Commerce with the *Americans*. The great quantity of Beaver-Skins and other Furs that he purchas'd of the Savages while he Winter'd in the Bay, put the notion into the heads of some *English* Merchants, who thereupon form'd a Company for the carrying on of this New Commerce. With this view, they fitted out some Ships under the command of Captain *Nelson*, who lost some of 'em in the Ice not far from the

Streight, having escap'd narrowly himself. However, he enter'd the Bay, and plac'd himself at the Mouth of a great River, which rises towards the Lake of the *Assimpouals*, and falls into the Bay at a place where he built a Redoubt, and mounted some Cannon upon it. In the space of three or four years after, the *English* made some other little Forts near that River, which prov'd a considerable baulk to the Commerce of the *French*, who found that the Savages who us'd to deal with 'em in Furs on the North side of the upper Lake, were not then to be seen.

It came to pass in process of time, but how I cannot tell, that one *Ratisson*, and one *Grozelier*, met in that great Lake some *Clistino's*, who promis'd to conduct 'em to the bottom of the Bay, where the *English* had not yet penetrated. In effect, the *Clistino's* were as good as their word; for they shew'd 'em the place they spoke of, besides several other Rivers upon which there was a fair prospect of making such Settlements, as would carry on a great trade in Skins with several Savage Nations. These two *Frenchmen* return'd to the Upper Lake, the same way that they went, and from thence made the best of their way to *Quebec*, where they offer'd to the chief Merchants of the place, to carry Ships to *Hudson's* Bay; but their Project was rejected. In fine, having met with this repulse, they went to *France*, in hopes of a more favourable hearing at Court: But after the presenting of Memorial upon Memorial, and spending a great deal of Money, they were treated as whimsical Fellows. Upon that occasion the King of *England's* Ambassadour did not lose the opportunity of perswading them to go to *London*, where they met with such a favourable Reception, that they got several Ships, which they carry'd to the Bay, not without difficulty, and built several Forts in different places,

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that did great ſervice in promoting the Commerce. Then the Court of *France* repented, though too late, that they did not give ear to their Memorials; and finding no other remedy, reſolv'd to diſlodge the *Engliſh* at any rate. In effect, they attack'd 'em vigorouſly by Sea and Land, and diſpoſſeſs'd 'em of all their Forts, excepting Fort *Nelſon*, where they could not expect ſuch an eaſie Conqueſt. Some years after, the *Engliſh* reſolv'd to uſe their utmoſt efforts to retake theſe Poſts; and their reſolution was crown'd with Succeſs, for they diſlodg'd the *French* in their turn, and at this day the *French* are making preparations to repay 'em in their own Coin.

That Country is ſo cold for ſeven or eight Months of the year, that the Sea freezes ten Foot deep, the Trees and the very Stones ſplit, the Snow is ten or twelve Foot deep upon the Ground, for above ſix Months of the year, and during that ſeaſon, no body can ſtir out of Doors, without running the riſque of having their Noſe, Ears and Feet mortifi-ed by the Cold. The paſſage from *Europe* to that Country is ſo difficult and dangerous, by reaſon of the Ice and the Currents, that one muſt be reduc'd to the laſt degree of miſery, or be blind to a fooliſh heighth, that undertakes ſuch a wretched Voyage.

'Tis now time to paſs from *Hudſon's* Bay, to the *Superior* or *Upper Lake*. 'Tis eaſier to make this Voyage upon Paper, than to go actually through it; for you muſt ſail almoſt a hundred Leagues up the River of *Machakandibi*, which is ſo rapid and full of Cataracts, that a light Canow work'd by ſix Watermen, ſhall not ſail 'em under thirty or thirty five days. At the head of this River we meet with a little Lake of the ſame name, from whence we are oblig'd to a Land-carriage of ſeven Leagues, to get at the River of *Michipikoton*, which we run down in ten or twelve days, though at the ſame

time we have ſeveral Land-carriages upon it: For going down this River we paſs ſeveral Cataracts, where we are oblig'd either to carry our Canows by Land, or to drag 'em back again. Thus we arrive at the *Upper Lake*, which is reckon'd to be five hundred Leagues in Circumference, including the windings of the Creeks, and little Gulfs. This little freſh-water Sea is calm enough from the beginning of *May*, to the end of *September*. The South ſide is the ſafeſt for the Canows, by reaſon of the many Bays, and little Rivers, where one may put in in caſe of a Storm. There is no ſetled Savage Nation upon the brinks of the Lake, that I know of. 'Tis true indeed, that in Summer ſeveral Northern Nations come to Hunt and Fiſh in theſe parts, and bring with 'em the Beaver-Skins they have got in the Winter, in order to truck with the *Coureurs de Bois*, who do not fail to meet 'em there every year. The places where the Interview happens, are *Bagouaſcb*, *Lemipiſaki*, and *Chagouamigon*. 'Tis ſome years ſince Mr. *Dulhut* built a Fort of Pales or Stakes upon this Lake, where he had large Magazines of all ſorts of Goods. That Fort was call'd *Camaniſtigoyan*, and did conſiderable Diſſervice to the *Engliſh* Settlements in *Hudſon's Bay*; by reaſon that it ſav'd ſeveral Nations the trouble of tranſporting their Skins to that Bay. Upon that Lake we find Copper Mines, the Mettal of which is ſo fine and plentiful, that there is not a ſeventh part loſs from the Oar. It has ſome pretty large Iſlands, which are repleniſh'd with Elks and wild Aſſes; but there's ſcarce any that goes to hunt upon 'em, by reaſon of the danger of croſſing over. In fine, this Lake abounds with Sturgeons, Trouts, and white Fiſh. The Climate is unſufferably cold for ſix Months of the year, and the Snow joyn'd to the Froſt, commonly freezes the Water of the Lake for ten or twelve Leagues over.

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From the *Superiour* or *Upper Lake*, I ſteer to that of *Hurons*, to which I allot four hundred Leagues in Circumference. Now to make this Lake, you muſt ſail down by the fall call'd *Saut St. Mary*, which I deſcrib'd in my fifteenth Letter. This Lake is ſituated in a fine Climate, as you'll perceive from the Map. The North ſide of it is beſt for the Navigation of Canows, by reaſon of the frequency of Iſles which afford ſhelter in bad Weather. The South ſide is pleaſanter, and more convenient for the Hunting of Deer, which are there very plentiful. The figure of this Lake comes near to an equilateral Triangle. Of all its Iſles, that call'd *Manitoualin*, is the moſt conſiderable, being above twenty Leagues long, and ten broad. In former times, the *Outaouas* of the Nations of *Talon* and *Sable* dwelt in it; but the dread they were under upon the account of the *Iroqueſe*, oblig'd both them and their Neighbours to retire to *Miſſilimakinac*. That part of the Continent that faces this Iſland, is inhabited by the *Nockès* and the *Miſſitagues*, in two different Villages, which are twenty Leagues diſtant, the one from the other. Towards the Eaſt end of this Iſland, we fall in with the River *des Francois*, which I took notice of in my ſixteenth Letter. 'Tis as broad as the *Seine* is at *Paris*, and runs not above forty Leagues in length from its ſource in the Lake *Nepicerini*, to its Mouth. To the North-Weſt of this River, there lies the Bay of *Toranto*, which is twenty, or five and twenty Leagues long, and fifteen broad at its Mouth. This Bay receives a River that ſprings from a little Lake of the ſame name, and forms ſeveral Cataracts that are equally impracticable both upon the aſcent and deſcent. Upon the ſide of this River you'll ſee a Man's Head mark'd in my Map, which ſignifies a large Village of the *Hurons*, that was deſtroy'd by the *Iroqueſe*. You may go from the ſource of this River to the

Lake *Frontenac*, by making a Land-carriage to the River of *Tanaouate*, that falls into that Lake. Upon the South ſide of the Bay of *Toronto*, you ſee the Fort call'd *Fort Suppoſé*, which I mention'd in my 23*d* Letter, and about thirty Leagues to the Southward of that, you find the Country of *Theonontate*, which being formerly inhabited by the *Hurons*, was entirely depopulated by the *Iroqueſe*.

From thence I paſs directly to my Fort, without amuſing you with the different Landskips I met with in the ſpace of thirty Leagues. That Fort I have ſpoke ſo often of already, that without ſtopping there, I ſhall run directly to the Bay of *Sakinac*, reckoning it needleſs at the ſame time, to take any notice of the many Shelves and Rocks that lye hid under the Water for two Leagues off the Coaſt. This Bay is ſixteen or ſeventeen Leagues long, and ſix broad at its Mouth: In the middle of which we meet with two little Ilands, that are very ſerviceable to the Paſſengers; for if it were not for the conveniency of putting in there, they would be oblig'd for the moſt part, rather to march quite round the Bay, than to run the hazard of croſſing directly over in a Canow. The River of *Sakinac* falls into the bottom of the Bay. This River runs ſixty Leagues in length, with a gentle Current, having only three little Cataracts that one may ſhoot without danger. 'Tis as broad as the *Seine* is at *Seve* Bridge. Once in two years the *Outaouas* and the *Hurons*, are wont to hunt great quantities of Beavers upon the confines of the River of *Sakinac*. Between the River I now ſpeak of, and *Miſſilimakinac*, we meet with no place that is worth our regard. As for *Miſſilimakinac* it ſelf, I have already imparted to you all that I can ſay of that Poſt, which is of ſo great importance to our Commerce, and at the ſame time ſent you a draught of it. I ſhall therefore purſue my courſe to the Lake *Errie*, remembring that I deſcrib'd

deſcrib'd the *Ilineſe* Lake in my ſixteenth Letter.

The Lake *Erriè* is juſtly dignified with the illuſtrious name of *Conti*; for aſſuredly 'tis the fineſt Lake upon Earth. You may judge of the goodneſs of the Climate, from the Latitudes of the Countries that ſurround it. Its Circumference extends to two hundred and thirty Leagues; but it affords every where ſuch a charming Proſpect, that its Banks are deck'd with Oak-Trees, Elms, Cheſnut-Trees, Walnut-Trees, Apple-Trees, Plum-Trees, and Vines which bear their fine cluſters up to the very top of the Trees, upon a ſort of ground that lies as ſmooth as one's Hand. Such Ornaments as theſe, are ſufficient to give riſe to the moſt agreeable *Idea* of a Landskip in the World. I cannot expreſs what vaſt quantities of Deer and Turkeys are to be found in theſe Woods, and in the vaſt Meads that lye upon the South ſide of the Lake. At the bottom of the Lake, we find wild Beeves upon the Banks of two pleaſant Rivers that diſembogue into it, without Cataracts or rapid Currents. It abounds with Sturgeon and white Fiſh; but Trouts are very ſcarce in it, as well as the other Fiſh that we take in the Lakes of *Hurons* and *Ilineſe*. 'Tis clear of Shelves, Rocks, and Banks of Sand; and has fourteen or fifteen fathom Water. The Savages aſſure us, that 'tis never diſturb'd with high Winds, but in the Months of *December*, *January*, and *February*, and even then but ſeldom, which indeed I am very apt to believe, for we had but very few Storms, when I winter'd in my Fort in 1688, though the Fort lay open to the Lake of *Hurons*. The Banks of this Lake are commonly frequented by none but Warriours, whether the *Iroqueſe*, the *Ilineſe*, the *Oumamis*, &c. and 'tis very dangerous to ſtop there. By this means it comes to paſs, that the Stags, Roe-Bucks and Turkeys, run in great Bodies up and down the ſhoar, all round the Lake. In former times the *Erierionons*,

rieronons, and the *Andaſtogueronons*, liv'd upon the Confines of this Lake, but they were extirpated by the *Iroqueſe*, as well as the other Nations mark'd in the Map.

Upon the North ſide of the Lake we deſcry a point of Land, that ſhoots fifteen Leagues into the Main; and about thirty Leagues beyond that to the Eaſtward, we meet with a ſmall River that takes its riſe near the Bay of *Ganaraske*, in the Lake of *Frontenac*; and would afford a ſhort paſſage from the one Lake to the other, if 'twere not incumber'd with Cataracts. From thence to the Streight or Mouth of the Lake, you have thirty Leagues; the Streight being a League over, and fourteen Leagues long. Upon this Streight you ſee *Fort Suppoſé* mark'd in the Map, which is one of the Forts that I mention'd in my 23*d* Letter. From that imaginary Fort to the River of *Condé*, we have twenty Leagues.

The River of *Condé* runs ſixty Leagues in length without Cataracts, if we may credit the Savages, who aſſur'd me, that one may go from its ſource to another River that falls into the Sea, without any other Land-carriage than one of a League in length, between the River and the other. I ſaw only the Mouth of the firſt River, where our *Outaouas* tried their Limbs, as I told you in my fifteenth Letter. The Iſlands that you ſee mark'd in the Map at the bottom of the Lake *Erriè*, are repleniſh'd with Roe-Bucks, and with Fruit-Trees, which nature has generouſly provided, in order to entertain the Turkeys, Peaſants and Deer with their Fruit. In fine, if there were a clear and free paſſage for Veſſels, from *Quebec* to this Lake, it might be made the fineſt, the richeſt, and the moſt fertile Kingdom in the World: For over and above all the beauties I have mention'd, there are excellent Silver Mines about twenty Leagues up the Country, upon a certain Hill, from whence the Savages brought

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us great lumps, that have yielded that precious Mettal with little waſte.

From the Lake *Erriè*, I ſteer my courſe to that of *Frontenac*, which I could not forbear to ſpeak of in my ſeventh and ſeventeenth Letters. This Lake (as I intimated above) is 180 Leagues in Circumference, its figure is Oval, and its depth runs between twenty and twenty five Fathom. On the South ſide it receives ſeveral little Rivers, particularly thoſe of the *Tſonontouans*, of the *Onnontagues*, and of the *Famine*; on the North ſide 'tis joyn'd by the Rivers of *Ganaraske*, and of *Teonontatè*. Its ſides are deck'd with tall Trees, and the ground is indifferent even and level, for it has no ſteep Coaſts. On the North ſide we meet with ſeveral little Gulfs. You may go from this Lake to that of *Hurons*, by going up the River *Tanaouate*, from whence you have a Land-carriage of ſix or eight Leagues to the River of *Toronto*, which falls into it. You may likewiſe have a paſſage from the Lake of *Frontenac*, to that of *Erriè*, through the Bay of *Ganaraskè*, by making a Land-carriage from thence to a little River that's full of Cataracts. The Villages of the *Onnontagues*, *Tſonontouans*, *Goyogouans*, and *Onnoyoutes*, are not far diſtant from the Lake of *Frontenac*. Theſe *Iroqueſe* Nations are very advantageouſly ſeated. They have a pleaſant and fertile Country; but they want Roe-Bucks and Turkeys, as well as Fiſh, of which their Rivers are altogether deſtitute, inſomuch that they are forc'd to fiſh in the Lake, and to broil or dry their Fiſh with a Fire, in order to keep 'em and tranſport 'em to their Villages. They are in like manner forc'd to range out of their own Territories, in queſt of Beavers in the Winter-time, either towards *Ganaraskè*, or to the ſides of the Lake of *Toronto*, or elſe towards the great River of the *Outaouas*; where 'twould be an eaſie matter to cut all their Throats, by purſuing the courſe I laid down in my Letters.

Letters. I have already touch'd upon the Forts of *Frontenac* and *Niagara*; as well as upon the River of St. *Laurence*, which here takes leave of the Lakes, and purſues a compacter courſe to *Monreal* and *Quebec*, where its waters mingling with thoſe of the Sea, become ſo brackiſh, that they are not drinkable.

It remains only to give you a Deſcription of *Acadia*, and the Iſland of *Newfound-Land*, which are two Countries that differ widely from one another. The Coaſt of *Acadia* extends from *Kenebeki*, one of the Frontiers of *New-England*, to *l'Iſle Percée*, near the Mouth of the River of St. *Laurence*. This Sea-Coaſt runs almoſt three hundred Leagues in length, and has upon it two great Navigable Bays, namely, the Bay call'd *Françoiſe*, and the Bay *des Chaleurs*. It has a great many little Rivers, the Mouths of which are deep, and clean enough for the greateſt Ships. Theſe Rivers would afford a plentiful Salmon-fiſhery, if there were any body to undertake it; and moſt of 'em as well as the Gulfs that lies before 'em, furniſh ſuch Cods as we take at the *Iſle Percée*. For in the Summer time, that ſort of Fiſh make in to the Coaſt in Shoals, eſpecially about the Iſlands of Cape *Breton*, and of St. *John*. 'Tis true, the latter has no Harbours, and the former has none that receive any Veſſel above the burthen of a Barque; but if theſe two Iſlands were peopled, the Inhabitants might fit out Sloops to manage the Fiſhery; and towards the latter end of *Auguſt*, when the Fiſh are cur'd and ready, the Ships might come to an Anchor near the Land, and ſo take 'em in. Two Gentlemen of the name of *Amour* of *Quebec*, have a Settlement for Beaver-hunting upon the River of St. *John*; which is a very pleaſant River, and adorn'd with Fields that are very fertile in Grain. 'Tis Navigable for twelve Leagues up, from its Mouth. Between the point of *Acadia*, and the I-

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ſland of Cape *Breton*, there is a Channel or Streight about two Leagues in breadth, which is deep enough to carry the greateſt Ships in *France*. 'Tis call'd the paſs *des Canſeaux*, and would be much more frequented than it is, if the Merchant-men bound to *Canada*, would ſet out from *France* about the 15*th* of *March*; for then they might paſs that way, being aſſur'd of a clear paſſage at all ſeaſons of the year, whereas the Channel of Cape *de Raye*, is oftentimes cover'd with Ice in *April*: And by this contrivance, the Ships would arrive at *Quebec* in the beginning of *May*.

Moſt of the Countries of *Acadia* abound with Corn, Peaſe, Fruit, and Pulſe; and have a plain diſtinction of the four Seaſons of the year, notwithſtanding that 'tis extream cold for three Months in Winter. Several places of *Acadia*, afford Maſts as ſtrong as thoſe we have from *Norway*; and if there were occaſion, all ſorts of Ships might be built there: For if you'll believe the Carpenters, the Oak of that Country is better than ours in *Europe*. In a word, 'tis a very fine Country; the Climate is indifferent temperate, the Air is pure and wholeſom, the Waters clear and light, and there's good accommodation for Hunting, Shooting, and Fiſhing. The Animals that we meet with there moſt commonly, are Beavers, Otters, and Sea-Calves, all of 'em being very numerous. Thoſe who love Meat are indebted to the Doctors, who perſwaded the Popes to Metamorphoſe theſe terreſtrial Animals into Fiſh; for they are allow'd to eat of 'em without ſcruple in the time of *Lent*. To be plain, the knowledge I have of that Country, makes me foreſee that the *Engliſh* will be maſters of it ſome time or other. I could give very plauſible reaſons for the Prophecy. They have already begun to ruine the Commerce that the *French* had with the Savages, and in a ſhort time, they'll compaſs its intire Deſtruction. The

French

French they will prize their Goods too high, though they are not ſo good as thoſe of the *Engliſh*; and yet the *Engliſh* ſell their Commodities cheaper. 'Twere a pity that we ſhould tamely leave to the *Engliſh* a Country, the Conqueſt of which they have attempted ſo often, in conſideration of our Fur-trade and and Cod-fiſhing. 'Tis impoſſible to hinder 'em to poſſeſs themſelves of the Settlements upon the Coaſt of *Acadia*, by reaſon that they lye at ſuch a diſtance from one another; ſo that they'll certainly ſucceed in ſuch Enterpriſes, as indeed they have done already. The *French* Governours, they act with the ſame view, as many of thoſe who are imploy'd in Poſts beyond Sea. They look upon their place as a Gold Mine given 'em, in order to enrich themſelves; ſo that the publick Good, muſt always march behind private Intereſt. Mr. *de Meneval* ſuffer'd the *Engliſh* to poſſeſs themſelves of *Port Royal*, becauſe that place was cover'd with nothing but ſingle Paliſſado's. But why was it not better fortified? I can tell you the reaſon; he thought he had time enough to fill his Pockets, before the *Engliſh* would attack it. This Governour ſucceeded to Mr. *Perrot*, who was broke with Diſgrace, for having made it his chief buſineſs to enrich himſelf; and after returning to *France*, went back again with ſeveral Ships laden with Goods, in order to ſet up for a private Merchant in that Country. While Mr. *Perrot* was Governour, he ſuffer'd the *Engliſh* to poſſeſs themſelves of ſeveral advantageous Poſts, without offering to ſtir. His chief buſineſs was to go in Barques from River to River, in order to traffick with the Savages: And after he was diſgrac'd, he was not contented with a Commerce upon the Coaſts of *Acadia*, but would needs extend it to the *Engliſh* Plantations; but it coſt him dear, for ſome Pyrates fell in with him, and after ſeizing his Barques, duck'd himſelf, upon which he died immediately.

The

The three principal Savage Nations that live upon the Coasts of *Acadia*, are the *Abenakis*, the *Mikemak*, and the *Canibas*. There are some other erratick Nations, who go and come from *Acadia*, to *New-England*, and go by the names of *Mahingans*, *Soccokis*, and *Openango*. The first three (having fix'd Habitations) are intirely in the interests of the *French*; and I must say, that in time of War they gall the *English* Colonies with their Incursions, so much, that we ought to take care to perpetuate a good understanding between them and us. The Baron of Saint *Casteins*, a Gentleman of *Oleron* in *Bearn*, having liv'd among the *Abenakis* after the Savage way, for above twenty years, is so much respected by the Savages, that they look upon him as their Tutelar God. He was formerly an Officer of the *Carignan* Regiment in *Canada*; and upon the breaking of that Regiment, threw himself among the Savages, whose Language he had learn'd. He married among 'em after their fashion, and prefer'd the Forrests of *Acadia* to the *Pyrenean* Mountains, that encompass the place of his Nativity: For the first years of his abode with the Savages, he behav'd himself so, as to draw an inexpressible esteem from 'em. They made him their Great Chief or Leader, who is in a manner the Soveraign of the Nation; and by degrees he has work'd himself into such a Fortune, which any Man but he would have made such use of, as to draw out of that Country above two or three hundred thousand Crowns, which he has now in his Pocket in good dry Gold. But all the use he makes of it, is, to buy up Goods for Presents to his Fellow-Savages, who upon their return from Hunting, present him with Beaver-Skins to a treble value. The Governours General of *Canada* keep in with him, and the Governours of *New-England* are afraid of him. He has several Daughters, who are, all of 'em,

H. Moll Fecit.
Vol. I. p 225.
Straits of Belle Isle
Great Bay
0. 10. 20. 30. 60.
English Miles
P. St. Iu'ian
Passage of ye Savages
Haver Deep
Gory
Foggs Bay
Penguin I.
Norterdam
Gull
St. Paul
C. Frals
NEW
Flower B.
Indian Bay
Deadman
Bloody Bay
Copls I.
Triswater
FOUND
Bay
Salvage
Black head Bay
Ragged harb.
LAND.
Trinity harbour
Bonavent head
Smits Sound
R. Random
Trinity Bay
Bay of Isles
C. Anguille
St George Bay
Platforms
Dulls
Conception
I. Rue
St. Laurence Bay
Pla: centia
Kirk Sound
Saguanin
Brust
Chapeau Rouge
Maynelon Bay
Fortune
Dunes
C. May
Placentia Bay
St. Maries
Bull Bay
Baline H.
St. Mary's Bay
Fermeuse
I. St. Peter
Irepaller Bay
Banck of the Islands
C. Pine
C. Race
Verte Banck
Main Banck
Degrees from Ferro Isle I.
321
324
325

twelve Foot. These Rivers are bounded by pleasant Meads, which in Spring and Autumn are cover'd with all sorts of fresh Water-foul. In fine, *Port-Royal* is only a handful of Houses two Story high, and has but few Inhabitants of any Note. It subsists upon the traffick of the Skins, which the Savages bring thither to truck for *European* Goods. In former times, the Farmer's Company had Magazins in this place, which were under the care of the Governours. I could easily mention some of 'em, if I were not apprehensive that these Memoirs may be seen by others besides your self.

The Island of *Newfound-Land*, is three hundred Leagues in Circumference. It lies at the distance of six hundred and fifty Leagues from *France*, and forty or fifty Leagues from the Bank of the same name. The South side of the Island belongs to the *French*, who have several Settlements there for the fishing of Cod. The East side is inhabited by the *English*, who are possess'd of several considerable Posts, situated in certain Ports, Bays, and Havens, which they have taken care to fortifie. The West of the Island is waste, and was never yet possess'd. The Island is of a triangular Figure, and full of Mountains, and impracticable Forrests. It has some great Meadows, or rather Heaths, which are covered with a sort of Moss instead of Grass. The Soil of this Country is good for nothing, as being a mixture of Gravel, Sand and Stones; so that the Fishery was the only motive that induc'd the *French* and the *English* to settle there. It affords great store of Game, for Water-fowl, Patridges and Hairs; but as for the Stags, 'tis almost impossible to come at 'em, by reason that the Mountains are so high, and the Woods so thick. In this Island, as well as in that of Cape *Breton*, we find Porphyry of several colours; and care has been taken to send to *France* some pieces of it for a Pattern, which were

found to be very pretty, only they were hard to cut. I have ſeen ſome of 'em that were red ſtreak'd with green, and ſeem'd to be extream fine; but the miſchief is, it ſplits ſo when 'tis taken out of the Quarries, that it cannot be made uſe of, but by way of incruſtation.

This Iſland of Cape *Breton* affords likewiſe black Marble, or a ſort of *Breſche* with grey Veins, which is hard, and not eaſily poliſh'd. This Stone is apt to ſplit, for 'tis not equally hard, and it has knots in it. There are no ſetled Savages in the Iſland of *Newfound-Land*. 'Tis true, the *Eskimaux* do ſometimes croſs over to it at the Streight of *Belle Iſle* in great Sloops, with intent to ſurpriſe the Crew of the Fiſhermen upon the Coaſt call'd *Petit Nord*. Our Settlements are at *Placentia*, at the Iſland of St. *Peter*, and in the Bay of *Trepaſſez*. From Cape *Raſe* to *Chapeau Rouge*, the Coaſt is very clean, but from *Chapeau Rouge* to Cape *Raſe*, the Rocks render it dangerous. There are two conſiderable Inconveniences, that attend the landing upon this Iſland. In the firſt place, the Fogs are here ſo thick in the Summer, for twenty Leagues off into the Main, that the ableſt and moſt expert Sailor dare not ſtand into the Land while they laſt: So that all Ships are oblig'd to lye bye for a clear day, in order to make the Land. The ſecond Inconveniency, which is yet greater, proceeds from the Currents which run to and again, without any perceivable variation, by which means the Ships are ſometimes drove in upon the Coaſt, when they reckon upon ten Leagues offing. But, which is worſt of all, the inſenſible motion of the rowling Waves, throw's 'em inſenſibly upon the Rocks, which they cannot poſſibly avoid, for want of ground to anchor upon. 'Twas by this means that the King's Ship the *Pretty* was loſt in 1692, as well as a great many others upon ſeveral occaſions.

Of

Of all our Settlements in North-*America*, *Placentia* is the Poſt of the greateſt Importance and Service to the King, in regard that 'tis a place of refuge to the Ships that are oblig'd to put into a Harbour, when they go or come from *Canada*, and even to thoſe which come from South-*America*, when they want to take in freſh Water or Proviſions, and have ſprung their Maſts, or been dammag'd in a Storm. This place is ſituated in the Latitude of 47 Degrees, and ſome Minutes, almoſt at the bottom of the Bay that goes by the ſame name. The Bay is ten or twelve Leagues broad, and twenty odd Leagues long. The Fort ſtands upon the ſide of a Neck or narrow Streight, which is ſixty Paces over, and ſix Fathoms water deep. The Ships that enter into the Port, are oblig'd to graze, (ſo to ſpeak) upon the angle of the Baſtions. The Port or Harbour is a League long, and a quarter of a League over: Before the Port there's a large, fine road, which is a League and a half wide; but lies ſo bleak to the North-Weſt, and Weſt-North-Weſt Winds, the ſtrongeſt and moſt boiſterous Winds that are, that neither Cables nor Anchors, nor large ſtout Ships can withſtand their furious ſhocks; tho' indeed theſe violent ſtorms ſeldom happen but in the latter end of Autumn. The ſame year that the *Pretty* was loſt, the King loſt another of 69 Guns call'd *the Good*, in this Road; and if the four or five other Ships that belong'd to the ſame Squadron, had not took the precaution of ſteering into the Port, they had certainly underwent the ſame fate. This Road then which is only expos'd to the North-Weſt, and Weſt-North-Weſt Winds, has ſome hidden Rocks on the North ſide, beſides thoſe at *Poninte Verte*, where ſeveral of the Inhabitants are wont to fiſh. All theſe things you may ſee plainly upon the Plan that I ſent you along with my 23*d* Letter.

Commonly, there comes thirty or forty Ships from *France* to *Placentia* every year, and ſometimes ſixty. Some come with intent to fiſh, and others have no other deſign than to truck with the Inhabitants, who live in the Summer time on the other ſide of the Fort. The ground upon which their Houſes ſtand, is call'd *La grand Grave*, for in effect, they have nothing but Gravel to ſpread their Cod-fiſh upon, in order to have 'em dry'd by the Sun after they are ſalted. The Inhabitants and the *French* Fiſhermen, ſend their Sloops every day two Leagues off the Port to purſue the Fiſhery; and ſometimes the Sloops return ſo over-loaded, that they are in a manner bury'd in the Water. You cannot imagine how deep they ſink, and 'tis impoſſible you ſhould believe it, unleſs you ſaw it. The Fiſhery commences in the beginning of *June*, and is at an end about the middle of *Auguſt*. In the Harbour they catch a little ſort of a fiſh, which they put upon their Hooks as a bait for the Cod.

Placentia is in great want of Gravel, which occaſions the thinneſs of the Inhabitants. If the Governours prefer'd the King's Service to Avarice, they might make it a conſiderable Poſt, and a great many would make gravel Walks at their own charge; but as long as the Governours prey upon the fortunes of private Men, under the fair pretence of the King's Service, which is always in their Mouths, I can't ſee that this Settlement will ever be inlarg'd or improv'd. Do's not the Governour diſgrace his Prince, and ſink the character of his Poſt, in turning Fiſherman, Merchant, Vintner, and acting in the way of a thouſand meaner and more Mechanical Trades? Is not this a piece of Tyranny? To force the Inhabitants to buy what Goods they want, out of ſuch and ſuch a Ship, and to ſell their Cod to ſuch other Ships as the Governour is intereſs'd in, and that as a principal Owner: To

appro-

appropriate to himſelf the Rigging and Tackle of the Ships that are caſt away upon the Coaſt, to ſtop the Crew of Merchantmen for his own Fiſhery, to ſell Habitations or Settlements, to ſtifle the bidding up for Effects ſold by way of Auction that he may ingroſs them by his ſole Authority, to change the Proviſions laid up in Magazines for his Majeſty's Troops, to carry off the good Biskuit and put bad in the room of it, to make ſo much Beef and Bacon for the ſubſiſtance of the Garriſon, to force the Inhabitants to ſend their Servants and Carpenters to ſome work, in which his Majeſty's Service is leſs concern'd than his own Pocket: Theſe, I ſay, are things that I take to be plain infractions of the Orders iſſued forth by *Lewis* the XIV. Theſe are abuſes that muſt be redreſs'd, if we would have the King to be well ſerv'd: And yet there's nothing done in it. For my part, I am unacquainted with the reaſon of the delay; thoſe that have a mind to know, had beſt ask the Deputies of Monſieur *de P* * * *. I am fully perſwaded, that all theſe Pyracies do not come to the King's Ear, for he's too juſt to ſuffer 'em.

To conclude; *Placentia* bears neither Corn, nor Rie, nor Peaſe, for the Soil is good for nothing; not to mention, that if it were as good and as fertile as any in *Canada*, yet no body would give themſelves the trouble to cultivate it; for one Man earns more in Cod-fiſhing in one Summer, than ten would do in the way of Agriculture. In the great Bay of *Placentia*, there are ſome little Harbours, (beſides that of the Fort) which the *Biſcay* Fiſhermen reſort to. Such are the little and the great *Burin*, St. *Laurence*, *Martir*, *Chapeau Rouge*, &c.

A List of the Savage Nations of Canada.

Those in Acadia.

The *Abenakis.*
The *Micmac.*
The *Canibas.*
The *Mahingans.*
The *Openangos.*
The *Soccokis.*
The *Etechemins.*

These are all of 'em good Warriours; they are more active and less cruel than the *Iroquese.* Their Language differs a little from that of the *Algonkins.*

The Nations that lye upon the River of St Laurence, *from the Sea to* Montreal.

The *Papinachois.*
The *Mountaneers.*
The *Gaspesians*

These speak the *Algonkin* Language.

The *Hurons* of *Loreto*, the *Iroquese* Tongue.

The *Abenakis* of *Scilleri.*
The *Algonkins.*

The *Algonkin* Language.

The *Agnies* of the Fall call'd *Saint St. Louis*; they speak the *Iroquese* Language, and are good Warriours.

The *Iroquese* of the Mountain of *Monreal*; they speak the *Iroquese* Language, and are a brave People.

Those upon the Lake of Hurons.

The *Hurons*, the *Iroquese* Language.

The *Outaouas.*
The *Nockes.*
The *Missisagues.*
The *Attikamek.*

The *Algonkin* Language.

The *Outchipoues*, alias *Sauteurs*, good Warriours.

Upon

Upon the Ilineſe *Lake, and the adjacent Country.*

Some *Ilineſe* at *Chegakou.*
The *Oumamis*, good Warriours.
The *Maikoutens.*
The *Kikapous*, good Warriours.
The *Outagamis*, good Warriours.
The *Malomimis.*
The *Ponteouatamis.*
The *Oſatinons*, good Warriours.
The *Sakis.*
} They ſpeak the *Algonkin* Language, and are a ſprightly active ſort of People.

In the Neighbourhood of the Lake of Frontenac.

The *Tſonontouans.*
The *Goyoguans.*
The *Onnotagues.*
} Theſe ſpeak a different Language from the *Algonkin.*
The *Onnoyoutes* and *Agnies*, at a ſmall diſtance.

Near the River of the Outaouas.

The *Tabitibi.*
The *Monzoni.*
The *Machakandibi.*
The *Nopemen d'Achirini.*
The *Nepiſirini.*
The *Temiskamink.*
} They ſpeak the *Algonkin* Language, and all of 'em are very cowardly.

To the North of Miſſiſipi, *and upon the Confines of the Upper Lake, and* Hudſon's *Bay.*

The *Nadoueſſis.*
The *Aſſimpouals.*
The *Sonkaskitons.*
The *Ouadbatons.*
The *Atintons.*
The *Cliſtinos* brave Warriour's and active brisk Men.
The *Ekimaux.*
} Theſe ſpeak *Algonkin.*

'em, married very handſomly to *Frenchmen*, and had good Dowries. He has never chang'd his Wife; by which means he mean'd to give the Savages to underſtand, that God do's not love inconſtant Folks. 'Tis ſaid, that he indeavour'd to convert theſe poor People, but his indeavours prov'd ſucceſsleſs; ſo that 'tis in vain for the Jeſuits to preach up the Truths of Chriſtianity to 'em; though after all, theſe good Fathers are not diſcourag'd, nay, they think that the adminiſtring of Baptiſm to a dying Child, is worth ten times the pains and uneaſineſs of living among that People.

Port-Royal, the Capital or the only City of *Acadia*, is in effect no more than a little paultry Town, that is ſomewhat inlarg'd ſince the War broke out in 1689. by the acceſſion of the Inhabitants that liv'd near *Boſton*, the Metropolitan of *New-England*. A great many of theſe People retir'd to *Port-Royal*, upon the apprehenſion that the *Engliſh* would pillage 'em, and carry 'em into their Country. Mr. *de Meneval* ſurrendred this place to the *Engliſh*, as I ſaid before; he could not maintain ſuch a poſt with the handful of Men that he had, becauſe the Paliſſadoes were low, and out of order. He made a Capitulation with the Commander of the Party that made the Attack; but the *Engliſh* Officer broke his word to him, and us'd him both ignominiouſly and harſhly. *Port-Royal* is ſeated in the Latitude of 44 Degrees, and 40 Minutes, upon the edge of a very fine Baſin, which is a League broad, and two Leagues long, having at the entry about ſixteen or eighteen fathom Water on one ſide, and ſix or ſeven on the other; for you muſt know that the Iſland call'd *l'Iſle aux Chevres* which ſtands in the the middle, divides the Channel into two. There's excellent anchorage all over the Baſin; and at the bottom of it, there's a Cape or point of Land that parts two Rivers, at which the tide riſes ten or twelve

A Liſt of the Animals of the South Countries of Canada.

Wild Beeves.
Little Stags or Harts.
Roebucks of three different Species.
Wolves, ſuch as we have in *Europe*.
Lynx's, ſuch as we have in *Europe*.
Michibichi, a ſort of baſtard Tygre.
Ferrets, Weeſels. } ſuch as we have in *Europe*.
Aſh-colour'd Squirrels.
Hares, Rabbets. } ſuch as we have in *Europe*.
Badgers, ſuch as we have in *Europe*.
White Beavers, but very ſcarce.
Reddiſh Bears.
Musk Rats.
Reddiſh Foxes, as in *Europe*.
Crocodiles in the *Miſſiſipi*.
Oſſa, an Animal like a Hare, upon the *Miſſiſipi*.

A Liſt of the Animals of the North Countries of Canada.

Orignals or Elks.
Caribous or wild Aſſes.
Black Foxes.
Silver colour'd Foxes.
A ſort of wild Cats, call'd *Enfans du Diable*, or the Devil's Children.
Carcaious, an Animal not unlike a Badger.
Porcupines.
Fontereaux, an Amphibious ſort of little Pole-Cats.
Martins.
Pole-Cats, ſuch as we have in *Europe*.
Black Bears.

White

White Bears.
Siffleurs, an Animal that makes a whizzing noiſe.
Flying Squirrels.
White Hares.
Beavers.
Otters.
Musk-Rats.
Suiſſe Squirrels, or a ſort of Squirrels, whoſe Hair reſembles a *Suiſſe*'s Doublet.
Great Harts.
Sea-Wolves or Calves.

A Deſcription of ſuch Animals or Beaſts, as are not mention'd in the Letters.

The Animals of the South Countries.

THe *Michibichi* is a ſort of Tyger, only 'tis leſs than the common Tyger, and not ſo much ſpeckl'd. As ſoon as it deſcries a Man, it runs away, and climbs up the firſt Tree it meets with. It attacks all brute Animals whatſoever, and conquers 'em with eaſe; and, which is very ſingular and peculiar to it above all other Animals, it runs in to the aſſiſtance of the Savages, when they purſue Bears and wild Beeves; upon ſuch occaſions it makes as if 'twere affraid of no body, and ſally's out with fury upon the hunted Animal. The Savages call theſe Animals a ſort of *Manitous*, that is, Spirits that love Men; and 'tis upon that ſcore they eſteem and reſpect 'em to ſuch a degree, that they would chooſe rather to die, than to kill one of 'em.

The *white Beavers* are much valued, upon the account of their being uncommon, though at the ſame time, their Hair is neither ſo large nor ſo fine as that of the common Beavers. As there are but few of theſe white Beavers, ſo thoſe which are quite black are very ſcarce.

The

The *Reddiſh Bears* are miſchievous Creatures, for they fall fiercely upon the Huntſmen, whereas the black ones fly from 'em. The former ſort are leſs, and more nimble than the latter.

The *Crocodiles* of *Miſſiſipi*, are exactly the ſame with thoſe of the *Nile* and other places. I have ſeen that *Crocodile* that is at *Engoliſma* in *Aquitaine*, and find that it has the ſame figure with theſe, only 'tis ſomewhat leſs. The moſt uſual method that the Savages have for taking 'em alive, is to throw great Wreaths or Cords made of the barks of Trees with a running knot, upon their Neck, the middle of their Body, their Paws, *&c.* After they are thus ſiez'd, they ſhut 'em up between ten or twelve Stakes, and there tie 'em after their Belly is turn'd upwards. While they lie in this poſture, they flea 'em without touching their Head or their Tail, and give 'em a Coat of Fir-bark, to which they ſet fire, having cut the Ropes that keep'd 'em faſt. Upon ſuch occaſions, theſe Animals make a fearful houling and crying. To conclude, the Savages are frequently ſwallow'd up by theſe Creatures, whether in ſwimming over a River, or in ſleeping upon its Banks. *Arioſte* in the 68 Diapaſon of his 15*th* Song, gives this Deſcription of a *Crocodile.*

Vive ſub lito è dentro a la Riviera,
Ei Corpi Umani ſon le ſue Vivande,
De le Perſone miſere è incaute,
Di Viandanti è d'infelice naute.

That is, it lives both in the River, and upon its Banks; it ſquaſhes People with its murdering Tooth; it feeds upon the Bodies of poor Travellers, of unfortunate Paſſengers, and Sailours.

The *Oſſa*, are little Animals like Hares, and reſemble 'em in every thing, excepting the Ears and Hind-feet. They run, and cannot climb. Their Females

Females have a Bag under their Belly, where their young ones enter upon a purſuit, in order to ſave themſelves along with the Mother, who immediately betakes her ſelf to flight.

The Animals or Beaſts of the North Countries.

The Silver-colour'd *Foxes* are of the ſame ſhape with thoſe of *Europe*, as well as the black ones. The black ones are very ſcarce, and whoſoever catches one, is ſure to ſell it for its weight in Gold. This ſpecies is met with only in the coldeſt Countries.

The *White Bears* are a monſtrous Animal, and extraordinary long; their Head has a formidable Aſpect, and their Hair is very large and thick; they are ſo fierce, that they'll come and attack a Sloop in the Sea, with ſeven or eight Men in it. 'Tis ſaid, that they'll ſwim ſix or ſeven Leagues without being tyr'd. They live upon Fiſh and Shells upon the Sea-ſhoar, from whence they ſeldom ſtraggle far. I never ſaw but one of 'em in my Life-time, which had certainly tore me to pieces, if I had not ſpy'd it at a diſtance, and ſo had time to run back for ſhelter to Fort *Leus* at *Placentia*.

The *Flying Squirrels* are as big as a large Rat, and of a greyiſh white colour. They are as drouſie, as thoſe of the other Species are watchful. They are call'd *Flying Squirrels*, in regard that they fly from one Tree to another, by the means of a certain Skin which ſtretches it ſelf out in the form of a Wing, when they make theſe little Flights.

The *White Hares* are only ſuch in Winter, for as ſoon as the Spring comes on, they begin to turn grayiſh, and by degrees recover the ſame colour as our Hares have in *France*, which they hold till the end of Autumn.

The *Suiſſe Squirrels* are little Animals, reſembling little Rats. The Epithet of *Suiſſe* is beſtow'd upon 'em, in regard that the Hair which covers their Bo-

dy,

dy, is ſtreak'd with black and white, and reſembles a *Suiſſe*'s Doublet; and that theſe ſtreaks make a ring on each Thigh, which bears a great deal of reſemblance to a *Suiſſe*'s Cap.

The large *Stags* are neither higher nor thicker, than thoſe we have in *Europe*; but they are call'd large in proportion to two other Species of Harts that frequent the Southern Countries. The leſſer ſort affords the moſt delicious Meat.

The *Sea-Wolves*, which ſome call *Sea-Calves*, are as big as Maſtiffs. They are almoſt always in the Water, or at leaſt they never go far from the Sea ſide. Theſe Animals do not walk ſo much as they crawl, for when they raiſe themſelves out of the Water, they only creep upon the Sand or Clay. Their Head has the form of an Otter's Head, and their Feet, which have no Legs, reſemble thoſe of a Gooſe. The Female kind bring forth their young ones upon the Rocks, or upon ſome little Iſlands, juſt by the Sea. The *Sea-Wolves* live upon Fiſh, and reſort to cold Countries. There's a prodigious number of 'em about the Mouth of the River of St. *Laurence*.

As for the remaining Animals of *Canada*, I gave you an account of 'em in my Letters. I will not offer to ſhew you what methods the Savages take to catch or kill all theſe Animals, for ſuch an undertaking would be endleſs. This I can aſſure you of in the general, that they rarely go a Hunting to no purpoſe, and that they make no uſe of their Dogs, but in the Hunting of Elks, and ſometimes in Hunting of Beavers, as you ſhall ſee under the Head of the Diverſions of Hunting and Shooting among the Savages.

A Liſt of the Fowl or Birds that frequent the South Countries of Canada.

Vultures.
Huards, a River-fowl as big as a Gooſe.
Swans.
Black Geeſe. } ſuch as we have in *Europe.*
Black Ducks. }
Plungeons. }
Coots. }
Rayles.
Turkeys.
Red Partridges.
Pheaſants.
Large Eagles.
Cranes. } ſuch as we have in *Europe.*
Blackbirds. }
Thruſhes. }
Wood-Pigeons.
Parrots.
Ravens. } ſuch as we have in *Europe.*
Swallows. }
Several ſorts of Birds of Prey that are not known in *Europe.*
Nightingales unknown in *Europe,* as well as ſeveral other little Birds of different colours, particularly that call'd *Oiſeau Mouche,* a very little Bird reſembling a Fly; and great quantities of Pelicans.

The Birds of the North Countries of Canada.

Buſtards. } ſuch as we have in *Europe.*
White Geeſe. }
Ducks of ten or twelve ſorts.
Teals.
Sea-Mews.
Grelans.
Sterlets.

Sea-

Sea-Parrots.
Moyacks.
Cormorants.
Heath-Cocks.
Snipes.
Plungeons.
Plovers.
Lapwings. } such as we have in *Europe*.
Herns.
Courbeious.
The Water-Fowl call'd *Chevalier*.
Beateurs de Faux, a Fowl as big as a Quail.
White Partridges.
Large black Partridges.
Reddish Partridges.
Woodhens.
Turtledoves.
White Ortolans, a Bird no bigger than a Lark.
Sterlings. } such as we have in *Europe*.
Ravens. }
Vultures.
Spar-Hawks. }
Merlins. } like ours in *Europe*.
Swallows. }
Becs De ſcie, a ſort of a Duck.

A Table of the Inſects that are found in Canada.

Adders.
Aſps.
Rattle-Snakes.
Lowing Frogs.
Gnats or Midges.
Gad-Bees.
Brulots or burning Handworms.

A

A Deſcription of ſuch Birds as are not accounted for in my Letters.

THE *Huards* are a Freſhwater-Fowl, as big as a Gooſe, and as dull and heavy as an Aſs. They have black and white Feathers, a pointed Beak, and a very ſhort Neck. They only duck or dive in the Summer, for they cannot uſe their Wings; and in that Seaſon, the Savages take the Diverſion of ſurrounding 'em with ſeven or eight Canows, diſpers'd here and there, and ſo obliging 'em to dive down, when they offer to come up to take breath. The Savages have Entertain'd me ſeveral times with this agreeable Amuſement, during the courſe of the Voyages I made with them. *The Fowl or Birds of the Southern Countries.*

The *Red Partridges* are wild and little, and much different from the *Red Partridge* we have in *Europe*, as well as the Pheaſant, whoſe Feathers being of a white colour with black ſpecks, make a very agreeable diverſity.

The largeſt *Eagles* we find in this Country, are no bigger than Swans. Their Head and their Tail is white, and they have frequent Ingagements with a ſort of Vultures, that commonly have the better of it. In our Voyages we had frequent occaſions of ſeeing theſe Ingagements, which laſt as long as the Eagle can keep up the force of its Wings.

The *Parrots* are met with in the *Illinſe* Country, and upon the River of *Miſſiſipi*. They are very ſmall, and are the ſame with thoſe that we bring from *Brazil* and *Cayenne*.

That ſort of *Nightingale* that I ſaw, is of a peculiar form; for 'tis of a leſſer ſize than the *European*, and of a blewiſh colour, and its notes are more diverſified; beſides that, it lodges in the holes of Trees, and four or five of 'em do commonly keep together

together upon the thickeſt Trees, and with joynt Notes Warble o'er their Songs.

The *Flylike Bird* is no bigger than one's Thumb, and the colour of its Feathers is ſo changeable, that 'tis hard to faſten any one colour upon it. They appear ſometimes red, ſometimes of a Gold colour, at other times they are blew and red; and properly ſpeaking, 'tis only the brightneſs of the Sun that makes us unſenſible of the change of its gold and red colours. Its beak is as ſharp as a Needle. It flies from Flower to Flower, like a Bee, and by its fluttering ſucks the flowery Sap. Sometimes about Noon it pearches upon the little branches of Plum-trees or Cherry-trees. I have ſent ſome of 'em dead to *France*, it being impoſſible to keep 'em alive, and they were look'd upon as a great Curioſity.

The Birds of the Northern Countries.

There are ten or twelve ſorts of Ducks in this Country. Thoſe call'd *Branchus*, are the ſmalleſt indeed, but they are much the prettyeſt. The Feathers upon their Neck looks ſo bright, by vertue of the variety and livelineſs of their colours, that a Fur of that nature would be invaluable in *Muſcovy* or *Turky*. They owe the name of *Branchus*, to their reſting upon the branches of Trees. There's another Species of Ducks in this Country, that are as black as Jackdaws, only their Beak and the circle of their Eyes are red.

The *Seamews*, *Grelans* and *Sterlets*, are Fowls that fly inceſſantly over Seas, Lakes, and Rivers, in order to catch little Fiſh. Their Fleſh is good for nothing, beſides that, they have no ſubſtance of Body, though they ſeem to be as big as Pigeons.

The *Sea-Parrots* bear the name of *Parrots*, upon the account that their Beak is of the ſame form with that of the Land *Parrot*. They never quit the Sea or the Shoar; and are always flying upon the ſurface of the Water, in queſt of little Fiſh. Their colour

colour is black, and their ſize is much the ſame with that of a Pullet. There are great numbers of 'em upon the bank of *Newfound-Land*, and near the Coaſt of the Iſland, which the Seamen catch with Hooks cover'd with a Cod's Roe, and hung over the Prow of the Ship.

The *Moyacks* are a ſort of Fowl, as big as a Gooſe, having a ſhort Neck, and a broad Foot; and which is very ſtrange, their Eggs are half as big again as a Swan's, and yet they are all Yelk, and that ſo thick, that they muſt be diluted with Water, before they can be us'd in Pancakes.

The *White Partridges*, are as big as our *red Partridges*. Their Feet are cover'd with ſuch a thick down, that they reſemble thoſe of a young Rabbet. They are only ſeen in the Winter time, and ſome years they are ſcarce ſeen at all, though on the other hand, in other years they are ſo plentiful, that you may buy a dozen for Nine-pence. This is the moſt ſtupid Animal in the World; it ſits upon the Snow, and ſuffers it ſelf to be knock'd on the head with a pole without offering to ſtir. I am of the opinion, that this unaccountable numneſs is occaſion'd by its long flight from *Greenland* to *Canada*. This conjecture is not altogether groundleſs, for 'tis obſerv'd, that they never come in flocks to *Canada*, but after the long continuance of a North or a North-Eaſt Wind.

The *Black Partridges* are truly very pretty. They are bigger than ours; and their beak together with the circle of the Eyes, and the Feet are red; their plumage being of a ſhining black colour. Theſe Animals are very proud, and ſeem to have a ſenſe of their beauty as they walk. They are but very uncommon, as well as the reddiſh *Partridges*, which reſemble Quails in their bulk and briskneſs.

The *White Ortolans* are only met with in Winter; but I am of the opinion, that their Feathers are na-

turally of a white colour, and that they retrieve their natural colour in the places they retire to, when they diſappear in *Canada*. They are indifferent good to eat when they are fat, but that they ſeldom are. In the Winter great quantities of 'em are catch'd about the Barns, with Nets ſtretch'd out upon the Straw.

A Deſcription of the Inſects of Canada.

THE *Adders* of *Canada* do no harm at all. The *Aſps* indeed are very dangerous, when the People bathe in the ſtagnating Water towards the South Countries. The *Rattle-Snake* or *Sounding Serpent* is ſo call'd, in regard that at the extremity of its Tail, it has a ſort of a Caſe, containing certain bones which make ſuch a noiſe when the Serpent creeps along, that 'tis heard thirty Paces off. Theſe Serpents betake themſelves to flight when they hear the ſound of Mens Feet, and commonly ſleep in the Sun either in green Fields, or open Woods. They never ſting but when they are trod upon.

The *Lowing Frogs* are ſo call'd with reſpect to their croaking, which ſounds like the lowing of an Oxe. Theſe *Frogs* are twice as large as thoſe we have in *Europe*. The *Canada Gad-Bees* are a ſort of Flies about twice as big as Bees; but of the ſame form with a common Fly. They ſting only between Noon, and three a Clock in the Afternoon; but then they do it ſo violently, that they fetch Blood. However, 'tis only upon certain Rivers that they are met with.

The *Brulots* are a ſort of Hand-worms, which cleave ſo hard to the Skin, that their pricking occaſions the ſame ſenſe, as if 'twere a burning Coal, or a ſpark of Fire. Theſe little Animals are unperceivable, though at the ſame time they are pretty numerous.

The Names of the Fiſh in the River of St. Laurence, *from its Mouth to the Lakes of* Canada.

Balenots or little Whales.
A Fiſh almoſt as big as a Whale, call'd *Souffleur.*
White Porpoiſes.
Salmon, ſuch as we have in *Europe.*
Eels.
Maycrel, as in *Europe.*
Herrings.
Gaſperots, a ſmall Fiſh like a Herring.
Baſes.
Shad-fiſh.
Cod-fiſh.
Plaices.
Smelts.
Turbots.
Pikes.
The Gold-colour'd Fiſh.
Roaches.
Lampreys.
Merles or Sea-Tench.
Thornbacks.
Cungars.
Sea-Cows, a kind of Porpoiſes.

The Shell-Fiſh.

Little Lobſters.
Crab-fiſh.
Cockles.
Muſcles.

The Fiſh that are found in the Lakes of Canada, *and in the Rivers that fall into 'em.*

Sturgeons.
The Armed Fiſh.

Trouts.
White-Fiſh.
A ſort of Herrings.
Eels.
Mullets.
Carp.
Gull-Fiſh.
Gudgeons.

The Fiſh found in the River of Miſſiſipi.

Pikes, ſuch as we have in *Europe*.
Carps.
Tench.
Perches.
Dabs, and ſeveral others that are not known in *Europe*.

A Deſcription of the Fiſh that are not mention'd in the Letters.

Thoſe between the Mouth of the River, and the Lakes.

THE *Balenot* is a ſort of a Whale, only 'tis leſs and more fleſhy, and does not yield Oil in proportion to the Northern Whales. This Fiſh goes fifty or ſixty Leagues up the River.

The *Souffleurs* are much of the ſame ſize, only they are ſhorter and blacker. When they mean to take breath after diving, they ſquirt out the Water through a hole behind their Head, after the ſame manner with the Whales. Commonly, they dog the Ships in the River of St. *Laurence*.

The *White Porpoiſes* are as big as Oxen. They always go along with the Current; and go up with the tide till they come at freſh Water, upon which they retire with the ebb Water. They are a ghaſtly ſort of Animals, and are frequently taken before *Quebec*.

The

The *Gaſperots* are a ſmall Fiſh, not unlike a Herring. In the Summer time they make in to the ſhoar in ſuch ſhoals, that the Cod-fiſhers take as many of 'em as ſerves for Bait for that Fiſhery. Theſe Fiſhermen do likewiſe make uſe of Herrings, when the ſeaſon obliges them to put into the ſhoar to Spawn. In a word, all the Fiſh that are made uſe of for a Bait to make the Codfiſh bite at the Hook, are call'd *Boete* in the Fiſhermens Dialect.

The *Gold-colour'd Fiſh* are nice Food. They are about fifteen Inches long; their Scales are yellow, and they are valued very high.

The *Sea-Cows*, which are a ſort of Porpoiſes, are bigger than the *Normandy* Beeves. They have a ſort of Paws cut like a Gooſe's Foot, their Head reſembles that of an Otter; and their Teeth, which are two Inches thick, and nine Inches long, are reckon'd the fineſt Ivory that is. 'Tis ſaid that they range wide of the ſhoar, towards Sandy and Marſhy places.

The *Lobſters* of this River ſeem to be exactly the ſame with thoſe we have in *Europe*.

The *Cockles* are of a piece, with thoſe we have upon the coaſt of *France*, excepting that they are larger, and have a more agreeable taſte, though their Fleſh ſeems to partake more of crudity and indigeſtion.

The *Muſcles* of this River are prodigious large, and taſte very well; but 'tis next to an impoſſibility to eat 'em without breaking one's Teeth, by reaſon of their being ſtuff'd with *Pearl*; I call it *Pearl*, tho' the name of Gravel or Sand may be more proper, with reſpect to its value, for I brought to *Paris* fifty or ſixty of the largeſt and fineſt, which were rated only at a penny a piece; notwithſtanding that we had broke above two thouſand Muſcles to make up that number.

The *Lake-Sturgeons* are commonly five or ſix Foot long: But I once ſaw one of ten Foot, and another of twelve in length. The Savages catch 'em with Nets in the Winter, and Grapples in the Summer. 'Tis ſaid, they have a certain ſort of Fleſh about their Head, that taſts like Beef, Mutton, and Veal; but I have eat of it ſeveral times, and never could obſerve any ſuch thing, which makes me look upon the allegation as chimerical.

The *Fiſh in Armour*, is about three Foot and a half long. 'Tis defended by ſuch ſtrong and hard Scales, that 'tis impoſſible for any other Fiſh to hurt it. Its Enemies are Trouts and Roaches, but 'tis admirably well provided for the repulſing of their Attacks, by vertue of its pointed Snout, which is a Foot long, and as hard as its Skin. It eats very well, and its Fleſh or Subſtance is as firm as 'tis white.

The *Lake Dabs* or *Sandings* are not above a Foot long, but they are very thick all over. They are call'd *Barbues* in *French*, with alluſion to a certain ſort of Beards that hang down from the ſide of their Muzzle, and are as big as ears of Corn. Thoſe which we find in the River of *Miſſiſipi*, are of a monſtrous ſize. Both the one and the other are catch'd with a Hook, as well as with a Net; and make very good Victuals.

The *Miſſiſipi Carps* are likewiſe of an extraordinary ſize, and admirably well taſted. They are of the ſame form with ours. In the Autumn they put in towards the ſhoar, and are eaſily catch'd with a Net.

The largeſt *Trouts* we meet with in the Lakes, are five Foot and a half long, and of one Foot Diameter. Their fleſh is red, and they are catch'd with great Hooks made faſt to pieces of Wire.

The Fiſh catch'd in the Lakes, are better than thoſe we take at Sea, or in the Rivers, particularly the

the white Fiſh, which for goodneſs and nice Eating, are far beyond all the other Species. The Savages that live upon the ſides of thoſe little freſh-water Seas, prefer the Broth of Fiſh, to Meat-broth, when they are indiſpos'd. This choice they ground upon experience; whereas the *French* on the other hand find that Veniſon Broth is at once more ſubſtantial and reſtorative.

The Rivers of *Canada* are repleniſh'd with an infinity of other fiſhes, that are not known in *Europe*. The Fiſh catch'd in the North-Country Rivers, are different from thoſe of the South; and thoſe taken in the *Long River*, which diſimbogues into the River of *Miſſiſipi*, ſavour ſo rank of Mud and Clay, that 'tis impoſſible to eat of 'em; abating for a ſort of little Trouts that the Savages take in the adjacent Lakes, which make a tolerable Meſs.

The Rivers of the *Otentats*, and the *Miſſouris*, produce ſuch odd ſhap'd fiſhes, that 'tis impoſſible to deſcribe 'em without they were drawn upon Paper. Theſe Fiſhes taſts but ſorrily, and yet the Savages love it mightily, which I take to proceed from their knowing no better.

The Trees and Fruits of the South Countries of Canada.

Beech-Trees. } ſuch as we have in *Europe*.
Red-Oak. }
Bitter Cherry-trees.
Maple-trees.
Aſh-trees.
Elms, } ſuch as we have in *Europe*.
Linden-trees }
Nut-trees of two ſorts.
Cheſnut-trees.
Apple-trees.

Pear-trees.
Plum-trees.
Cherry-trees.
Hazel-trees, ſuch as we have in *Europe*.
Vines.
A ſort of Citrons.
Water Melons.
Sweet Citruls.
Wild Gooſeberries.
Pine-apples.
Tobacco, ſuch as our *Spaniſh* Tobacco.

The Trees and Fruits of the North Countries of Canada.

White Oak.
Red Oak.
Birch-trees.
Bitter Cherry-trees.
Mapple-trees.
Pine-trees.
Epinettes.
Fir-trees of three ſorts.
Peruſſes.
Cedar-trees.
Aſpin-trees.
White Wood.
Alder-trees.
Maiden Hair.
Strawberries.
Rasberries.
Gooſeberries.
Bluets.

A Deſcription of the above-mention'd Trees and Fruits.

YOU muſt remark, that all the Wood of *Canada* is good of its kind. The Trees that ſtand expos'd to the North-Winds are apt to

to be influenc'd by the Froſt, as it appears from the chops and chinks that it occaſions.

The *Bitter Cherry-tree*, has a hard and whitiſh Wood, with a grey Bark. Some of 'em are as tall as the loftyeſt Oaks, and as big as a Hogſhead. This Tree grows ſtreight; it has an oval Leaf, and is made uſe of in Beams, Rafters, and other Carpenter's work.

The *Mapple-tree* is much of the ſame height and bulk; but it has a brown Bark, and the Wood is reddiſh. It bears no reſemblance to that ſort we have in *Europe*. It yields a Sap, which has a much pleaſanter taſte than the beſt Limonade or Cherry-water, and makes the wholſomeſt drink in the World. This Liquor is drawn by cutting the Tree two Inches deep in the Wood, the cut being run ſloping to the length of ten or twelve Inches. At the lower end of this gaſh, a Knife is thruſt into the Tree ſlopingly, ſo that the water running along the Cut or Gaſh, as through a Gutter, and falling upon the Knife that lies acroſs the Channel, runs out upon the Knife, which has Veſſels plac'd underneath to receive it. Some Trees will yield five or ſix Bottles of this water a Day; and ſome Inhabitants of *Canada*, might draw twenty Hogſheads of it in one day, if they would thus cut and notch all the *Mapples* of their reſpective Plantations. The gaſh do's no harm to the Tree. Of this Sap they make Sugar and Syrup, which is ſo valuable, that there can't be a better remedy for fortifying the Stomach. 'Tis but few of the Inhabitants that have the patience to make *Mapple-Water*, for as common and uſual things are always ſlighted, ſo there's ſcarce any body but Children that give themſelves the trouble of gaſhing theſe Trees. To conclude, the North-Country *Mapples* have more Sap than thoſe of the South Countries; but at the ſame time the Sap is not ſo ſweet.

There

There are two ſorts of Nut-trees in this Country. The one bears round, and the other long, Nuts; but neither of 'em is good for any thing, no more than the wild Cheſnuts that grow in the *Ilineſe* Country.

The Apples that grow upon ſome of their Apple-trees, eat well when they are Codled, but they are good for nothing when they're Raw. Upon the *Miſſiſipi* indeed, there's a ſort of Apples that have a taſte not unlike that of ſome *European* Apples. The Pears are good, but very ſcarce.

The Cherries are ſmall, and extream red; and though their taſte is not good, yet the Roe-bucks like 'em ſo well, that in the Summer time they ſcarce ever miſs to lye under the Cherry-trees all Night long, eſpecially if it blows hard.

This Country affords three ſorts of excellent Plums, which bear no reſemblance to ours either in figure or colour. Some are long and ſmall, ſome are round and thick, and ſome very little.

The Vines twine round the Trees to the very top; and the Branches of thoſe Trees are ſo cover'd with Grapes, that one would take the Grape to be the fruit of the Tree. In ſome Countries of North-*America*, the Grape is little, but very well taſted; but towards the *Miſſiſipi*, 'tis long and thick, and ſo is the cluſter. There has been ſome Wine preſs'd from the Grapes of that Country, which after long ſtanding became as ſweet as Canary, and as black as Ink.

The Citrons of North-*America* are ſo call'd, only becauſe their form reſembles that of our Citron. Inſtead of a Rind, they have only a ſingle Skin. They grow upon a Plant that riſes three Foot high, and do's not bear above three or four at a time. This Fruit is as wholſom as its Root is dangerous; for the one is very Healthy, and the juice of the other is a mortal ſubtile Poyſon. While I ſtay'd at Fort *Fronte-*

nac,

nac, in the year 1684, I ſaw an *Iroqueſe* Woman take down this fatal Potion, with a deſign to follow her deceas'd Husband; after ſhe had took leave of her Friends, and ſung the Death Song, with the Formalities that are uſual among theſe blind Wretches. The Poiſon quickly work'd the deſir'd effect; for this Widdow, who in *Europe* would be juſtly look'd upon as a miracle of Conſtancy and Fidelity, had no ſooner ſwallowed the murdering Juice, than ſhe fell into two or three ſhivering Fits, and ſo expir'd.

The *Water-Melons*, call'd by the *Spaniards Algiers Melons*, are round and thick like a Ball; ſome are red, and ſome white, and the kernels, which are very large, are ſometimes black, ſometimes red. As for their taſte, 'tis exactly the ſame with that of the *Spaniſh* or *Portugueze Melons*.

The *Citruls* of this Country are ſweet, and of a different nature from thoſe of *Europe*; and I'm inform'd, that the *American Citruls* will not grow in *Europe*. They are as big as our *Melons*; and their Pulp is as yellow as Saffron. Commonly they are bak'd in Ovens, but the better way is to roaſt 'em under the Embers, as the Savages do. Their taſte is much the ſame with that of the Marmelade of Apples, only they are ſweeter. One may eat as much of 'em as he pleaſes, without fearing any diſorder from 'em.

The wild Gooſeberries are good for nothing, but for Confits: But that ſort of Confits are ſeldom made, for Sugar is too dear in *Canada*, to be imploy'd for ſuch uſes.

A Deſcription of the Trees and Fruits of the Northern Countries.

THE *Canada* Birch-trees are much different from thoſe we have in ſome Provinces of *France*; both for bulk and quality. The Savages make Canows of their Bark, ſome of which is red, and ſome white; but both are equally proper for that uſe. That which has the feweſt Veins and Chops, is the beſt; but the red bark makes the fineſt ſhow. There are ſome little Baskets made of the young Birches, that are much eſteem'd in *France*; and Books may be made of 'em, the Leaves of which will be as fine as Paper. This I can ſpeak by experience, for I have frequently made uſe of 'em for want of Paper, in writing the Journal of my Voyages. Nay, I remember I have ſeen in a certain Library in *France*, a Manuſcript of the Goſpel of St. *Matthew*, written in *Greek* upon this ſort of Bark; and, which is yet more ſurpriſing, I was then told, that it had been written above a thouſand years; and at the ſame time I dare ſwear, that 'twas the Genuine Birch-bark of New-*France*, which in all appearance was not then diſcover'd.

The *Pine-trees* are very tall, ſtraight, and thick; and are made uſe of for Maſts, which the King's Pinks do oftentimes tranſport to *France*. 'Tis ſaid, that ſome of theſe Trees are big enough, to ſerve for a Maſt to a Firſt-rate Ship.

The *Epinette* is a ſort of a Pine, with a ſharper and thicker Leaf. 'Tis made uſe of in Carpenters work, and the matter which drains from it, ſmells as ſweet as Incenſe.

There are three ſorts of *Firs* in this Country, which are ſaw'd into Dales by certain Mills, that the *Quebec* Merchants have caus'd to be built in ſome places.

The

The *Peruſſe* is the propereſt of all green Woods for the building of Ships, upon the conſideration that 'tis compacter, and has cloſer Pores, ſo that it do's not ſoak or drink in the moiſture as much as others.

Here are two ſorts of *Cedar*, namely, the white and the red; but one muſt view 'em narrowly before he can diſtinguiſh 'em, by reaſon that both of 'em have much the ſame ſort of Bark. Theſe Trees are low, buſhy, and full of Branches and little Leaves, reſembling the tag of a Lace. The Wood of this Tree, is almoſt as light as Cork; and the Savages make uſe of it in the Wreaths and Ribs of their Canows. The red ſort looks admirably well, and may be made into Houſhold-Goods, which will retain an agreeable ſmell for ever.

The *Aſps* are little Shrubs, which grow upon the ſides of Pools or Rivers; and in a word, in moiſt and marſhy Countries. This Wood is the common food of the Beavers, who, in imitation of the Ants, take care to make a collection of it round their Hutts in the Autumn, which ſerves 'em for ſuſtenance when the Ice impriſons 'em in Winter.

The *White Wood* is a midling ſort of Tree, that's neither too big nor too little. 'Tis almoſt as light as Cedar, and as eaſily work'd upon. The Inhabitants of *Canada* make little Canows of it, for fiſhing and croſſing the Rivers.

Maidenhair is as common in the Forreſts of *Canada*, as Fern is in thoſe of *France*, and is eſteem'd beyond that of other Countries; inſomuch, that the Inhabitants of *Quebec* prepare great quantities of its Syrup, which they ſend to *Paris*, *Nants*, *Rouan*, and ſeveral other Cities in *France*.

Strawberries and *Rasberries*, are wonderfully plentiful in *Canada*, and taſte extream well. We meet likewiſe with ſome white Gooſeberries in this Country; but they ſerve for no uſe, unleſs it be to make a ſort of Vinegar of 'em, that is very ſtrong.

The

The *Bluets* are certain little Berries, not unlike ſmall Cherries, only they are black, and perfectly round. The Plant upon which they grow, is as big as a Rasberry-buſh. Theſe Berries ſerve for ſeveral uſes, after they are dry'd in the Sun, or in an Oven; for then they make Confits of 'em, or put 'em into Pyes, or infuſe 'em in Brandy. The North-Country Savages make a Crop of 'em in the Summer, which affords 'em very ſeaſonable relief, eſpecially when their hunting comes ſhort.

A General View of the Commerce of Canada.

I Come now to give a brief and general account of the Commerce of *Canada*, which I have already touch'd upon in my Letters. The *Normans* were the firſt that ſet up this trade, and uſually they ſet out from *Havre de Grace*, or *Dieppe*; but the *Rochellers* have now work'd 'em out of it, for as much as the *Rochel* Ships furniſh the Inhabitants of that Continent with the neceſſary Commodities. There are likewiſe ſome Ships ſent to *Canada* from *Bourdeaux* and *Bayonne*, with Wines, Brandy, Tobacco, and Iron.

The Ships bound from *France* to that Country, pay no Cuſtom for their Cargo, whether in clearing in *France*, or in their entries at *Quebec*; abating for the *Brazil* Tobacco which pays five *Sols* a pound; that is to ſay, a Roll of 400 pound weight, pays a hundred Livres by way of Entry, to the Office of the Farmers General.

Moſt of the Ships go laden to *Canada*, and return light or empty. Some indeed bring home Peaſe when they are good cheap in the Colony, and others take in a Cargo of Planks and Boards: Others again go to the Iſland of Cape *Breton*, and there take

take in a Cargoe of Pit-Coal, which they carry to the Iſlands of *Martinico* or *Guardaloupa*, where the refining of Sugars occaſions a great conſumption of Coals. But thoſe Ships which either belong, or are recommended to the topping Merchants of the Colony, are fraughted with Skins, which turns to a great account. I have ſeen ſome Ships unload at *Quebec*, and then ſteer to *Placentia*, to take in Cod-fiſh which they purchas'd with ready Mony; but generally ſpeaking, there's more loſt than got by that way of trading. The Merchant that has carried on the greateſt trade in *Canada*, is the Sieur *Samuel Bernon* of *Rochel*, who has great Ware-Houſes at *Quebec*, from which the Inhabitants of the other Towns are ſupplied with ſuch Commodities as they want. 'Tis true, there are ſome Merchants at *Quebec*, who are indifferent rich, and fit out Ships upon their own bottom, that ply to and again between *France* and *Canada*; and theſe Merchants have their Correſpondents at *Rochel*, who ſend out and take in every year the Cargoes of their Ships.

There's no difference between the Pyrates that ſcowr the Seas, and the *Canada* Merchants; unleſs it be this, that the former ſometimes inrich 'emſelves all of a ſudden by a good Prize; and that the latter can't make their fortune without trading for five or ſix years, and that without running the hazard of their Lives. I have known twenty little Pedlars that had not above a thouſand Crowns ſtock when I arriv'd at *Quebec*, in the year 1683; and when I left that place, had got to the tune of twelve thouſand Crowns. 'Tis an unqueſtion'd truth, that they get fifty *per Cent* upon all the Goods they deal in, whether they buy 'em up upon the arrival of the Ships at *Quebec*, or have 'em from *France* by way of Commiſſion; but over and above that, there are ſome little gaudy Trinkets, ſuch as Ribbands, Laces, Embroideries, Tobacco-Boxes, Watches,

es, and an infinity of other baubles of Iron Ware, upon which they get a hundred and fifty *per Cent*, all Coſts clear.

In this Country a Hogſhead of *Bourdeaux* Wine, which contains 250 Bottles, is worth about forty *French* Livres, in time of Peace, and ſixty in time of War. A Hogſhead of *Nants* or *Bayonne* Brandy, will fetch 80 or a 100 Livres. In the Taverns a Bottle of Wine coſts ſix *French* Sous, and a Bottle of Brandy is ſold for twenty. As for dry Commodities, their price riſes and falls upon occaſion. *Brazil* Tobacco is worth 40 Sous a pound by way of Retail, and 35 by Wholeſale. Sugar will fetch at leaſt 20 Sous a pound, and ſometimes 25 or 30.

The earlieſt Ships that come from *France*, ſet ou commonly in the latter end of *April*, or the beginning of *May*; but to my mind, they might ſhorten their Voyage by one half, if they put to Sea about the middle of *March*, and then ſweep'd along the North Coaſt of the *Azores* Iſlands; for in thoſe Seas the South and South-Eaſt Winds commonly blow from the beginning of *April*, to the end of *May*. I have mention'd this ſeveral times to the moſt expert Pilots; but they ſtill put me off with the plea, that they dare not ſteer that Courſe for fear of ſome Rocks: And yet theſe Rocks are not to be met with but in their Charts. I have read ſome Deſcriptions of the Ports, Roads, and Coaſts of theſe Iſlands, and of the adjacent Seas, done by the *Portugueze*, which make no mention of the Shelves that are chalk'd down in all our Charts: On the contrary, they affirm that the Coaſt of theſe Iſlands is altogether clear, and that for twenty Leagues off into the Main, theſe imaginary Rocks were never met with.

As ſoon as the *French* Ships arrive at *Quebec*, the Merchants of that City who have their Factours in the other Towns, load their Barques with Goods in order

order to tranſport 'em to theſe other Towns. Such Merchants as act for themſelves at *Trois Rivieres*, or *Monreal*, they come down in Perſon to *Quebec* to Market for themſelves, and then put their Effects on board of Barques, to be convey'd home. If they pay for their Goods in Skins, they buy cheaper than if they made their payments in Money or Letters of Exchange; by reaſon that the Seller gets conſiderably by the Skins when he returns to *France*. Now, you muſt take notice, that all theſe Skins are bought up from the Inhabitants, or from the Savages, upon which the Merchants are conſiderable Gainers. To give you an inſtance of this matter. A Perſon that lives in the Neighbourhood of *Quebec*, carries a dozen of Martins Skins, five or ſix Foxes Skins, and as many Skins of wild Cats, to a Merchants Houſe, in order to ſell 'em for Woollen Cloth, Linnen, Arms, Ammunition, *&c.* In the truck of theſe Skins, the Merchant draws a double profit, one upon the ſcore of his paying no more for the Skins, than one half of what he afterwards ſells 'em for in the lump to the Factours for the *Rochel* Ships; and the other by the exorbitant rate he puts upon the Goods that the poor Planter takes in exchange for his Skins. If this be duly weigh'd, we will not think it ſtrange that theſe Merchants have a more beneficial Trade, than a great many other Tradeſmen in the World. In my ſeventh and eighth Letter, I relâted the particulars of the Commerce of this Country, eſpecially that which the Inhabitants carry on with the Savages, who ſupply 'em with the Skins of Beavers, and other Animals. So that now it remains only to give you an Inventory of the Goods that are proper for the Savages, and of the Skins which they give in exchange, together with their neat Prices.

Short and light Fuſees.
Powder.
Ball and cut Lead, or Small-ſhot.
Axes both great and ſmall.
Knives with their Sheaths.
Sword-blades to make Darts of.
Kettles of all ſizes.
Shoomakers Awls.
Fiſh-hooks, of all ſizes.
Flint Stones.
Caps of blew Serge.
Shirts made of the common *Brittany* Linnen.
Woolſted Stockins, ſhort and coarſe.
Braſil Tobacco.
Coarſe white Thread for Nets.
Sewing Thread of ſeveral colours.
Pack-thread.
Vermillion.
Needles, both large and ſmall.
Venice Beads.
Some Iron Heads for Arrows, but few of 'em.
A ſmall quantity of Soap.
A few Sabres or Cutlaſſes.
Brandy goes off incomparably well.

The Names of the Skins given in exchange, with their Rates.

THE Skins of Winter Beavers, *alias Muſcovy* Beavers, are worth *per pound* in the Farmer Generals Warehouſe. —— 4 *Livres.* 10 *Sous.*
The Skins of fat Beavers, the Hair of which falls off, while the Savages make uſe of 'em, *per pound*, —— —— —— 5 *L.* 0 *S.*
Of Beavers taken in Autumn, *per pound* 3 10

Of

	Livres.	*Sous.*
Of dry or common Beavers, *per pound*	3	0
Of Summer Beavers, *per pound.* —	3	10

The Skin of a white Beaver is not to be valued, no more than that of a Fox that's quite black.

The Skins of Silver-colour'd Foxes a piece.	4	0
Of common Foxes, in good order,	2	0
Of the common Martins. —	1	0
Of the prettyeſt ſort of Martins.	4	0
Of red and ſmooth Otters. —	2	0
Of the Winter and brown Otters. — or more.	4	10
Of the fineſt black Bears. — —	7	0
The Skins of Elks before they're dreſs'd, are worth *per pound* about. — —	0	12
The Skins of Stags are worth *per pound* about	0	8
The wild Cats or *Enfans de Diable*, a piece	1	15
Sea Wolves — a piece. — or more.	1	15
Pole-Cats, and Weaſels —	0	10
Musk Rats. — —	0	6
Their Teſticles. — —	0	5
Wolves. — —	2	10
The white Elk-skins, *i. e.* thoſe dreſs'd by the Savages a piece — —	8 or m.	
A dreſs'd Harts Skin is worth —	5 or m.	
A Caribous — —	6	
A Roe-buck's — —	3	

To conclude, you muſt take notice that theſe Skins are upon ſome particular occaſions dearer than I rate 'em, but the difference is but very ſmall, whether under or over.

An Account of the Government of Canada *in General.*

IN *Canada* the Politick, Civil, Eccleſiaſtical and Military Government, are all in a manner one thing, in regard, that the wiſeſt Governours have ſubjected their Authority to that of the *Eccleſiaſticks*; and ſuch Governours as would not imbarque in that Intereſt, have found their Poſt ſo uneaſie, that they have been recall'd with diſgrace. I could inſtance in ſeveral, who for not adhering to the Sentiments of the Biſhop and the Jeſuits, and for refuſing to lodge their Power in the hands of theſe infallible Gentlemen, have been turn'd out, and treated at Court like hot-headed Incendiaries. Mr. *de Frontenac* was one of this number, who made ſuch an unhappy exit; for he fell out with Mr. *Ducheſnau*, Intendant of that Country, who finding himſelf protected by the Clergy, induſtriouſly inſulted that illuſtrious General; and the General was forc'd to give way, under the weight of an Eccleſiaſtical League, by reaſon of the Springs they ſet at work againſt him, in oppoſition to all the principles of Honour and Conſcience.

The Governour General that means to neglect no opportunity of advancing or inriching themſelves, do commonly hear two Maſſes a Day, and are oblig'd to confeſs once in four and twenty hours. He has always Clergy-men hanging about him where-ever he goes, and indeed properly ſpeaking, they are his Counſellours. When a Governour is thus back'd by the Clergy; the Intendants, the Under-Governours, and the Sovereign Council, dare's not cenſure his Conduct, let it be never ſo faulty; for the protection of the Eccleſiaſticks, ſhelters him from all the charges that can be laid againſt him.

The Governour General of *Quebec*, has twenty thouſand Crowns a year, including the pay of his Com-

Company of Guards, and the particular Government of the Fort. Over and above this Income, the Farmers of the Beaver-Skins make him a Preſent of a thouſand Crowns a year; his Wines and all his other Proviſions imported from *France* pay no Fraight; not to mention that by certain ways and means he ſucks as much Money out of the Country, as all the above-mention'd Articles amount to. The Intendant has eighteen thouſand Livres a year; but the Lord knows what he makes otherwiſe: I have no mind to touch there, for fear of being rank'd among thoſe Detractors, who ſpeak the truth too ſincerely. The Biſhops Incomes are ſo ſmall, that if the King were not graciouſly pleas'd to add to his Biſhoprick ſome other Benefices in *France*, that Reverend Prelate would be reduc'd to as ſhort Commons, as a hundred of his Character are in the Kingdom of *Naples*. The Major of *Quebec* has ſix hundred Crowns a year, the Governour of *Trois Rivieres* has a thouſand; and the Governour of *Monreal* is allow'd two thouſand. A Captain has a hundred and twenty Livres a Month, a Lieutenant ninety Livres, a reform'd Lieutenant is allow'd but forty, and a common Soldier's pay is ſix *Sous* a Day, of the current Money of the Country.

The People repoſe a great deal of confidence in the Clergy in this Country as well as elſewhere. Here the outward ſhew of Devotion is ſtrictly obſerv'd, for the People dare not abſent from the great Maſſes and Sermons, without a lawful Excuſe. But after all, 'tis at the time of Divine Service, that the married Women and Maids give their humours a full looſe, as being aſſur'd that their Husbands and Mothers are buſie at Church. The Prieſts call People by their names in the Pulpit; they prohibit under the pain of Excommunication, the reading of Romances and Plays, as well as the uſe of Masks, and playing at Ombre or Lanſquenet. The Jeſu-

its and the Recollets agree as ill as the Moliniſts and the Janſeniſts. The former pretend that the latter have no right to confeſs. Do but look back to my eighth Letter, and there you'll ſee ſome inſtances of the indiſcreet zeal of the Eccleſiaſticks.

The Governour General has the diſpoſal of all Military Poſts; He beſtows Companies, Lieutenancies, and Under-Lieutenancies, upon who he pleaſes, with his Majeſty's gracious Approbation; but he is not allow'd to diſpoſe of particular Governourſhips, or of the place of a Lord Lieutenant of a Province, or of the Major of any Town. He is impower'd to grant to the Gentry and the other Inhabitants, Lands and Settlements all over *Canada*; but theſe Grants muſt be given in concert with the Intendant. He is likewiſe authoris'd to give five and twenty Licences a year to whom he thinks fit, for trading with the Savage Nations of that vaſt Continent. He is inveſted with the power of ſuſpending the execution of Sentences againſt Criminals; and by vertue of this Reprieve, can eaſily procure 'em a Pardon, if he has a mind to favour 'em. But he can't diſpoſe of the King's Money, without the conſent of the Intendant, who is the only Man that can call it out of the hands of the Treaſurer of the Navy.

The Governour General can't be without the ſervice of the Jeſuits, in making Treaties with the Governours of *New-England*, and *New-York*, as well as with the *Iroqueſe*. I am at a loſs to know, whether theſe good Fathers are imploy'd in ſuch Services, upon the ſcore of their judicious Counſels, and their being perfectly well acquainted with the Country, and the King's true intereſts; or upon the conſideration of their ſpeaking to a Miracle, the Languages of ſo many different Nations, whoſe intereſt are quite oppoſite; or out of a ſenſe of that condeſcenſion and ſubmiſſion, that is due to theſe worthy Companions of our Saviour.

The

The Members of the ſupreme Council of *Canada*, can't ſell or convey their Places to their Heirs, or to any body elſe without the King's approbation; though at the ſame time their places may be worth not ſo much as the place of a Lieutenant to a Company of Foot. When they have nice points under their conſideration, they uſually conſult the Prieſts or Jeſuits: And if any cauſe comes before 'em, in which theſe good Fathers are intereſs'd, they are ſure not to be caſt, unleſs it be ſo very black, that the cunningeſt Lawyer can't give it a plauſible turn. I've been inform'd by ſeveral Perſons, that the Jeſuits drive a great trade in *European* Commodities, and *Canada* Skins; but I can ſcarce believe it, or at leaſt if it be ſo, they muſt have Correſpondents and Factors that are as cloſe and cunning as themſelves; which can never be.

The Gentlemen of that Country, are oblig'd to be very cautious in carrying even with the *Eccleſiaſticks*, in reſpect of the good or harm that the good Fathers can indirectly throw in their way. The Biſhop and the Jeſuits have ſuch an influence over the Governours General, as is ſufficient to procure places to the Children of the Noblemen or Gentlemen that are devoted to their Service, or to obtain the Licences that I ſpoke of in my eighth Letter. 'Tis likewiſe in their power to ſerve the Daughters of ſuch Gentlemen, by finding 'em agreeable and rich Husbands. The meaneſt Curates muſt be manag'd cautiouſly, for they can either ſerve or diſſerve the Gentlemen, in whoſe Seignories they are no more than Miſſionaries, there being no fix'd Cures in *Canada*, which indeed is a grievance that ought to be redreſs'd. The Officers of the Army are likewiſe oblig'd to keep up a good correſpondence with the *Eccleſiaſticks*, for without that 'tis impoſſible for 'em to keep their ground. They muſt not only take care that their own conduct be regular; but likewiſe

look after that of the Soldiers, by preventing the Diſorders they might commit in their Quarters.

Commonly the Troops are quarter'd upon the Inhabitants of the *Cotes*, or Seignories of *Canada*, from *October* to *May*. The Maſter of the Houſe furniſhes his Military Gueſts only with Utenſils, and imploys him all the while at the rate of ten *Sous* a Day beſides his Victuals, in the cutting of Wood, grubbing up of Grounds, rooting out Stumps, or the threſhing of Corn in a Barn. The Captain gets likewiſe by their work; for to make 'em diſcount the half of their pay to him, he orders 'em to come thrice a Week to exerciſe their Arms at his Quarters. Now, their Habitations being diſtant four or five *Arpents* from one another, and one *Cote* or Seignory being two or three Leagues in Front, the Soldiers chooſe rather to give the Captain a ſpill, than to walk ſo far in the Snow and the Dirt: And the Captain takes it very conſcientiouſly, upon the plea that *Volenti non fit injuria*. As for ſuch Soldiers as are good Tradeſmen, he's ſure of putting their whole pay in his Pocket, by vertue of a Licence that he gives 'em to work in the Towns, or any where elſe. In fine, moſt of the Officers marry in this Country, but God knows what ſort of Marriages they make, in taking Girls with a Dowry, conſiſting of eleven Crowns, a Cock, a Hen, an Ox, a Cow, and ſometimes a Calf. I knew ſeveral young Women, whoſe Lovers, after denying the Fact, and proving before the Judges the ſcandalous Converſation of their Miſtreſſes, were forc'd upon the perſwaſion of the *Eccleſiaſticks* to ſwallow the bitter Pill, and take the very ſame Girls in Marriage. Some Officers indeed marry well, but there are few ſuch. The occaſion of their marrying ſo readily in that Country, proceeds from the difficulty of converſing with the ſoft Sex. After a Man has made four Viſits to a young Woman, he is oblig'd to unfold his Mind to her Father and Mo-

ther;

ther; he muſt then either talk of Marriage, or break off all Correſpondence; or if he do's not, both he and ſhe lies under a Scandal. In this Country a Man can't viſit another Man's Wife, without being cenſur'd, as if her Husband was a Cuckold. In fine, a Man can meet with no diverſion here, but that of reading, or eating, or drinking. Though after all, there are ſome Intrigues carry'd on, but with the ſame caution as in *Spain*, where the vertue of the Ladies conſiſts only in diſguiſing the matter handſomly.

Now, that I am upon the Subject of Marriage, I can't forbear to acquaint you with a comical Adventure that happen'd to a young Captain, who was preſs'd to marry againſt his will, becauſe all his Companions and Acquaintances were already buckled. This young Officer having made ſome Viſits to a Counſellor's Daughter, he was deſir'd to tell what Errand he came upon; and Mr. *de Frontenac* himſelf, being related to the young Lady, who is certainly one of the moſt accompliſh'd Ladies of this Age, us'd his utmoſt efforts to ingage the Captain to marry her. The Captain being equally well pleas'd with a free acceſs to the Governour's Table, and the company of the Lady whom he met there not unfrequently; the Captain, I ſay, being equally fond of theſe two Advantages, endeavour'd to ward off the deſign, by asking ſome time to conſider of it. Accordingly, two Months were granted him; and after that time was expir'd, he had ſtill a mind to let out his Traces, and ſo deſir'd two Months more, which were granted him by the Biſhop's interceſſion. When the laſt of theſe two was at an end, the Cavalier began to be apprehenſive that he was in danger of loſing both his good Cheer, and the agreeable company of the Lady. However, he was oblig'd to be preſent at a Treat that Mr. *Nelſon* (the *Engliſh* Gentleman I

ſpoke

ſpoke of in my 23*d* Letter) gave to the two Lovers, as well as the Governour, the Intendant, the Biſhop, and ſome other Perſons of Note: And this generous *Engliſh* Gentleman, having a kindneſs for the young Ladies Father, and her Brethren, upon the ſcore of their trading with one another, made an offer of a thouſand Crowns to be paid on the Wedding Day, which added to a thouſand that the Biſhop offer'd, and a thouſand more which ſhe had of her own, beſides ſeven or eight thouſand that Mr. *de Frontenac* offer'd in Licences, not to mention the certain proſpect of Preferment; all theſe Items, I ſay, made the Marriage very advantageous to the Captain. After they had done eating, he was preſs'd to ſign the Contract, but made anſwer, that he had drunk ſome bumpers of heady Wine, and his Head was not clear enough for weighing the conditions of the Contract; ſo that they were forc'd to put off the matter till the next day. Upon this delay he kept his Chamber till Mr. *de Frontenac*, at whoſe Table he us'd to eat, ſent for him in order to know his Mind immediately. Then there was no room left for ſhuffling; there was a neceſſity of giving a poſitive anſwer to the Governour, who ſpoke to him in plain and preciſe terms, and at the ſame time reminded him of the favour they had ſhewn him, in allowing him ſo much time to conſider of the propos'd Marriage. The young Officer reply'd very fairly, that any Man that was capable of Marrying after four Months deliberation, was a fool in buckling to. 'I now ſee, ſays he, 'what I am; the eager deſire I had of going to 'Church with Mademoiſelle *D.*... has now con-'vinc'd me of my folly; if you have a reſpect for 'the Lady, pray do not ſuffer her to marry a 'young Spark, that is ſo apt to take up with extra-'vagant and fooliſh things. As for my own part, Sir, 'I proteſt ſincerely, that the little reaſon and free judg-

'judgment that is left me, will ſerve to comfort 'me upon the loſs of her, and to teach me to re-'pent of having deſir'd to make her as unhappy as 'my ſelf. This Diſcourſe ſurpris'd the Biſhop, the Governour, the Intendant, and in general, all the other Married Officers, who deſir'd nothing more than that he ſhould be catch'd in the nooſe as well as they; ſo true it is, that *Solamen miſeris ſocios habuiſſe doloris.* As they were far from expecting any ſuch retractation; ſo the poor reform'd Captain ſuffer'd for't; for ſome time after Mr. *de Frontenac* did him a piece of Injuſtice, in beſtowing a vacant Company over his Head, upon Madam *de Ponchartrain*'s Nephew, notwithſtanding that the Court had ſent orders on his behalf; and this oblig'd him to go for *France* along with me in the year 1692.

To reſume the thread of my Diſcourſe: You muſt know that the *Canadeſe* or *Creoles*, are a robuſt brawny well made People; they are ſtrong, vigorous, active, brave and indefatigable; in a word, they want nothing but the knowledge of polite Letters. They are preſumptuous, and very full of themſelves; they value themſelves beyond all the Nations of the Earth, and, which is to be regrated, they have not that veneration for their Parents that is due. Their Complexion is wonderfully pretty. The Women are generally handſom; few of them are brown, but many of 'em are at once wiſe and lazy. They love Luxury to the laſt degree, and ſtrive to out-do one another in catching Husbands in the trap.

There's an infinity of diſorders in *Canada*, that want to be reform'd. The firſt ſtep of a true Reformation, muſt be that of hindring the Eccleſaſticks to viſit the Inhabitants ſo often, and to pry with ſuch impertinence into the minuteſt affairs of the Family; for ſuch practices are frequently contrary to the good of the Society, and that for reaſons

ſons that you are not ignorant of. The next thing to be done, is to prohibit the Officers to ſtop the Soldiers pay, and to injoyn 'em to Diſcipline their Men every Holy-day, and every Sunday. In the third place, the Commodities ought to be rated at a reaſonable price, ſo that the Merchant may have his profit, without exacting upon the Inhabitants and the Savages. A fourth Article of Reformation, would conſiſt in prohibiting the exporting from *France* to *Canada*, of Brocado's, Gold and Silver Galloons or Ribbands, and rich Laces. In a fifth place, the Governour General ought not to ſell Licences for trading with the Savages of the great Lakes. Sixthly, there ought to be fix'd Courts. In the ſeventh place, they want to have their Militia modell'd and diſciplin'd, that upon occaſion, they may be as ſerviceable as the Regular Troops. For an eighth Article, the ſetting up Manufactories for Linnen, Stuffs, *&c.* would be very uſeful. But the moſt important alteration would conſiſt in keeping the Governours, the Intendants, the ſupreme Council, the Biſhops and the Jeſuits, from ſplitting into Factions, and making Clubs one againſt another; for the conſequences of ſuch Diviſions can't but thwart his Majeſty's Service, and the Peace of the Publick. Were this but happily effected, that Country would be as rich again as 'tis now.

I wonder that inſtead of baniſhing the Proteſtants out of *France*, who in removing to the Countries of our Enemies, have done ſo much damage to the Kingdom, by carrying their Money along with 'em, and ſetting up Manufacturies in thoſe Countries; I wonder, I ſay, that the Court did not think it more proper to tranſport 'em to *Canada*. I'm convinc'd, that if they had receiv'd poſitive aſſurances of injoying a liberty of Conſcience, a great many of 'em would have made no ſcruple

to

to go thither. Some have reply'd upon this Head, that the Remedy had been worſe than the Diſeaſe; in regard that ſome time or other they would not have fail'd to expel the *Catholicks* by the aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*: But I repreſented to 'em, that the *Greeks* and *Armenians*, who are ſubject to the Grand *Seignior*, and at the ſame time are of a Nation and Religion that's different from that of the *Turks*; I repreſented, I ſay, that theſe diſſenting Subjects did ſcarce ever implore the aid of foreign Powers, in order to rebel and ſhake off the Yoak. In fine, we have more reaſon to believe, that if the *Huguenots* had been tranſported to *Canada*, they had never departed from the fealty they ow'd to their natural Soveraign. But, let that be as it will; I do but ſpeak as that King of *Arragon* did, who boaſted, that if God had daign'd to conſult him, he could have given him ſeaſonable advice with reference to the ſymmetry and the courſes of the Stars: For in like manner, I do affirm, that if the Council of State had follow'd my Scheme, in the ſpace of thirty or forty years, *New-France* would have become a finer and more flouriſhing Kingdom, than ſeveral others in *Europe*.

A Diſcourſe of the Intereſt of the French, *and of the* Engliſh, *in North*-America.

SInce *New-France* and *New-England* ſubſiſt only upon the Cod-Fiſhery, and the Fur-trade, tis' the intereſt of theſe two Colonies to inlarge the number of the Ships imploy'd in the Fiſhery, and to incourage the Savages to hunt and ſhoot Beavers, by furniſhing them with what Arms and Ammunition they have occaſion for. 'Tis well known, that there's a great conſumption of Codfiſh in the Southern

Southern Countries of *Europe*, and that few Commodities meet with a better and readier Market, eſpecially if they are good and well cur'd.

Thoſe who alledge that the deſtruction of the *Iroqueſe*, would promote the intereſt of the Colonies of *New-France*, are ſtrangers to the true intereſt of that Country; for if that were once accompliſh'd, the Savages who are now the *French* Allies, would turn their greateſt Enemies, as being then rid of their other fears. They would not fail to call in the *Engliſh*, by reaſon that their Commodities are at once cheaper, and more eſteem'd than ours; and by that means the whole Commerce of that wide Country, would be wreſted out of our hands.

I conclude therefore, that 'tis the intereſt of the *French* to weaken the *Iroqueſe*, but not to ſee 'em intirely defeated. I own, that at this day they are too ſtrong, inſomuch that they cut the Throats of the Savages our Allies every day. They have nothing leſs in view, than to cut off all the Nations they know, let their Situation be never ſo remote from their Country. 'Tis our buſineſs to reduce 'em to one half of the power they are now poſſeſs'd of, if 'twere poſſible; but we do not go the right way to work. Above theſe thirty years, their ancient Counſellors have ſtill remonſtrated to the Warriours of the five Nations, that 'twas expedient to cut off all the Savage Nations of *Canada*, in order to ruine the Commerce of the *French*, and after that to diſlodge 'em of the Continent. With this view they have carry'd the War above four or five hundred Leagues off their Country, after the deſtroying of ſeveral different Nations in ſeveral places, as I ſhew'd you before.

'Twould be no difficult matter for the *French* to draw the *Iroqueſe* over to their ſide, to keep 'em from plaguing the *French* Allies, and at the ſame time to ingroſs all the Commerce with the five *Iroqueſe* Nations,

Nations, that is now in the hands of the *Engliſh* in *New-York.* This might be eaſily put in execution, provided the King would allow ten thouſand Crowns a year, for that end. The method of effecting it is this. In the firſt place, the Barques that were formerly made uſe of about Fort *Frontenac*, muſt be rebuilt, in order to convey to the Rivers of the *Tſonontouans* and the *Onontagues*, ſuch Commodities as are proper for 'em, and to ſell 'em for the prime coſt in *France.* Now this would put the King to the charge of about ten thouſand Crowns for fraight; and I'm perſwaded, that upon that foot the *Iroqueſe* would not be ſuch fools as to carry ſo much as one Beaver to the *Engliſh* Colonies, and that for four Reaſons. The firſt is, that, whereas they muſt tranſport 'em ſixty or eighty Leagues upon their backs to *New-York*, they have not above ſeven or eight Leagues travelling from their own Villages, to the banks of the Lake of *Frontenac.* For a ſecond reaſon, 'tis manifeſt that the *Engliſh* can't poſſibly let 'em have their Commodities ſo cheap, without being conſiderable loſers, and that thereupon every Merchant would drop that ſort of Trade. The third is drawn from the difficulty of having Subſiſtance upon the Road between the *Iroqueſe* Villages and *New-York*; for the *Iroqueſe* go thither in great Bodies, for fear of being ſurpris'd, and I acquainted you before ſeveral times, that there's no Veniſon in that ſide of the Country. The fourth reaſon is this. In marching ſo far from their Villages, they expoſe their Wives, their Children, and their ſuperannuated Men, for a prey to their Enemies, who upon that occaſion may either kill 'em, or carry 'em off; and of this we have two Inſtances already. Over and above the cheapneſs of our Commodities, 'twould likewiſe be requiſite that we made 'em Preſents every year, and at the ſame time intreated 'em not to diſturb the repoſe of our Con-

Confederate Savages, who are ſuch fools, as to wage War one with another, inſtead of entring into a joint League in oppoſition to the *Iroqueſe*, the moſt redoubted of their Enemies, and thoſe whom they have moſt reaſon to fear. In a word, if we would manage our affairs with the *Iroqueſe* to the beſt advantage, we ought to put in execution that Project that I mention'd in my 23*d* Letter.

To alledge that theſe *Barbarians* have a dependance upon the *Engliſh*, is a fooliſh Plea: For they are ſo far from owning any dependance, that when they go to *New-York* to truck their Skins, they have the confidence to put rates upon the Goods they have occaſion for, when the Merchants offer to raiſe their price. I have intimated already ſeveral times, that their reſpect for the *Engliſh*, is tack'd to the occaſion they have to make uſe of 'em; that this is the only motive which induces 'em to treat the *Engliſh* as their Brethren, and their Friends; and that if the *French* would ſell 'em the Neceſſaries of Life, as well as Arms and Ammunition, at eaſier rates, they would not make many journeys to the *Engliſh* Colonies. This is a conſideration that ought to be chiefly in our view; for if we minded it to the purpoſe, they would be cautious of inſulting our Savage Confederates, as well as our ſelves. The Governours General of *Canada* would do well to imploy the ſenſible Men of the Country that are acquainted with our Confederates, in preſſing 'em to live in a good correſpondence with one another, without waging War among themſelves; for moſt of the Southern Nations worm out one another inſenſibly, which affords matter of joy to the *Iroqueſe*. Now, 'twere an eaſie matter to prevent this fatal mouldering, by threatning to give 'em no further ſupplies of Commodities in their Villages. To this precaution, we ought to add that of indeavouring to ingage two or three Nations to live together; the

the *Outaouas*, for inſtance, with the *Hurons*; the *Sakis* with the *Pouteouatamis*, alias *Puants*. If all thoſe Nations who are imbarqued in a Confederacy with us, would but agree one with another, and put up their quarrels, they would give themſelves wholly to the hunting of Beavers, which would tend to the inlarging of our Commerce; and beſides, they would be in a condition of making one joint Body, when the *Iroqueſe* offer'd to attack either one or t'other.

'Tis the intereſt of the *Engliſh* to perſwade theſe Nations, that the *French* have nothing leſs in view, than to deſtroy them as ſoon as they meet with an opportunity; that the growing populouſneſs of *Canada*, is a ſufficient ground of alarm; that they ought to avoid all Commerce with the *French*, for fear of being betray'd in any way whatſoever; that to hinder the repairing of Fort *Frontenac*, and the rebuilding of Barques for that Lake, is to them a thing of the laſt Importance, by reaſon that the *French* might in four and twenty hours, make a Deſcent from thence to their Villages, and carry off their ancient Men, their Women and their Children, at a time when the Warriours might be ingag'd in the hunting of Beavers; That they would promote their own intereſt by waging War with the *French* from time to time, by ravaging the Seignories and Settlements in the upper part of the Country, in order to oblige the Inhabitants to abdicate the Colony, and to diſcourage thoſe who would otherwiſe remove out of *France*, and ſettle in *Canada*; and in fine, That in time of Peace 'twould be very proper to ſtop the *Coureurs de Bois* at the Cataracts of the *Outaouas* River, and to ſeize the Arms and Ammunition that they carry to the Savages upon the Lakes.

Farther, if the *Engliſh* would purſue their meaſures to the beſt advantage, they ought to ingage the *Tſonontouans* or the *Goyoguans* to go and ſettle upon the Banks of the Lake *Erriè*, near the Mouth

of the River of *Condè*; and at the ſame time they ought to build a Fort there, with ſome long Barques or Brigantines: For this is the moſt convenient and advantageous Poſt of all that Country, and that for an infinity of Reaſons which I am oblig'd to conceal. Beſides this Fort, they ſhould build another at the Mouth of the River *des François*; and then 'twould be abſolutely impoſſible for the *Coureurs de Bois* to reach the Lakes.

They ought likewiſe to ingage the Savages of *Acadia* in their intereſt; which they may do with little charge. The Planters of *New-England* ſhould mind this, as well as the fortifying of the Ports in which they fiſh their Cod. As for the fitting out of Fleets to deſtroy the Colony, I would not adviſe the *Engliſh* to give themſelves that trouble; for ſuppoſing they were aſſur'd of Succeſs, 'tis but ſome places that can be reckon'd worth the while.

To conclude; I muſt ſay the *Engliſh* in theſe Colonies are too careleſs and lazy: The *French Coureurs de Bois*, are much readier for Enterpriſes, and the *Canadeſe* are certainly more vigilant and more active. It behoves the Inhabitants of *New-York* to inlarge their Fur-trade by well concerted Enterpriſes; and thoſe of *New-England*, to render the Cod-fiſhing more beneficial to the Colony, by taking ſuch meaſures as many other People would, if they were as advantageouſly ſeated. I do not intend to ſpeak of the limits of *New-France*, and *New-England*, for they were never well adjuſted; though indeed 'twould ſeem that in ſeveral Treaties of Peace between theſe two Kingdoms, the Boundaries were in a manner mark'd out in ſome places. Whatever is in that matter, the deciſion of it is too nice a point for one that can't open his mind without pulling an old Houſe upon his Head.

The End of the Firſt Volume.

A TABLE explaining ſome Terms made uſe of in both Volumes.

A.

A Strolabe *is a Mathematical Inſtrument that can ſcarce be uſed in the Ocean by reaſon of the Waves. There are two ſorts of them. The firſt are made uſe of by* East-India *Maſters, at a time when the Sea is as ſmooth as the face of a Looking-glaſs. This ſort are ſerviceable in taking the height of the Sun, by the means of two little Pins, which are bor'd ſo as to have two dioptrick Perforations, that ſerve to conduct the rays of light to that Luminary. The latter are ſuch as the Mathematicians commonly make uſe of for Aſtronomical Obſervations, and are furbiſh'd with Azimuths, Almucantara's, Loxodromick Tables, and the Concentrick and Excentrick Tables of the Sphere.*

B.

Bank *of* New-found-land, *or* Bank *in general, is a riſing Ground in the Sea, which ſhoots like a Hat beyond the other brims. The Bank of* New-found land *has thirty or forty Fathom Water, and is pav'd with Cod fiſh.*

Baſin, *is a head of ſtagnating Water, not unlike a Pool or Lake.*

Bouteux *ſignifies little Nets belag'd to the end of a Stick. The Fiſhermen make uſe of them to catch Fiſh upon a ſandy Ground, and eſpecially Eels, upon the ſide of St.* Laurence *River.*

Bouts de Quievres, *are Nets not unlike* Bouteux, *which ſerve for the ſame uſe.*

Breaking ground *ſignifies the weighing Anchor and putting to Sea.*

Brigantine, *a ſmall Veſſel one Deck, built of light of*

Wood, which plies both with Oars and Sails. 'Tis equally ſharp at Prow and Poop, and is built for a quick Sailer.

C.

Calumet *in general ſignifies a Pipe, being a* Norman *Word, deriv'd from* Chalumeau. *The Savages do not underſtand this Word, for 'twas introduc'd to* Canada *by the* Normans *when they firſt ſettled there; and has ſtill continued in uſe amongſt the* French *Planters. The* Calumet *or Pipe is call'd in the* Iroqueſe *Language* Ganondaoe, *and by the other Savage Nations* Poagan.

Canadeſe *or* Canadans, *are the Natives of* Canada *ſprung from a* French *Father and Mother. In the Iſlands of* South-America *the Natives born of* French *Parents are called* Creoles.

Capa y d'eſpada, *A* Gaſcogne *Title which the People of that Province gave in former times by way of Irony, to the Members of the ſupream Council of* Canada, *becauſe the firſt Counſellors were neither Robe nor Sword, but walk'd very gravely with a Cane in their Hands, both in the City of* Quebeck, *and in the Hall.*

Caſſe-tête *ſignifies a Club, or a Head-breaker. The Savages call it* Aſſan Ouſtick, Ouſtick *ſignifying the* Head, *and* Aſſan, *to break.*

Channel *is a ſpace of pretty deep Water between two Banks, or between two Shoars. Commonly the* Channels *are incloſed by Flats, and for that reaſon* Bouys *or Maſts are fixt upon 'em, in order to direct the Pilots, who ſteer either by theſe Marks, or by ſounding, for they would run the riſque of looſing their Ships, if they did not keep exactly to the Channel.*

Coaſt along, *ſee* Sweep.

Compaſs of Variation. *'Tis larger than the ordinary Compaſſes, and ſerves to point out the inequal Motions of the Needle which leans always to the North-Eaſt in the other Hemiſphere, whereas it ſtill plies to the North-Weſt; in this, I mean on this ſide the Equinoctial line: The Needle*

Needle touch'd with the Loadſtone departs from the true North a certain number of Degrees to the right and left; and Mariners compute the Degrees of its departure by the means of an Alhidada, and a thread which divides the Glaſs of the Compaſs into two equal parts, and ſo ſhews the Variation of the Needle at Sun-ſet, that being the true proper time for making the Obſervation; for at Sun-riſing, and at Noon, one may be deceiv'd by Refractions, &c.

Coureurs de Bois, *i. e. Foreſt Rangers, are* French *or* Canadeſe, *ſo call'd from employing their whole Life in the rough Exerciſe of tranſporting Merchandize Goods to the Lakes of* Canada, *and to all the other Countries of that Continent, in order to Trade with the Savages: And in regard that they run in Canows a thouſand Leagues up the Country, notwithſtanding the danger of the Sea and Enemies, I take it, they ſhould rather be called* Coureurs de Riſques, *than* Coureurs de Bois.

E.

Eddy, *or boyling Water, is little Watery Mountains that riſe at the foot of Water-falls or Cataracts, juſt as we ſee the Water plays in the Ciſterns of Water-works.*

Edge *of a Bank, is the ſhelving part of it that runs ſteep like a Wall.*

F.

Fathom, *among the* French *is the meaſure of ſix foot.*

Feaſt of Union, *a Term us'd by the* Iroqueſe *to ſignify the renewing of the Alliance between the five* Iroqueſe *Nations.*

Flats *are a ridge of Rocks running under Water from one Station to another, and riſing within five or ſix foot at leaſt of the Surface of that Element, ſo as to hinder Ships, Barques,* &c. *to float upon 'em.*

Fraight, *ſignifies in this Book the Cargo, tho' in other Caſes it ſignifies likewiſe the Hire or Fare.*

Furl the Sails, *ſignifies the drawing them up to a heap towards*

towards the Top-maſt, not long ways as we do the Curtains of a Bed, but from below upwards. This is done by two Ropes, that draw up the Sail as a String does a Purſe.

H.

Head-Bars *are two round pieces of Wood, reaching on each ſide from one end of a Canow to the other. Theſe are the Supporters of the Canow, for the Ribs and Spars are made faſt upon them.*

K.

Keel *of a Ship, is a long piece of the ſtrongeſt Wood, or at leaſt ſeveral pieces joyn'd together, to bear the great weight of all the other Timber.*

Kitchi-Okima, *is the general Name for the Governour General of* Canada *among all the Savages, whoſe Languages approach to that of the* Algonkins. Kitchi *ſignifies* Great, *and* Okima, Captain. *The* Iroqueſe *and* Hurons *call the Governor General* Onnontio.

L.

Latitude. *Every Body knows that it imports the Elevation of the Pole, or the diſtance from a fix'd Point of the Æquator.*

Land-carriage *ſignifies the tranſporting of Canows by Land from the Foot to the Head of a Cataract, or from one River to another.*

Light *Ships are ſuch as are empty, without any Cargo.*

P.

Poop *is the Stern or After-part of the Ship, in which the Rudder is fix'd.*

Precipice *of a Bank, ſee* Edge.

Prow *is the Head or Fore-part of a Ship, which cuts the Water firſt.*

Q.

Quarter. *Tho' the Word Quarter in a Maritime Senſe, is not well explain'd; I put the meaning of it to be this.*

The

The North Quarter comprehends the ſpace that lies between North-Weſt and North-Eaſt. The Eaſt Quarter runs from North-Eaſt to South-Eaſt. The South Quarter comprehends that part of the Heavens that falls between South-Eaſt and South-Weſt : And the Weſt Quarter extends from South-Weſt to North-Weſt.

R.

Refitting *of a Ship, ſignifies the repairing and dreſſing of it, and putting it into a Condition to ſail, by putting in new Planks, caulking the Seams,* &c.

Ribs *of a Canow, are much like thoſe of a Pink, only there's this difference, that they line the Canow only on the in-ſide from one Head Bar to another, upon which they are inchas'd. They have the thickneſs of three Crowns, and the breadth of four Inches.*

Ruche, *an Inſtrument for fiſhing, reſembling a Bee-hive.*

S.

Scurvy, *is a Corruption of the Maſs of Blood. There are two ſorts of it ; one call'd the Land Scurvy, which loads a Man with Infirmities that gradually bring him to his Grave ; the other is the Sea Scurvy, which infallibly kills a Man in 8 days unleſs he gets a-ſhoar.*

Shieve, i. e. *Row the wrong way, in order to aſſiſt the Steerſman to ſteer the Boat, and to keep the Boat in the Channel.*

Shoot. *To ſhoot a Water-fall or Cataract, implies the running a Boat down theſe dangerous Precipices, following the ſtream of the Water, and ſteering very nicely.*

Sledges *are a Conveniency for travelling, built in an oblong quadrangular form, upon two pieces of Wood, which are 4 foot long, and 6 foot broad ; upon the Wood there are ſeveral pieces of Cloath or Hide nail'd to keep the Wind off. Theſe two pieces of Wood are very hard, and well ſmooth'd, that they may ſlide the better on Snow or Ice. Such are the Horſe Sledges. But thoſe drawn by Dogs are open, and made of two little pieces of hard ſmooth, and ſhining Wood, which are half an Inch thick, 5 foot long, and a foot and a half broad.*

Spars,

Spars *are little pieces of* Cedar *Wood, of the thickneſs of a Crown, and the breadth of* 3 *Inches, and as long as they can be made. They do the ſame Service to a Canow, that a good lining does to a Coat.*

Stand *in for Land, ſignifies to ſail directly towards it.*

Steer a Ship, *imports the managing of a Ship by the means of a Rudder, (as we do a Horſe with a Bridle) when there's Wind enough to work her; but if there be no Wind, a Ship is more unmoveable than a Gouty Perſon in an Elbow Chair.*

Stem *a Tide or the Current of a River,* i. e. *to ſail againſt the Current, or to ſteer for the place from whence the Tides or Currents come.*

Strike, *to ſtrike the Sails or Flag ſignifies the lowering of 'em, whether it be to ſubmit to an Enemy, or by reaſon of high Winds.*

Sweep *a Coaſt, ſignifies to ſail along the Coaſt ſide at a reaſonable diſtance.*

T.

Top-gallant-Maſts *are two little Maſts ſet upon the two Top-Maſts, and have two Sails fitted for 'em.*

Top-Sails *are two Sails fitted for the two Top-Maſts, which ſtand directly above the two great Maſts.*

Traverſe. *To traverſe ſignifies ſailing* Zigzag, *or from ſide to ſide as a drunken Man reels, when the Wind is contrary, for then they are oblig'd to tack ſometimes to the right, and ſometimes to the left, keeping as near to the Wind as they can, in order to make what way they can, or at leaſt to prevent their loſing Ground.*

Tree *of Peace, a Symbolick Metaphor for Peace it ſelf.*

THE INDEX.

A. relates to the First Volume, and *B.* to the Second.

A.

ACadia *deſcrib'd, A.* 220
Agrippa, *a great Philoſopher, B.* 261.
Adario, *the great Leader of the* Hurons, *call'd by the* French *the Rat, A.* 90.
Age *much reverenc'd by the Savages, B.* 17.
Agues Caudes, *a hot Bath in the* Pyrennees, *B.* 273.
Alfandigua, *a Duty on Sugar and Tobacco, B.* 196.
Algonkins, *their Language univerſally known for a thouſand Leagues round, A.* 16. *The People deſcrib'd, A.* 18. *Three Quarters of that Nation formerly cut off by the* Iroqueſe, *ibid.*
Almada *City and Caſtle, B.* 205.
Amours *and Marriages of the Savages, B.* 34.
Amſterdam *deſcrib'd, B.* 215.
Angui (Meſſieurs de) *A.* 189.
Animals, *amphibious, A.* 106.
Anskild (Frederick) *a* Daniſh *Pilot, A.* 210.
Anſe du Tonnere, *A.* 86.
Anſwers, *uſual among the Savages, B.* 12, 17, 23.
Antwerp, *the Paſſage from* Rotterdam *to that Place, B.* 252.
Apparitions, *Chimerical, B.* 266.
Arpent *of Ground, what, A.* 7.
Arpentigni (Sieur de) *A.* 149.
Arrache (Sieur de) *B.* 218.
Arragon, *the Government of that Kingdom, B.* 276. *The Ceremony us'd at the King of* Spain's *taking the Coronation Oath, B.* 276. *The Conſtitutions, Humours, and Cuſtoms of the Inhabitants, B.* 277, 278. *Their way of treating, B.* 283, 284.
Aſpré *River, B.* 222.
Aſſaſſinations *frequent at* Saragoſſa, *B.* 279.
Aveiro, *a ſmall Town, B.* 191.
Aunay (Count de) *A.* 171.
Aunoy (Madam de) *B.* 211.
Auxembourg, *B.* 221.
Axe, *burying the bloody Axe, a Sign of Peace among the Savages, A.* 140. *Digging it up a Symbol of War, A.* 42.

INDEX.

B.

Bagouaſch, *A.* 214.
Balenots, *a ſort of Whales*, *A.* 244.
Bandarro's, *what they are*, *B.* 200.
Bank *of* New-found-land, *A.* 172.
Bars, *what*, *B.* 189.
Bar *of* Lisbon *when unacceſſible*, *B.* 213.
Batteurs de Faux, *what*, *A.* 62.
Battle, *Field of Battle in the Neighbourhood of* Hamburgh, *B.* 223.
Bay *of St.* Laurence, *A.* 4. *Of* Miſſiſagues, *B.* 65. *Of* Saguinan, *A.* 86. *Of* Pouteouatamis, *A.* 104, 109. *Of* Toranto, *A.* 182, 215. De L'ours, *A.* 136, 137. Hudſon's Bay, *A.* 206. *Why ſo call'd*, *A.* 210. Savage Bay, *ibid.* *Bay of* Sakinac, *A.* 216. *Of* Ganaraske, *A.* 218. Des Françoiſe, *A.* 220. *Bay* des Chaleurs, *ibid.* *Bay of* Trepaſſez, *A.* 226. *Of* Placentia, *A.* 229.
Bears, *how kill'd*, *A.* 65. *Several ſorts of them*, *A.* 234, 235. *They live three Months on the Juice of their Paws*, *B.* 61.
Bearn (*in* France) *Money ſcarce in that Country*, *B.* 268. *The ignorant Bigotry of the People*, *B.* 265, 270.
Beaucour (Chevalier) *A.* 176.
Beavers, *deſtroying the whole Stock, a capital Crime among the Savages*, *A.* 41. *Several ſorts of 'em*, *A.* 106, 233. *The Deſcription of a large Beaver*, 107, 108. *Their incredible Ingenuity*, *B.* 56, 57, 58. *Beavers how taken*, *B.* 60.
Bechefer (*a Jeſuit*) *A.* 172.
Begon (*Mr.* de) *A.* 168.
Belin, *B.* 212.
Bernon (Sieur Samuel) *a* Rochel *Merchant*, *A.* 255.
Birds, *A Liſt of thoſe in* Canada, *A.* 237.
Boats *call'd Traft Scoots*, *B.* 215.
Bonrepos, *Ambaſſador from* France *to the Court of* Denmark, *B.* 227.
Books *made of Birch Bark*, *A.* 252.
Boſton *the Metropolis of* New-England, *A.* 224.
Braga, *B.* 187.
Bragalone (Meſſieurs de) *A.* 167.
Braſil Fleet, *B.* 189.
Brouillon (*Mr.*) *Governour of* Placentia, *A.* 194. *He conſpires againſt the Author and being protected by Monſieur* de Pontchartrain, *is the Cauſe of all his Misfortunes*, *A.* 195. & ſeq.
Brulots, *Inſects of* Canada, *A.* 242.
Bruſſels, *the Paſſage from* Antwerp *to that Place*, *B.* 252.
Burning *Priſoners to Death, a Cuſtom among the Savages*, *A.* 179.

C.

INDEX.

C.

Cacick, *the Name for the Governours of the* Eſſanapes *and* Gnacſitares, *A.* 119, 120, 123.

Cadaval (*Duke of*) *B.* 194.

Calumet *of Peace, what, A.* 36. *B.* 10.

Canada. *A Deſcription of the Country, A.* 8. & ſeq. *How the Lands were diſtributed at firſt to Officers and Soldiers,* ibid. *Women ſent thither from* France, *A.* 9. *How long poſſeſs'd by the* French. *A.* 10. *The Nature of the Climate,* ibid. *A Geographical Deſcription of* Canada, *which is bigger than* Europe, *A.* 205. *The number of Souls in the Colony, A.* 206. *The Government of* Canada, *A.* 260. *A Character of the* Canadeſe, *A.* 267. *Diſorders that ought to be redreſs'd in* Canada, ibid.

Canows, *Boats us'd by the* Canadeſe, *A.* 15. *Their Deſcription, A.* 26. *Canows of Elm Bark, A.* 82.

Cape Raſe, *A.* 3, 206, 226.

Cape Raye, *A.* 4, 221, 226.

Cape Breton, *A.* 5, 183.

Cape Tourmente, *A.* 6. 173.

Cape Finiſterre, *B.* 213.

Carcaioux, *what and how taken, A.* 62.

Caribou's, *what, and how kill'd, A.* 59.

Carps *in the* Miſſiſipi, *A.* 246.

Cartier (James) *A.* 206.

Caſcades, *A.* 30.

Caſteins (*Baron de*) *a* Bearneſe *Gentleman that turn'd half Savage, A.* 223.

Caſtoreum, *in what part of the Beaver lodg'd, A.* 167.

Cataracouy, *alias* Fort Frontenac, *A.* 38.

Cataracts, *A.* 30, & ſeq.

Cats *wild, A.* 66.

Chambli *deſcrib'd, A.* 47.

Champigni (*Monſieur* de) *arrives at* Quebeck, *A.* 55.

Chapeau Rouge, *A.* 226.

Children (*Savage*) *their way of playing, B.* 13.

Chriſtening, *a ridiculous Cuſtom among Sailors ſo call'd, A.* 4, 9.

Chriſtianity. *The Savages of* Canada *very averſe to it, B.* 3.

Chriſtian III, *King of* Denmark, *his Death ſaid to be foretold by an Angel, B.* 247.

Chriſtians-Fawe, *a* Daniſh *City, B.* 228.

Circzee *in* Holland, *B.* 214.

Citrons *of* North-America, *the Fruit wholeſom, and the Root mortal Poiſon, A.* 250.

Coldink, *the King of* Denmark's *Palace, B.* 244, 246.

Coliers, *what they are, A.* 36.

Commerce *of* Canada, *A.* 254. *The Goods proper for the Savages, A.* 258, 259.

Complexion *of the Savages, B.* 1. & ſeq.

Copenhagen *deſcrib'd, B.* 227. *It has an excellent Harbour,* ibid. *The Weather is very inconſtant in that Place, B.* 239.

INDEX.

Corlar, *the* Iroqueſe *Title for the Governour of* New York, *A.* 41, *and for* New York *it ſelf*, *A.* 155.
Corigidor, *a* Portugueſe *Officer*, *B.* 207.
Cotes, *a Word us'd by the* French *Planters*, *A.* 7.
Cottages *of Peace*, *A.* 117.
Councils *of the Savages*, *B.* 9.
Coureurs de Bois, *A.* 20.
Couper, *a Captain of a Privateer*, *B.* 213.
Cradles, *what the Savage Women uſe inſtead of 'em*, *B.* 5.
Creuſe *River*, *A.* 142, 144.
Criminals *have great Priviledges in* Arragon, *B.* 280.
Crocodiles *how taken alive*, *A.* 234.
Croningbourg, *the King of* Denmark's *Palace*, *B.* 239, 240.

D.

Dance. *To dance the* Calumet *Dance under the Tree of Peace, what it imports*, *A.* 42. *Several ſorts of Dances in uſe amongſt the Savages*, *A.* 105, 110, *B.* 10. *Dancing of the* Portugueſe *indecent*, *B.* 205.
Danebrouk, *a* Daniſh *Order*, *B.* 236.
Danes, *firſt Diſcoverers of the Countrey of* Labrador, *or of the* Eskimaux, *A.* 209. *The Commodities they ſend to* England *and* Holland, *B.* 241. *Their Qualities*, *B.* 238.
Dardanelles, *the* Gand Seignior *takes Toll there*, *B.* 240
Days, *how divided by the Savages*, *B*, 15. *Naked Days, what*, ibid.
Dead, *Ceremonies perform'd to them by the Savages*, *B.* 5.
Deer-hunting, *none ſo good as in* Denmark, *B.* 230.
Deity, *the Notion the Savages have of a Deity*, *B.* 19, 29. 91.
Denmark, *their Naval and Land force*, *B.* 239. *A View of that Court*, *B.* 228, 236. *The King's Character*, *B.* 228. *His Revenue*, *B.* 234. *The Value of the Current Mony in that Countrey*, *B.*
Delft, *a neat, large, and fine City*, *B.* 215.
Denonville (*Mr.* de) *the News of his being recall'd from the Government of* Canada, *A.* 150.
Devil. *The Opinion of the Savages with reſpect to him*, *B.* 30.
Devil *more tractable in primitive Times*, *B.* 245.
Dialogue *betwixt the Author and* Adario, *B.* 90.
Dipping *of New-born Children in warm Water, in uſe amongſt the Savages*, *B.* 41.
Diſeaſes *and Remedies of the Savages*, *B.* 45.
Do (Chevalier) *ſent with Propoſals of Peace to the* Iroqueſe; *with the fatal event*, *A.* 157.
Don, *a Title, to whom given by the* Portugueſe, *B.* 194.

Don Quixot, B. 198.
Dorvillers (Sieur) *an Officer*, *A.* 74.
Douro *River*, B. 189, 190.
Dresden, *B.* 222.
Ducks *in* Canada, *A.* 240.
Dulhut (*Mr.*) *takes an* Engliſh *Convoy*, *A.* 74.
Durantais (*Mr.* de la) *takes an* Engliſh *Company with a rich Booty*, *A.* 73.

E.

Eagles *of* Canada, *A.* 239.
Ebro *River runs thro'* Arragon, ¶. 276, 281.
Eccleſiaſticks *their Intereſt in the Government of* Canada, *A.* 260, & ſeq.
Ecouttes (*Abbot*) *A.* 167.
Elephant, *a noble* Daniſh *Order of that Name*, B. 236.
Elks, *how hunted*, A. 56, 58. *Their Deſcription*, A. 57. *How taken in Summer*, 59.
Elſenor, *a Place where the Ships pay toll in the Sund*, B. 240.
Engliſh, *their Expeditions by Sea, againſt the* French *Plantations in* Canada, *A.* 159, 183. *The* Engliſh *too unactive*, *A.* 274.
Eraſmus's *Houſe*, *B.* 215.
Errick, *King of the* Goths, *his pretended Power over the Winds*, B. 262.
Eskimaux, *a moſt Savage People*, *A.* 208, 209.
Eſſinapes, *a People*, *A.* 114. *Their manner of Salutation*, 117. *Their Opinion of the Tranſmigration of Souls*, 120 121.
Estrees (*Abbot*) B. 193.
Eſtremos, *a City of* Portugal, B. 214.
Expoſende, *a large Village*, B. 189.
Extremadura, B. 214.

F.

Fall *of St.* Louis, *A* 144.
Faons, *a large Village*, B 189.
Fear *the Effect of Superſtition*, B. 266.
Feaſt *of the Savages, which the Author was invited to, deſcribed*, *A* 105.
Feaſt *of War*, B. 75.
Feavers *of the intermitting kind, of which many dy'd in the ſecond and third Fit*, *A* 32.
Fionia *deſcrib'd*. B. 245.
Fiſh *in the Lakes of* Canada, *and in their Rivers*, *A* 243, 244. *Fiſh in Armour deſcrib'd*, *A* 246.
Fly-like Bird *of* Canada *deſcrib'd*, *A* 240.
Fontaine Marion, *a young* Canadeſe *unjuſtly ſhot to Death*, *A* 74
Forces *of the King of* Portugal, B 207.
Fort *St.* Joſeph, *A* 92. *Of* Crevecoeur, *A* 135. *Of* Niagara, *vid.* Niagara. Kenebeki, *vid.* Kenebeki. Roland, *A* 159. *Of* Chambli, *A* 174. Supposè, *A* 181, 216. Nelſon, 213. Camaniſtigoyan, 214 Frontenac, *vid.* Frontenac. Placentia, *vid.* Placentia. Bougio, B 212. *St.* Julian, *ib.*
Fonteraux, *an amphibious ſort of Pole-cats*, *A* 62.

INDEX.

Foxes, *several sorts*, *A* 235.
Fredericks-bourg, *the King of* Denmark's *Palace*, *B.* 239.
Friezland, (*Countess of*) *an incomparable Lady*, *B.* 230.
Frontenac (*Mr.* de) *concludes a Peace with the* Iroquese, *A.* 25. *reinstall'd Governour of* Canada, 150. *arrives at* Quebec, 152. *is much esteem'd*, 153. *the Peace he made of great importance*, ibid.
Frontenac (*Fort of*) *describ'd*, *A.* 31. *Relinquish'd by Mr.* de Denonville, 149. *a party sent thither to repair it*, 153.

G.

Galeras, *a* Spanish, B.281. la Galete, *a Pass of the River St.* Laurence, *A.* 30.
Games *of the Savages*, *B.* 18.
Ganeousse, *a sort of* Iroquese *Village surpriz'd there, and how us'd*, *A.* 71.
Gavachos *an Epithet given by the People of* Arragon *to the* French, B. 280.
Gaspe *Coast*, *A.* 172. 208.
Gaiperots vid. *Fish.*
Geometrical Problems, *the practice of 'em most surprizing to the Savages.* B.15.
Germans *compar'd with the* French, *B.* 250.
Gibraltar, *the King of* Spain *might demand Toll at that Streight*, *B.* 240.
Glasses, *great convex ones surprizing to the Savages*, B.16.
Gnacsitares, *a People*, *A.* 119, 121. *they take the Author and his Men to be* Spaniards, 122. *their Governour*, 123. *they represent the Country of the* Mozeemlec *on a Deer's Skin*, *A.* 124.
Gold-colour'd *Fish*, vid. *Fish.*
Golilla, *a* Spanish *Collar* B.282.
Goths, *understood* Stereometry *perfectly well.*
Glucstat *B.* 222. *described B.* 274.
Grangula, *the Title of an* Iroquese *Grandee*, *A.* 35. *his Interview with Mr.* de la Barre, ibid.
Grapes *of* Canada, *A.* 250.
Guldenlew, *the Title of the natural Sons of the King of* Denmark, *B.* 237.

H

Habit *of the Savages*, *B.* 6.
L'Habito de Cristo, *the King of* Portugal's *Royal Order so call'd*, *B.* 210.
Hamburgh, *and the adjacent Country described*, *B.* 222, 223.
Harangues *of the old Savages in Sacrificing*, B.32. *Harangues to the Corps of the Deceased*, B. 51.
Harts, how kill'd, *A.* 59. 64.
Havre de Batre, *what*, *B.*188.
Helene (*Mr.* de St.) *A.* 143, 164.
Heraldery *of the Savages*, *B.* 84.
Hermaphrodites, *B.* 44.
Hieroglyphicks *of the Savages*, *B.* 86.
Houses *of the Savages*, *B.* 6.
Huards, *see Birds.*

INDEX.

Hudſon (*Capt.* Henry) *A.*210. Hudſons *Bay. See Bay.*

Hueſca, *a* Spaniſh *Town, B.* 273.

Huguenot, *the Author taken for one, B.*269. *the Indiſcretion of the* Bearneſe *in the taking of him up, B.* 270.

Humours and Cuſtoms of the Savages, B. 7.

Hunting *and Shooting amongſt the Savages, B.* 55.

Hurons, *A.*15, *a Brave, Active, and Daring People, B.* 4.

Hutts *made upon the Water for killing of Water-Fowl, A.* 61.

J.

Iberville (*Mr.* D.) *his Exploits near* New-York, *A.* 155.

Jews, *a Synagogue of true* Jews *in* Amſterdam, B.216.

Illineſe, *very ſwift in running, B.* 4.

Imagination *frightens Men of true Courage, B.* 267.

Inſects, *a Liſt of thoſe in* Canada, *A.* 238.

Intereſt *of the* French *and* Engliſh *in* North-America, *A.* 299.

Joliet (*Sieur*) *a* Canadan, *A.* 207.

Jongleurs, *a ſort of Quacks amongſt the Savages,* B. 47. *their Practices,* ibid.

Jovenazo, *a Duke, Viceroy of* Arragon, B. 276.

Journey, *a Day's Journey amongſt the Savages,* B. 37.

Iroqueſe, *their five Cantons. A.* 23. *Allies of the* Engliſh, ibid. *they wag'd War with the* French *almoſt always, from their firſt Settlement in* Canada, 24. *they are always upon Extreams,* 43. *their Incurſion into the Iſland of* Monreal, 147, 148, *an Inſtance of ſtrange Intrepidity in an* Iroqueſe, *under moſt horrible Torment,* 178.

Iſle *of* Fowls, *A.* 5. *of* Coudres, 5. 173. Red *Iſland,* Ibid. *Iſle of* Anticoſti, 5. 207. *of* Newfound-Land, 5. 225. *of* Orleans, 11. *of* Detour, 93. *of* Manitoualin, 93. 215. *of Rencontre,* 128. *of Hares,* 173. *ſeven Iſles,* ibid.

Iſle of Martinico, *A.*194. *l' Iſle* Percée, 207, 320. Belle *Iſle,* 210.

Iſles of Mingan, ibid.

L'Iſle Aux Chevres, *A.*224. *of St.* Peter, 226.

K.

Kakalin, *A.* 109.

Kenebeki, *the Fort taken from the* Engliſh *by Mr.* de Portneuf, *A.* 156. *it is one of the Frontiers of* New-England, *A.* 220.

Kente, *a Village, A.* 71.

King *of* Portugal's *Character,* B. 191.

Kitchi Manitou, *the Great Spirit or God, ſo call'd by the Savages,* B. 29.

Kitchi-Okima, *the* French *Governour General, ſo call'd by the* Outaouas *and* Hurons, *A.* 64.

INDEX.

L.

Lake *of St.* Peter, *A.* 19. *of* Ontario *or* Frontenac, 23. 207, 216, 219. *of St.* Francis, 30. *of St.* Louis, ibid. *of* Champlain, 47. *Lake of St.* Sacrament, ibid. *of* Erie, Erriè, *and* Herriè, 78. 82, 94, 181, 206, 207. *of St.* Clare, 83. *of* Huron, ibid. & 143. 207, 215. Illineſe *Lake*, 87. 139. *Great Salt Lake*, 125, 126. *of* Aſſinapouals, 207. *of* Lenemipigon, ibid. *Upper Lake*, 207, 213, 214. *of* Conti, 217. *of* Nepicerini, 215. *Lake* l'Ours qui dort, B. 59. *of* Saguinan, ibid.

Labontan, (*Baron* de) *the Author*, *his Barony ſold*, *A.* 151. *his paſſage from* Canada *to* France, 165, 166. *his Reception into the Order of St.* Lazarus, 168. *goes to* Verſailles *to ſollicit for a place*, *but in vain*, 170. *his Paſſage from* Rochel *to* Canada, 171, 172, 173. *he is made Lord Lieutenant of the Iſle of* Newfound-Land *and* Acadia, 188. *his Diſputes with a* Portugueſe *Phyſician*, 189, 190, 192. *he ſails from St.* Nazere *and arrives at* Placentia, 192. *his Paſſage thence to* Portugal, 200.

Laruus *a Village in* Bearn, B. 269.

St. Laurence *Bay*. *See Bay*.

St. Laurence *River deſcrib'd*, *A.* 29. *& ſeq.*

Leaders *of the Savage Nations* B. 75.

League *of* Portugal. *See Meaſures*.

Lemipiſaki, *a place where the* Coureurs de Bois *meet with ſome Savages for trade*, *A.* 214.

Licences *for Trade*, *what*, *A.* 53.

Lille, *the Inn-keepers between that place and* Paris, *impoſe upon Travellers*, B. 253.

Limit (*La* Hontan's) *A.* 128.

Lisbon *deſcrib'd*, B. 192. *& ſeq.*

Lorete, *a Village*, *A.* 15, 16, 17.

Loudun, *the Story of the Curate of that place*, B. 263.

Lubec *deſcribed* B. 224, 225.

M.

Maple-trees. *See Trees*.

Maps *of the Savages deſcrib'd*, B. 13.

Maringouins *or* Midges *very troubleſom in* Canada, *A.* 31.

Marriage *of the Savages*, *See* Amours. *A Comical Adventure of a young Captain preſs'd to marry againſt his will*, *A.* 265.

St. Mary *Cape*, *A.* 183.

Matchi-manitous, *evil Spirits ſo call'd by the Savages*, B. 30.

Meaſures *of the* Portugueſe, B. 210. *of the* Dutch, B. 219.

Meaupou (*Chevalier* de) *A.* 170.

Memory, *the Savages have a* mſt

most happy Memory, B 17.
Mendoſa (Balthaſar de) *a learn'd* Cavalier, B 255, 256.
Meneval (*Mr.* de) *A* 222.
Meſon, *a* Spaniſh *Inn.* B 227.
Michal (Sieur *St.*) *A* 180.
Michibiki, *ſee* Animals.
Midwives, *Savage Women deliver'd without their Aſſiſtance*, B 41.
Military Art *of the Savages*, B 71.
Mines *of Silver in* Norway, B 241.
Misfortune, *an odious Term to the Savages*, B 21.
Miſſilimakinac. *The Trade of the Inhabitants of that Country with the* French, A 48, 136. *None of them will touch Gold or Silver*, 50. *The diverſity of Currents betwixt the Continent and Iſle of that Name*, 89.
Miſſiſipi *River*, A 104, 111, 128, 132, 134, 206.
Moine (*Mr.* le) A 34.
Monks *very lewd in* Portugal, B 197.
Money *current in* Portugal, B 209, 210, *in* Holland, B 218, 219.
Monreal. *The Town and Iſland of that Name deſcrib'd*, A 19, 20. *The Curates very zealous there*, 46. *The Trade of* Monreal, 51. *The Incurſion of the* Barbarians *into that Iſland*, 148.
Months *of the Savages*, B 14.
Monts-notre-dame, A 183, 208.
Moon. *Loſt Moon, and dead Moon, what*, B 14.
Moor-hens, *the ſurprizing Noiſe of the flapping of their Wings*, A 67.
Moracin (Sieur de) B 218.
Mozeemlek, *a numerous warlike People*, A 119, 124, 125, 126.
Mules *of* Portugal, B 198.
Muſick-houſes *of* Amſterdam, B 217.
Musk-Rats *deſcrib'd*, A 62.

N.

Nadoueſſis, *a People*, *A* 128. *A notable Rencounter 'twixt* 300 *of them, and* 400 Iroqueſe, 129.
Names *amongſt the Savages deriv'd from the Mother*, B 43.
Nations, *a Liſt of the Savage Nations of* Canada, *A* 230.
Nazere (*St.*) *A* 187.
Needle *of the Compaſs, how it turns upon the Coaſt of* New-found-land, *A* 3.
Nelſon *(Captain) A* 211.
New-Holland, *ibid.*
New-York, *ibid.*
Niagara, *a Fort built there*, *A* 78. *The Water-fall of* Niagara *deſcrib'd*, 82. *The Fort relinquiſh'd by Mr.* de Denonville, 149.
Nightingales, *ſee* Birds.
Nuns *of* Odiveta, B 202.

O.

Odenzee, *a Town in* Fionia *belonging to the King of* Denmark, B 245. *The People of the Place murder'd one of their Kings*, B ibid.

INDEX.

Onontio, *a Title given by the* Iroquese *to the Governour General of* Canada, *A* 39.
Opedè (*Mr.* de) *Ambassador at the Court of* Lisbon, B 194.
Oreouachè, *a notable* Iroquese *Slave*, *A* 154.
Orignal *or* Elk *describ'd*, *A* 57.
Orrez, *a Town in* Bearn, B 267.
Otters *how taken with Traps*, *A* 64.
Ouabach, *a River*, *A* 133.

P.

Pagan (*Count*) B 187.
Parrots *of* Canada, *see* Birds.
Passe des Canseaux, *A* 221.
Pau, *the Capital City of* Bearn, B 265.
Peace, *how concluded amongst the Savages*, B 82.
Peronne. *The Custom-house Officers search there very narrowly*, B
Perrot (*Mr.*) *A* 222.
Petit Nord, *A* 210.
Phips (*Sir* William) *General of the Forces of* New-England, *A* 161.
St. Pierre de Repantigni (*Mr.* de) *A* 136.
Placentia *attack'd by the* English, A 183, 194. *The Fort and Port describ'd*, 227.
Placette, *a* French Huguenot *in* Denmark, B 230.
Plantation *of the Sun*, A 111.
Plante (Sieur de la) A 176.
Platonick *Love censur'd*, B
Pointe Verte, A 168.
Pompernickle, *a coarse sort of Bread*, B 234.
Ponchartrain (*Monsieur* de) *Successor to Monsieur* de Seignelay, A 167. *That Ministers Attendance*, B 168. *His Injustice to the Author*, B 253.
Porcupine. *How one of them was kill'd*, A 63.
Port *of* Placentia, *see* Placentia.
Port-neuf, A 173. Port-Royal, 222, 224.
Port *of* Lisbon, *see* Lisbon. *Of* Amsterdam, *see* Amsterdam.
Porto à Porto: *and the Road thither from* Viana, *describ'd*, B 188, 189, 190.
Portochoua, A 210.
Portugal. *The Nobility and Gentry there describ'd*, B 194. *Custom of the Women in former times*. 201. *Character of the* Portuguese, 203, 207. *The Habit of the King and Grandees*, 205. *The Country briefly describ'd* 207. *The Pay of their Officers*, 208. *Their Troops ill disciplin'd*, 209.
Posados, *Inns upon the Road in* Portugal, *with their Accommodations*, B 192, 193.
Prado (*Count* de) B 207.
Prelates *preferr'd without regard to Merit*, B 272.
Priests *impose upon the People*, B 271.
Property, *no distinction of it amongst the Savages, and their Maxim for it*, B 8.

INDEX.

Q.

Qualifications *of a Man amongſt the Savages*, B. 9.

Quebec, *the Metropolis of* New-France, *A.* 6. *the deſcription of it*, ibid. *& ſeq. the ſoveraign Council held there*, 14. *the manner of pleading there, and traveling in Winter by Sledges*, ibid. Quebec *fortified by Mr.* de Callieres *Governour*, 45. *the Ice thicker there in* October, *than in* January *at* Paris, 153.

Quente, *A.* 32.

R.

Rackets, *Inſtruments us'd in Hunting, their deſcription*, *A.* 56.

Rat, *one of the Commanders of the* Hurons, *A.* 136. 144. *his Stratagem to prevent a Peace between the* French *and* Iroqueſe, 145. *ſeq.*

Rattle-Snake. *See Inſect.*

Rensbourgh *belongs to his* Daniſh *Majeſty*, B. 247.

Revenclaw, *a* Daniſh *Miniſter*, B. 231.

River *of* Tadouſſac, *A.* 5. *of Famine*, *A.* 34. du Fer. 47. *Sand River*, 86. *Long River*, 104, 110, 112. *River of* Puants, 109, 111. B. 59. *of* Ouiſconſinck, *A.* 111. *of the* Illineſe, 134. *of the* Oumamis, 135, 137. *of* Lieore, 143. *of* Nipiceriniſ, ibid. *of* Outaouas, ibid. & 144. des Francois, 143. 215. *of* Kenebeki, 176. *of* Machakandibi, 213. *of* Michipileoton, ibid. *of* Tanouate, 216. *of* Sakinac, 216. *of* Conde, 218. *of* Ganaraske *and* Teonontatè, Toronto *and* Tanaouate, 219, *of St.* John, 220. Lima *River*, B. 187. Tàio *River*, B. 195. Elbe *River*, B. 221, 222. Lisbon *River*, *See* Lisbon.

Roskild, *the Kings of* Denmark *buried there*, B. 235.

Rouan, *a Colony ſent thence to* Canada, *A.* 206.

Rozembourgh, *the King of* Denmarks *Palace*, B. 228.

S.

Sacrifices *of the Savages*, B. 31.

Salle (*Mr.* de) *A.* 45.

Salmendina, *Chief Juſtice of* Arragon, B. 277.

Sallent, *the firſt Village in* Spain, *on the ſide of* Bearn, B 273.

Salubeni (*Mr.* de) *A.* 168.

Saragoza *the Capital City of* Arragon, *deſcrib'd*, B. 275. *the humour of the Inhabitants*, B. 278.

Saſtaretſi, *the name of a Leader of the* Hurons, B. 43.

Savages *of* North-America, *their Habits, Houſes, Complexion*, &c. *See the reſpective words.*

Saut de la Chaudiere, *A.* 15. du Buiſſon, 30. des Cedres, ibid. de St. Louis, ibid.

INDEX.

ibid. long Saut, ibid. & 142. Saut St. Marie, 90, 93. 215.
Schomberg (*Mr.* de) B. 187.
Scurvy *it's true Cauſes*, B. 238.
Seignelay (*Mr.* de) *the Author's Letter to him*, *A.* 91. *Mr.* de Frontenac's *Letter of Recommendation to him*, 166. *his Death*, ibid.
Senoria, *a Title*, B. 187.
Siffleurs, *little Beaſts*, *A.* 62.
Silver *call'd by the Savages, the* French *Serpent, they will not touch it*, B. 7.
Singing *and Dancing of the Savages before Meat*, B. 9.
Sloops, Flemiſh *ones admirable fit for ſailing up the South ſide of the River of St.* Laurence, B. 219.
Snuſhbox *ſav'd the Author wonderfully*, B. 270.
Song *of Death*, *A.* 178. 251.
Songs *of the Savages at Sacrifice*, B. 33. *Songs of War*, B. 76.
Sophia *Princeſs of* Denmark, *an incomparable Lady*, B. 229.
Sorel *a Canton deſcrib'd*, *A.* 19.
Souffleurs, *See Fiſh.*
Souls, *why thought immortal by the Savages*, B. 20. *how deriv'd in their Opinion*, B. 43.
Souza (Don John *of*) B. 187.
Spaniards, *the Ceremony they uſe in viſits*, B. 283. *their Opinion of the* French, B. 285.
Spirit, *apply'd by the Savages to every thing that ſurpaſſes their underſtanding, and ſurprizes them*, B. 29.
Good *and bad Spirits amongſt them, what* B. 29, 30.
Stereometry, *the Savages are very curious to learn it*, B. 15.
Stoves *for ſweating deſcrib'd*, B. 49.
Sund, *that Streight deſcrib'd*, B. 240. *it is not ſo clear a Paſſage as 'tis took to be*, p. B. 241.
Superſtition *and Ignorance have ſtrange effects*, B. 270.
Sword-fiſh *engages a Whale*, *A.* 5.

T.

Tazon, *ſpace of three Leagues 'mongſt the* Gnacſitares, *A.* 123.
Theano, Pythagoras's *Wife her Rules obſerv'd by the Women of* Arragon, p.
Theonontate *the ancient Seat of the* Hurons, *A.* 94. 216.
Time *how divided by ſome of the Savage Nations*, B. 14.
Tonti (*Mr.* de) *A.* 135.
Touche (*Mr.* de la) *A.* 168.
Tradition, *the Auth. thoughts of it*, B. 2.
Trompet *Caſtle at* Bourdeaux, B. 256.
Tree *of Peace what*, *A.* 42.
Trees, *a liſt of theſe in* Canada, *A.* 247.
Trigenties, *a People of the colour of Corn*, B. 204.
Trois Rivieres, *a ſmall City*, *A.* p. 17.
Trool, *a Noble* Daniſh *Family*,

ly, that bears the Devil in their Arms, B. 245.
Tſonontouans, *the* French *march againſt them, and are put into diſorder*, *A.* 75,76.

U.

Valieres (*Abbot of St.*) *made Biſhop of* Quebec, *A.* 103.
Valrenes (*Mr.* de) *A.* 149.
Vaudreuil (*Mr.* de) *ſaves the Author's Life*, *A.* 144.
Veraſan (John) *firſt diſcoverer of* Canada, *A.* 206.
Viana *deſcrib'd*, B. 187.
Viſions *ſee Witchcraft*,
Viſits *of the Savages how perform'd*, B. 13.

W.

War, *how declar'd amongſt the Savages*, B. 82.
War, *the deſcription of it*, B. 221.
Wellcomes, *a name for huge Bumpers in* Denmark, B. 232.
Widowhood, *the ſtate of it amongſt the Savages*, B. 43.
Wines *of* Portugal, B. 200.
The *qualities of* Arragon Wine, B. 277.
Witchcraft *ſtrangely talked of in the* French *Bearn*, B. 257. *Arguments againſt it*, B. 259. *Books for it*, B. 262.
Woodhens, *ſee Moorhens*.
Worſhip *of the Savages*, B. 29.

Y.

Year of ſeveral of the Savage Nations deſcribed, B. 14.

FINIS.

NEW VOYAGES TO North-America.

Giving a full Account of the Customs, Commerce, Religion, and strange Opinions of the Savages of that Country.

WITH

POLITICAL REMARKS upon the Courts of *Portugal* and *Denmark*, and the Present State of the Commerce of those Countries.

Never Printed before.

WRITTEN

By the Baron LAHONTAN, Lord Lieutenant of the *French* Colony at *Placentia* in *Newfoundland*: Now in *England*.

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Fr. R.
184N
v.2

A

DISCOURSE

OF THE

Habit, Houſes, Complexion and Temperature

OF THE

SAVAGES

OF

NORTH-AMERICA.

A11.
L184N
v.2

A DISCOURSE OF THE Habit, Houſes, Complexion and Temperament OF THE SAVAGES OF *NORTH-AMERICA.*

THE *Grecian* Chronologers who divided the courſe of Time into three Periods, namely the ἄδηλον, or that which is wrapt up in Obſcurity, the μυθικὸν, *alias* ἡρωικὸν, or that which was the ſeaſon of Fiction and Fables, and the ἱστορικὸν which affords us true and creditable Actions: Theſe Chronologers, I ſay, might have ſav'd themſelves the trouble of writing a Thouſand idle Stories relating to the Original of the Inhabitants of the Earth; for the invention of Writing being unknown to them before the Siege of *Troy*, they had no other Standard to con-

ſult but the Fabulous Manuſcripts of the *Egyptians* and *Chaldeans*, who were a Phanatick Superſtitious ſort of People. But ſuppoſing the *Egyptians* and *Chaldeans* to have invented the Art of Writing, what Credit can we give to the accounts of things that are ſaid to have happen'd before the date of that Invention? In all probability they knew no more of the matter than the *Americans*, and upon that ſcore 'twas very hard for them to give a faithful Narrative of the Adventures and Exploits of their Anceſtors. I am now fully convinc'd that Tradition is ſo inconſtant, obſcure, uncertain and fallacious, that we cann't pretend to rely upon it. And this Notion I owe to the Savages of *Canada*, who being at a loſs to trace the truth of what has been tranſacted in their own Country but 200 Years ago, gave me occaſion to call in Queſtion the Purity and Truth of Tradition. Upon this lay you may eaſily apprehend, that theſe poor People are as little acquainted with their own Hiſtory and Origin, as the *Greeks* and *Chaldeans* were with theirs. Let us therefore content our ſelves, *my good Friend*, in believing that they are deſcended of honeſt old *Adam*, as well as you and I.

I have read ſome Hiſtories of *Canada*, which were writ at ſeveral times by the Monks, and muſt own that they have given ſome plain and exact Deſcriptions of ſuch Countries as they know; but at the ſame time they are widely miſtaken in their Accounts of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Savages. The Recollets brand the Savages for ſtupid, groſs and ruſtick Perſons, uncapable of Thought or Reflection: But the Jeſuits give them other ſort of Language, for they intitle them to good Senſe, to a tenacious Memory, and to a quick Apprehenſion ſeaſon'd with

with a ſolid Judgment. The former allege that 'tis to no purpoſe to preach the Goſpel to a ſort of People that have leſs Knowledge than the Brutes. On the other hand the latter (I mean the Jeſuits) give it out, that theſe Savages take Pleaſure in hearing the Word of God, and readily apprehend the meaning of the Scriptures. In the mean time, 'tis no difficult matter to point to the Reaſons that influence the one and the other to ſuch Allegations; the Myſtery is eaſily unravell'd by thoſe who know that theſe two Orders cannot ſet their Horſes together in *Canada*.

I have ſeen ſo many impertinent Accounts of this Country, and thoſe written by Authors that paſs'd for Saints; that I now begin to believe, that all Hiſtory is one continued Series of Pyrrhoniſm. Had I been unacquainted with the Language of the Savages, I might have credited all that was ſaid of them; but the opportunity I had of Converſing with that People, ſerv'd to undeceive me, and gave me to underſtand, that the Recollets and the Jeſuits content themſelves with glancing at things, without taking notice of the (almoſt) invincible Averſion of the Savages to the Truths of Chriſtianity. Both the one and the other had good reaſon to be cautious of touching upon that String. In the mean time ſuffer me to acquaint you, that upon this Head I only ſpeak of the Savages of *Canada*, excluding thoſe that live beyond the River of *Miſſiſipi*, of whoſe Manners and Cuſtoms I could not acquire a perfect Scheme, by reaſon that I was unacquainted with their Languages, not to mention that I had not time to make any long ſtay in their Country. In the Journal of my Voyage upon the long River, I acquainted you that they are a very polite People, which you

will likewiſe infer from the Circumſtances men-tion'd in that Diſcourſe.

Thoſe who have repreſented the Savages to be as rough as Bears, never had the opportunity of ſeeing them; for they have neither Beard nor Hair in any part of their Body, not ſo much as under their Arm-pits. This is true of both Sexes, if I may credit thoſe who ought to know better than I. Generally they are proper well made Perſons, and fitter Companions to *American* than to *European* Women. The *Iroqueſe* are of a larger Stature, and withal more Valiant and Cunning than the other Nations; but at the ſame time they are neither ſo Nimble nor ſo Dexterous at the Exerciſes of War or Hunting, which they never go about but in great Numbers. The *Illineſe*, the *Oumamis*, and the *Outagamis*; with ſome other adjacent Nations, are of an indifferent ſize, and run like Greyhounds, if the Compariſon be allowable. The *Outaouas*, and moſt of the other Savages to the *Northward*, (excepting the *Sauteurs* and the *Cliſtinas*) are cowardly, ugly, and ungainly Fellows; but the *Hurons* are a brave, active and daring People, reſembling the *Iroqueſe* in their Stature and Countenance.

All the Savages are of a Sanguine Conſtitution, inclining to an Olive Colour, and generally ſpeaking they have good Faces and proper Perſons. 'Tis a great rarity to find any among them that are Lame, Hunch-back'd, One-ey'd, Blind, or Dumb. Their Eyes are large and black as well as their Hair; their Teeth are White like Ivory, and the Breath that ſprings from their Mouth in expiration is as pure as the Air that they ſuck in in Inſpiration, notwithſtanding they eat no Bread; which ſhews that we are miſtaken in *Europe*, in fancying that the eating of Meat without

A Savage going a Shooting
Vol. 2.
A marriid Savage or an Old man walking in a Village
A young Savage walking in the Village
A Village of the Savages of Canada
A child hung upon the branch of a Tree
A Savage woman carrying her Child in her arms

without Bread makes one's breath ſtink. They are neither ſo ſtrong nor ſo vigorous as moſt of the *French* are in raiſing of Weights with their Arms, or carrying of Burdens on their Backs; but to make amends for that, they are indefatigable and inur'd to Hardſhips, inſomuch that the Inconveniences of Cold or Heat have no impreſſion upon them; their whole time being ſpent in the way of Exerciſe, whether in running up and down at Hunting and Fiſhing, or in Dancing and playing at Foot-ball, or ſuch Games as require the Motion of the Legs.

The Women are of an indifferent Stature, and as handſom in the Face as you can well imagine; but then they are ſo fat, unwieldy and ill-built, that they'l ſcarce tempt any but Savages. Their Hair is rolled up behind with a ſort of Ribband, and that Roller hangs down to their Girdle; they never offer to cut their Hair during the whole Courſe of their Lives, whereas the Men cut theirs every Month. Twere to be wiſhed, that the ſame good luck which led them to the obſervation of this, had thrown them upon the other Advices of St. *Paul*. They are covered from the Neck to under the Knee, and always put their Legs a croſs when they ſit. The Girls do the ſame from their *Cradle*; if the Word be not improper, for there is no ſuch thing as a *Cradle* among the Savages. The Mothers make uſe of certain little Boards ſtuffed with Cotton, upon which the Children lye as if their Backs were glued to them, being ſwaddled in Linnen, and kept on with Swathbands run through the ſides of the Boards. To theſe Boards they tye Strings, by which they hang their Children upon the Branches of Trees, when they are about any thing in the Woods.

The old and the married Men have a piece of Stuff which covers them behind, and reaches half way down their Thighs before; whereas the young Men are ſtark naked all over. They allege that Nakedneſs is no infraction upon the Meaſures of Decency, any otherwiſe than as it is contrary to the Cuſtom of the *Europeans*, and condemn'd by the Notion that they have of it. However, both the young and the old hang upon their Backs in a careleſs way a Covering of Hide or of Scarlet, when they go abroad to Walk or to make Viſits. They have likewiſe a ſort of Cloaks or Coats calculated for the Seaſon, when they go a Hunting or upon Warlike Expeditions, in order to guard off the Cold in Winter, and the Flies in Summer. Upon ſuch occaſions they make uſe of a ſort of Caps made in the form of a Hat, and Shooes of Elk or Hart Skins, which reach up to their mid-Leg.

Their Villages are Fortified with double Paliſſadoes of very hard Wood, which are as thick as one's Thigh, and fifteen Foot high, with little Squares about the middle of the Courtines. Commonly their Huts or Cottages are Eighty Foot long, Twenty five or Thirty Foot deep, and Twenty Foot high. They are cover'd with the Bark of young Elms; and have two Alcoves, one on the right Hand and the other on the left, being a Foot high and nine Foot broad, between which they make their Fires, there being vents made in the Roof for the Smoak. Upon the ſides of the two Alcoves there are little Cloſets or Apartments in which the young Women or married Perſons lye upon little Beds rais'd about a Foot from the Ground. To Conclude, one Hut contains three or four Families.

The

The Savages are very Healthy, and unacquainted with an infinity of Diſeaſes, that plague the *Europeans*, ſuch as the *Palſey*, the *Dropſey*, the *Gout*, the *Phthiſick*, the *Aſthma*, the *Gravel*, and the *Stone*: But at the ſame time they are liable to the *Small-Pox*, and to *Pleuriſies*. If a Man dies at the Age of Sixty Years, they think he dies young, for they commonly live to Eighty or an Hundred; nay, I met with two that were turn'd of an Hundred ſeveral Years. But there are ſome among them that do not live ſo long, becauſe they voluntarily ſhorten their Lives by poyſoning themſelves, as I ſhall ſhew you elſewhere. In this Point they ſeem to join iſſue with *Zeno* and the *Stoicks*, who vindicate *Self-Murther*; and from thence I conclude, that the *Americans* are as great Fools as theſe great Philoſophers.

A ſhort View of the Humors and Cuſtoms of the SAVAGES.

THE *Savages* are utter Strangers to diſtinctions of Property, for what belongs to one is equally anothers. If any one of them be in danger at the Beaver Hunting the reſt fly to his Aſſiſtance without being ſo much as ask'd. If his Fuſee burſts they are ready to offer him their own. If any of his Children be kill'd or taken by the Enemy, he is preſently furniſh'd with as many Slaves as he hath occaſion for. Money is in uſe with none of them but thoſe that are Chriſtians, who live in the Suburbs of our Towns. The others will not touch or ſo much as look upon Silver, but give it the odious Name of the *French Serpent*. They'l tell you that amongſt

us the People Murther, Plunder, Defame, and betray one another, for Money, that the Husbands make Merchandize of their Wives, and the Mothers of their Daughters, for the Lucre of that Metal. They think it unaccountable that one Man should have more than another, and that the Rich should have more Respect than the Poor. In short, they say, the name of Savages which we bestow upon them would fit our selves better, since there is nothing in our Actions that bears an appearance of Wisdom. Such as have been in *France* were continually teazing us with the Faults and Disorders they observ'd in our Towns, as being occasion'd by Money. 'Tis in vain to remonstrate to them how useful the Distinction of Property is for the support of a Society; They make a Jest of what's to be said on that Head. In fine, they neither Quarrel nor Fight, nor Slander one another. They scoff at Arts and Sciences, and laugh at the difference of Degrees which is observ'd with us. They brand us for Slaves, and call us miserable Souls, whose Life is not worth having, alledging, That we degrade our selves in subjecting our selves to one Man who possesses the whole Power, and is bound by no Law but his own Will; That we have continual Jars among our selves; that our Children rebel against their Parents; that we Imprison one another, and publickly promote our own Destruction. Besides, they value themselves above any thing that you can imagine, and this is the reason they always give for't, *That one's as much Master as another, and since Men are all made of the same Clay there should be no Distinction or Superiority among them.* They pretend that their contented way of Living far surpasses our Riches; That all our Sciences are not so valuable as the Art of leading a peaceful calm Life;

That

That a Man is not a Man with us any farther than Riches will make him; but among them the true Qualifications of a Man are, to run well, to hunt, to bend the Bow and manage the Fuzee, to work a Cannoo, to understand War, to know Forrests, to subsist upon a little, to build Cottages, to fell Trees, and to be able to travel an hundred Leagues in a Wood without any Guide, or other Provision than his Bow and Arrows. They say, we are great Cheats in selling them bad Wares four times dearer than they are worth, by way of Exchange for their Beaver-skins; That our Fuzees are continually bursting and laming them, after they have paid sufficient Prices for them. I wish I had time to recount the innumerable Absurdities they are guilty of relating to our Customs, but to be particular upon that Head would be a Work of Ten or Twelve Days.

Their Victuals are either Boild or roasted, and they lap great quantities of the Broath, both of Meat and of Fish: They cannot bear the taste of Salt or Spices, and wonder that we are able to live so long as thirty Years, considering our Wines, our Spices, and our Immoderate Use of Women. They dine generally Forty or Fifty in a Company, and sometimes above Three Hundred: Two Hours before they begin they employ themselves in Dancing, and each Man sings his Exploits, and those of his Ancestors; they dance but one at a time, while the rest are set on the Ground, and mark the Cadence with an odd Tone, *He, He, He, He*; after which every one rises and dances in his turn.

The Warriers attempt nothing without the Advice of the Council, which is composed of the Old Men of the Nation, that is to say, such as are above Sixty: Before they are assembled a

Cryer

Cryer gives notice of it through all the Streets in the Village: Then these old Old Men run to a certain Cottage design'd for that purpose, where they seat themselves in a Square Figure; and after they have weigh'd what is propos'd for the benefit of the Nation, the Speaker goes out of the Cottage, and the Young Men get about him, and listen with great attention to the Resolves of the Old ones, crying out at the end of every Sentence, *That's Good.*

All these Dances may be compared to Minerva's Pyrrhiche. *For while the Savages dance with a Singular Gravity, they intermix the Cadences of certain Songs, which* Achilles's *Militia called* Hyperchematica. *I am at a loss to inform you whether the Savages had these Songs from the Grecians, or the Grecians from the Savages.*

They have several sorts of Dances. The principal is that of the *Calumet*; the rest are the Chiefs or Commanders Dance, the Warriers Dance, the Marriage Dance, and the Dance of the Sacrifice. They differ from one another both in the Cadence and in the Leaps; but 'tis impossible to describe them, for that they have so little resemblance to ours. That of the *Calumet* is the most grave and handsome; but they don't perform that but upon certain Occasions, *viz.* When Strangers pass through their Country, or when their Enemies send Ambassadors to treat of a Peace. If they approach to a Village by Land, when they're ready to enter, they depute one of this Number, who advances, and proclaims, that he brings the *Calumet of Peace*; the rest stopping in the mean time, till he calls to them to come: Then some of the Young Men march out of the Village, at the Gate of which they form an Oval Figure, and when the Strangers are come up to them, they dance all at a time, forming a Second Oval round him that bears the *Calumet*: This

Dance

Dance continues half an Hour. Then they receive the Travellers with some Ceremony, and conduct them to a Feast. The Ceremonies are the same to those that come by Water, with this difference, that they send a Canoo to the Foot of the Village, with the *Calumet of Peace*, upon its Prow, in the shape of a Mast, and one comes from the Village to meet 'em. The Dance of War is done in a Circle, during which the Savages are seated on the Ground. He that dances moves from the Right Hand to the Left, singing in the mean time the Exploits of himself and his Ancestors. At the end of every Memorable Action, he gives a great Stroke with a Club upon a Stake plac'd in the middle of the Circle, near certain Players, who beat Time upon a sort of a Kettle-Drum; Every one rises in his turn to sing his Song: And this is commonly practis'd when they go to War, or are come from it.

The greatest Passion of the Savages consists in the Implacable Hatred they bear to their Enemies; that is, all Nations with whom they are at Open War: They value themselves mightily upon their Valour; insomuch that they have scarce any regard to any thing else. One may say, That they are wholly govern'd by Temperament, and their Society is perfect Mechanism. They have neither Laws, Judges, nor Priests; they are naturally inclin'd to Gravity, which makes them very circumspect in their Words and Actions. They observe a certain Medium between Gayety and Melancholy. The *French* Air they could not away with; and there was none but the younger sort of them that approv'd of our Fashions.

I have seen Savages when they've come a great way, make no other Compliment to the Family than, *I am arriv'd, I wish all of you a great deal of Honour.*

Honour. Then they take their Pipe quietly without asking any Questions: When that's done, they'l say, *Hearke Friend, I am come from such a Place, I saw such a Thing, &c.* When you ask a Question, their Answer is exceeding concise, unless they are Members of the Council; otherwise you'll hear 'em say, *That's Good; That signifies nought; That's admirable; That has Reason in it; That's valiant.*

If you tell a Father of a Family that his Children have signaliz'd themselves against the Enemy, and have took several Slaves, his Answer is short, *That's Good*, without any farther Enquiry. If you tell him his Children are slain, he'll say immediately, *That signifies nought*, without asking how it happen'd? When a Jesuit preaches to them the Truth of the Christian Religion, the Prophecies, Miracles, *&c.* they return you, a *That's wonderful*, and no more. When the *French* tell them of the Laws of a Kingdom; the Justice, Manners and Customs of the *Europeans*, they'll repeat you a hundred times, *That's reasonable.* If you discourse them upon an Enterprise of great importance, or that's difficult to execute, or which requires much thought, they'll say, *That's Valiant*, without explaining themselves, and will listen to the end of your Discourse with great attention: Yet 'tis to be observed, when they're with their Friends in private, they'll argue with as much boldness as those of the Council. 'Tis very strange, that having no advantage of Education, but being directed only by the Pure Light of Nature, they should be able to furnish Matter for a Conference which often lasts above three Hours, and which turns upon all manner of Things; and should acquit themselves of it so well, that I never repented the time I spent with these truly Natural Philosophers.

When

When a Visit is paid to a Savage, at going in you must say, *I am come to see such an one*: Then Fathers, Mothers, Wives, Children go out, or withdraw themselves to an Apartment at one end of the Cottage, and be who you will, come not near you to interrupt your Conversation. The Fashion is for him that is visited, to offer you to eat, drink and smoak; and one may use an entire freedom with them, for they don't much mind Compliments. If one means to visit a Woman, the Ceremony's the same; *I am come to see such an one*; then every Body withdraws, and you tarry alone with her you come to see; but you must not mention any thing Amorous in the Day time, as I shall inform you else where.

Nothing surpriz'd me more than to observe the Quarrels between their Children at play: A little after they are warm'd, they'll tell one another, *You have no Soul, You're wicked, You're treacherous*: In the mean time their Companions who make a Ring about them, hear all quietly, without taking one side or t'other till they fall to play again: If by chance they come to Blows, the rest divide themselves into two Companies, and carry the Quarrellers home.

They are as ignorant of *Geography* as of other *Sciences*, and yet they draw the most exact Maps imaginable of the Countries they're acquainted with, for there's nothing wanting in them but the Longitude and Latitude of Places: They set down the True *North* according to the *Pole Star*; The Ports, Harbours, Rivers, Creeks and Coasts, of the Lakes, the Roads, Mountains, Woods, Marshes, Meadows, *&c.* counting the distances by Journeys and Half-journeys of the Warriers, and allowing to every Journey Five Leagues. These *Chorographical Maps* are drawn upon the Rind of your *Birch Tree*; and when the Old Men hold a Council

cil about War or Hunting, they're always ſure to conſult them.

The Year of the *Outaouas*, the *Outagamis*, the *Hurons*, the *Sauteurs*, the *Ilinois*, the *Oumamis*, and ſeveral other Savages, conſiſts of Twelve-Synodical Lunar-Months, with this difference, when Thirty Moons are ſpent, they add one ſupernumerans Month to make it up, which they call the *Loſt Moon*, and from thence begin their Account again, after the former Method. All theſe Months have very ſuitable Names; for Inſtance; What we name *March*, they call the *Worm-Moon*, for then the Worms quit the Hallow Chops of the Trees where they ſhelter'd themſelves in the Winter. *April* is call'd *the Month of Plants*; *May* of *Flowers* and ſo of the others. I ſay, at the end of theſe Thirty Month, the next that follows is ſupernumerary, and not counted; for Example; We'll ſuppoſe the Month of *March* to be the Thirtieth Lunar-Months, and conſequently, the Laſt of the *Epocha*. Next that ſhould be counted the Month of *April*; whereas the *Loſt Moon* takes place of it, and muſt be over before they begin their Account again; and this Month with the others, makes about a Year and an half. Becauſe they have no Weeks, they reckon from the Firſt till the Twenty Sixth of theſe ſort of Months, and that contains juſt that ſpace of time which is between the firſt appearance of the Moon at Night, till having finiſh'd its Courſe, it becomes almoſt inviſible in the Morning; and this they call the Illumination-Month. For Inſtance; A Savage will ſay, *I went away the firſt of the Month of Sturgeons* (that's *Auguſt*), *and returned the Twenty-ninth of the Month of* Indian-Corn (the ſame with our *September*); *and next day*, (which is the laſt) *I reſted my ſelf*. As for the remaining three Days and a half of the *Dead-Moon*, during which 'tis impoſſi-

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

impoſſible to be diſcern'd, they give them the Name of the *Naked Days*. They make as little uſe of Hours as Weeks, having never got the way of making Clocks or Watches; by the help of which little Inſtruments, they might divide the Natural Day into equal Parts. For this Reaſon, They are forc'd to reckon the Natural Day as well as the Night, by Quarters, Half, and Three-quarters, the Riſing and the Setting-Sun, the Fore-noon and the Evening. As they have a wonderful Idea of any thing that depends upon the Attention of the Mind, and attain to an Exact Knowledge of many Things by Long Experience: To croſs a Foreſt (for Inſtance) of a Hundred Leagues in a ſtrait Line, without ſtraying either to the Right or Left; to follow the Tract of a Man or Beaſt upon the Graſs or Leaves: So they know the Hour of the Day and Night exactly, even when it is ſo cloudy, that neither Sun nor Stars appear. I impute this Talent to a ſteddy command of Mind, which is not natural to any but thoſe whoſe Thoughts are as little diſtracted as theſe Mens are.

They are more ſurpriz'd to ſee ſome little Problemes of *Geometry* put in Practice, than we would be to ſee Water turn'd into Wine. They took my *Graphometer* for ſomewhat Divine, being unable to gueſs how we could know the diſtance of Places without meaſuring them by Cords or Rods, without there were ſome Supernatural Aſſiſtance. *Longimetry* pleas'd them far more than *Altimetry*, becauſe they thought it more neceſſary to know the breadth of a River, than height of a Tree, *&c.* I remember one Day in a Village of the *Outaouas* at *Miſſilimakinac* a Slave brought into the Cottage where I was, a ſort of Veſſel made of a thick piece of ſoft Wood, which he had borrowed on purpoſe, in which

he

he pretended to preſerve Mapletree-Water. All the Savages which ſaw this Veſſel, fell to arguing how much it would hold, and with that view call'd for a Pot, and for Water to determine the matter by Meaſuring. The humor took me to lay with them a Wager of a Treat, that I could tell the Quantity of Water that would fill it better than they. So that finding by my Computation, that it held about 248 Pots, or thereabouts, I went to make the Tryal, and made them not a little wonder that it fail'd but one or two Pots; upon which I perſwaded them, that the Pots that were wanting were ſuck'd up by the new Wood. But what was moſt pleaſant they were continually begging me to teach them *Stereometry*, that they might make uſe of it upon occaſion: 'Twas to no purpoſe to tell them 'twas impoſſible they ſhould underſtand it, tho' there were Reaſons for't that might convince any body but Savages. They preſs'd me ſo much to't that I could not be quiet till I was forc'd to tell them, that no body could do it to Perfection but the Jeſuits.

The Savages prefer your little Convex Glaſſes of two Inches Diemeter to any others, becauſe they give but a faint Repreſentation of the Pimples and Bloches upon their Faces. I remember that while I was at *Miſſilimakinac*, one of the Pedlers call'd *Coureurs de Bois*, brought a Convex Glaſs that was pretty large, and conſequently repreſented the Face with ſome Deformity. All the Savages that ſaw this Piece of Catoptricks, thought it no leſs Miaculous than the awaker of a Clock, or a Magical Lanthern, or the Spring of a Marchine. But what was moſt Comical, there was among the reſt of the Spectators a *Huroneſe* Girl who told the Pedlar in a jocoſe way, That *if the Glaſs had the Vertue of Magnifying*

nifying the Objects really, as it did in appearance, all her ſhe Companions would give him in Exchange as many Beaver Skins as would make his Fortune.

The Savages have the moſt happy Memory in the World. They can carry their Memory ſo far back, that when our Governors or their Deputies treated with them about War, Peace or Trade, and propoſed things contrary to what was offer'd Thirty or Forty Years ago; They reply, That the *French* are falſe, and change their Opinion every Hour, that 'tis ſo many Years ſince they ſaid ſo and ſo; and to confirm it bring you the Porcelain *Colier* that was given them at that time. You remember I acquainted you in my Seventh Letter, that the *Coliers* are the Symbols of Contracts, without which they conclude no Buſineſs of Moment.

They pay an infinite Deverence to Old Age. the Son that Laughs at his Father's Advice ſhall tremble before his Grandfather. In a Word, they take the Ancient Men for Oracles, and follow their Counſel accordingly. If a Man tell his Son 'tis time he ſhould Marry, or go to the War, or the Hunting, or Shooting! he ſhall anſwer carleſsly, *That's Valiant, I thought ſo.* But if his Grandfather tell him ſo, the Anſwer is, *That's good, It ſhall be done.* If by chance they kill a Partrige, a Gooſe, or Duck, or catch any delicate Fiſh, they never fail to preſent it to their oldeſt Relations.

The Savages are wholly free from Care; they do nothing but Eat, Drink, Sleep, and ramble about in the Night when they are at their Villages. Having no ſet Hours for Meals, they Eat when they're hungry; and commonly do it in a large Company, Feaſting here and there by turns. The Women and Girls do the ſame among themſelves, and don't admit any Men into

their Company at that time. The Women Slaves are employed to Sow and Reap the *Indian-Corn* ; and the Men Slaves have for their Buſineſs the Hunting and Shooting where there is any Fatigue, tho' their Maſters will very often help them. They have three ſorts of Games. Their Game of Counters is purely Numerical, and he that can Add, Subſtract, Multiply and Divide beſt by theſe Counters is the Winner. This depends purely upon the Mind. Another Game which is Hazard and Chance, is perform'd with eight little Stones, which are Black on one ſide and White on the other. They're put on a Plate which they lay on the Ground, throwing the little Stones up in the Air,and if they fall ſo as to turn up the Black ſide 'tis good luck. The odd number wins, and eight Whites or Blacks wins double, but that happens but ſeldom. They have a third Play with a Ball not unlike our Tennis, but the Balls are very large, and the Rackets reſemble ours, ſave that the Handle is at leaſt three Foot long. The Savages, who commonly play at it in large Companies of three or four Hundred at a time, fix two Sticks at five or ſix Hundred Paces diſtance from each other ; They divide into two equal Parties, and toſs up the Ball about half way between the two Sticks. Each Party endeavour to toſs the Ball to their ſide ; ſome run to the Ball, and the reſt keep at a little diſtance on both ſides to aſſiſt on all Quarters. In fine this Game is ſo violent that they tear their Skins, and break their Legs very often in ſtriving to raiſe the Ball. All theſe Games are made only for Feaſts or other trifling Entertainments ; for 'tis to be obſerv'd, that as they hate Money, ſo they never put it in the the Ballance, and one may ſay, *Intereſt is never the occaſion of Debates among them.*

'Tis

'Tis not to bedenied but the Savages are a very ſenſible People, and are perfectly well acquainted with the Intereſt of their Nations. They are great Moraliſts, eſpecially when they Criticiſe on the Manners of the *Europeans*, and are mightily upon their Guard in our Company, unleſs it be with ſuch as they are intimately acquainted with. In other Matters they are Incredulous and Obſtinate to the laſt degree, and are not able to diſtinguiſh between a Chimerical Suppoſition and an undoubted Truth, or between a fair and a falſe Conſequence, as you'l ſee in the inſuing Chapter, which treats of their Belief, and in which I aſſure you you'l meet with very odd Notions.

The Belief of the Savages, *and the Obſtacles of their Converſion.*

ALL the Savages are convinc'd that there muſt be a God, becauſe they ſee nothing among Material Beings that ſubſiſts neceſſarily and by its own Nature. They prove the Exiſtence of a Deity by the Frame of the Univerſe, which naturally leads us to a higher and Omnipotent Being, from whence it follows, ſay they, that Man was not made by chance, and that he's the Work of a Being ſuperior in Wiſdom and Knowledge, which they call the *Great Spirit*, or the *Maſter of Life*, and which they Adore in the moſt abſtracted and ſpiritual manner. They deliver their Thoughts of him thus, without any ſatisfactory Definition. The Exiſtence of God being inſeparable from his Eſſence, it contains every thing, it appears in every thing, acts in every thing, and gives motion

turn of five or ſix Hundred Leagues about. This Quibble puzzled me a little: *For why*, ſays he, *ſince God can bring Men to Eternal Happineſs by rewarding Vertue and Merit, why does not he go that ſhorteſt way to Work? Why does he conduct a juſt Man to the Eternal Beatitude by the path of Sufferings?* Thus 'tis that theſe poor Savages contradict themſelves, and from hence it appears, that *Jeſus Chriſt*, our Lord and Maſter, is the only Author of ſuch Truths as ſupport themſelves, and contain not the leaſt ſhadow of Contradiction. In a Word, the ſingular madneſs of this unfortunate People conſiſts in denying their Aſſent to any thing but what's viſible and probable. This is the ſtanding and true Principle of their Religion, when you conſider it abſtractedly: But if you ask them in particular why they Adore God in the Sun, rather than in a Tree or a Mountain; their Anſwer is, That they chooſe to admire the Deity in publick by pointing to the moſt glorious thing that Nature affords.

The Jeſuits uſe their utmoſt Efforts to make them ſenſible of the Importance of Salvation. They explain to them the Holy Scriptures, and ſet forth the manner by which the Law of *Chriſt Jeſus* took place in the World, and the change that it wrought. They lay before them the Prophecies, Revelations and Miracles, by which our Religion is inforc'd. But the poor Wretches are ſuch obſtinate Infidels, that all the Characters of Truth, Sincerity and Divinity that ſhine throughout the Scriptures, have no impreſſion upon them. The greateſt length that the good Fathers can bring them to, is to acquieſce after a Savage manner, contrary to what they think. For Inſtance, when the Jeſuits Preach up the Incarnation of *Jeſus Chriſt*, they'l anſwer, *That's Wonderful*: When the Queſtion is

put

put to them, whether they'l turn Chriſtians, they reply, that *they'l conſider of it.* If the ſecular *Europeans* ſollicit them to come to Church to hear the Word of God, they reply, *'Tis reaſonable*; the meaning of which is, that they'l come; but at the bottom they have no other deſign in approaching to the place of Worſhip, than to ſnatch away a Pipe of Tobacco, or to Ridicule the good Fathers, as I intimated above: For they have ſuch happy Memories, that I knew ten of my own Acquaintance that had all the Holy Scriptures by Heart.

'Twill be worth your while to hear the thoughts of Reaſon that come from thoſe People who paſs for Beaſts among us. They maintain, That a Man ought never to ſtrip himſelf of the Privileges of Reaſon, that being the nobleſt Faculty with which God hath enrich'd him; and That foraſmuch as the Religion of the Chriſtians is not put to the teſt of their Reaſon, it cannot be but that God ridicul'd them in enjoyning them to conſult their Reaſon in order diſtinguiſh Good from Evil. Upon this ſcore they affirm that Reaſon ought not to be controul'd by any Law, or put under a neceſſity of approving what it doth not comprehend; and in fine, that what we call an Article of Faith is an intoxicating Potion to make Reaſon reel and ſtagger out of its way; forſomuch as the pretended Faith may ſupport Lies as well as the Truth, if we underſtand by it a readineſs to believe without diving to the bottom of things. They pretend that if they had a mind to talk in the Language of the Chriſtians, they might with equal right reject the Arguments propos'd by the Chriſtians againſt their Opinions, and plead that their Opinions are Incomprehenſible Myſteries, and that we muſt not pretend to fathom the Se-

crets of the Almighty, which are plac'd ſo far above our weak reach.

'Tis in vain to remonſtrate to them, That Reaſon gives only a faint and dazzling Light which leades thoſe to a Precipice that truſt to its Direction and Conduct: That 'tis a ſlave to Faith and ought to obey it blindly without diſputing, juſt as an *Iroqueſe* Captive does his Maſter. 'Tis needleſs to repreſent to them, that the Holy Scriptures can contain nothing that's directly repugnant to right Reaſon. They make a jeſt of all ſuch Remonſtrances, for they imagine ſo great a Contradiction between the Scripture and Reaſon, that they think it impoſſible for the Advocates of the former to avoid the receiving of very dubious Opinions for certain and evident Truths. Their Prejudice proceeds from this, that they can't be convinc'd, that the Infallibility of the Scripture is to be made out by the Light of Reaſon. The Word *Faith* is enough to choak them; they make a Jeſt of it, and alledge that the Writings of paſt Ages are falſe, ſuppoſititious and alter'd, upon the Plea that the Hiſtories of our own times are juſtly liable to the ſame Cenſure. They plead, That a Man muſt be a Fool who believes that an Omnipotent Being, continued from all Eternity, in a ſtate of Inactivity, and did not think of giving being to Creatures till within theſe five or ſix Thouſand Years; or that at that time God Created *Adam* on purpoſe to have him tempted by an evil Spirit to eat of an Apple, and that he occaſion'd all the Miſery of his Poſterity by the pretended tranſmiſſion of his Sin. They ridicule the Dialogue between *Eve* and the Serpent, alledging that we affront God in ſuppoſing that he wrought the Miracle of giving this Animal the uſe of Speech, with intent to deſtroy all the Humane Race.

To

To continue their wild Remonſtrances they ſay, 'Tis a thing unheard of, that for the expiation of *Adam*'s Sin God ſhould put God to Death to ſatisfie himſelf; That the Peace of the World ſhould be brought about by the Incarnation of God and his ſhameful Death; That his Diſciples ſhould be ignorant Men that fear'd to dye. This, they ſay, is ſtill the more unaccountable, that the Sin of the firſt Father hath done more harm than the Death of the latter hath done good, the Apple having intail'd Death on all Men, whereas the Blood of *Jeſus* hath not ſav'd one half of them. They argue, 'That upon the Humanity of this God the Chriſtians build a Religion without a Foundation, which is ſubject to the Changes and Viciſſitudes of Humane Affairs. That this Religion being divided and ſubdivided into ſo many Sects, as thoſe of the *French*, the *Engliſh*, *&c.* it can be no other than an Human Artifice: For had God been the Author of it, his Providence had prevented ſuch diverſity of Sentiments by unambiguous Deciſions. That if the Evangelical Law had deſcended from Heaven it had not contain'd thoſe obſcure Sayings that give riſe to the Chriſtian Diſſenſions; for that God who foreſees what is in the Womb of Futurity would have deliver'd his Precepts in ſuch clear and preciſe terms as would leave no room for Diſputes.

'But ſuppoſing (continue they) that this Law deſcended from Heaven, which of the Chriſtian Sects muſt we join with? For we underſtand from an infinite number of Chriſtians, that in ſome Communions we run the riſque of Damnation.' The great Article that they ſtickle moſt at is the *Incarnation of God*. They exclaim againſt the ſuppoſition that the Divine Word

to every thing. In fine, all that you ſee, all that you can conceive, is this Divinity which ſubſiſts without Bounds or Limits, and without Body; and ought not to be repreſented under the Figure of an old Man, nor of any other thing, let it be never ſo fine or extenſive. For this Reaſon they Adore him in every thing they ſee. When they ſee any thing that's fine or curious, eſpecially when they look upon the Sun or Stars, they cry out, *O Great Spirit, we diſcern thee in every thing.* And in like manner when they reflect upon the meaneſt Trifles they acknowledge a Creator under the Name of the *Great Spirit* or *Maſter of Life.*

I forgot to tell you that the Savages liſten to all the Jeſuits Preach to them without the leaſt Contradiction. They content themſelves to rail among one another at the Sermons the Fathers make at Church, and if a *Savage* talks freely to a *French*-man he muſt be fully aſſur'd of his Diſcretion and Friendſhip. I have been frequently much puzzled to anſwer their impertinent Objections, (for they can make no others in relation to Religion) but I ſtill brought my ſelf off by entreating them to give Ear to the Jeſuits. To preſent you with a view of their Opinion relating to the Immortality of the Soul: They all believe it; but not upon the plea that 'tis one ſimple ſubſtance, and that the Deſtruction of any Natural Being is accompliſh'd by the ſeparation of its Parts; they're Strangers to that Argument. All they urge, is, that if the Soul were Mortal, all Men would be equally Happy in this Life; for God being all Perfection and Wiſdom, 'twould be inconſiſtent with his Nature to create ſome to be Happy and others to be Miſerable. So they prove the Immortality of the Soul by the Hardſhips of Life to which moſt Men are expos'd

expos'd, eſpecially the beſt of People, when they are Kill'd, Tortur'd, made Priſoners, *&c.* For they pretend, that by a Conduct ſomewhat ſtrange to our Apprehenſion, the Almighty orders a certain number of Creatures to ſuffer in this World, that they may be ſav'd in the next; and upon that ſcore they cannot endure to hear the *Chriſtians* ſay, Such a one has had the misfortune to be Kill'd, Wounded or made a Slave; and look upon what we call a Misfortune to be only ſuch in Fancy and *Idea*, ſince nothing comes to paſs but by the Decrees of that infinitely perfect Being, whoſe Conduct cannot be Fantaſtical or Capricious, as they falſly pretend we Chriſtians think it to be. On the contrary they think thoſe Perſons have very good Fortune who are Kill'd, Burnt or taken Priſoners. 'Tis the great happineſs of theſe Poor, Blind People, that they will not ſuffer themthemſelves to be inſtructed: For their Opinions are not in all reſpects contrary to theLight of the Goſpel. They believe that God for Reaſons above our reach makes uſe of the Sufferings of good People to diſplay his Juſtice; and in this Point we cannot oppoſe them, for 'tis one of the Principles of our own Religion: But when they alledge that we look upon theDivinity as a whimſical fantaſtick Being, are they not under the greateſt miſtake? The firſt and ſupreme cauſe muſt be ſuppos'd to make the wiſeſt choice of means conducing to an end. If then 'tis true, as 'tis a Point of our Belief, that God does permit the Sufferings of the Innocent, 'tis our part to Adore his Wiſdom, and not be ſo arrogant as to Cenſure it. One of the Savages that argued the Point with me, alledg'd that we repreſented the Divinity like a Man that had but a little Arm of the Sea to croſs, and rather choſe to take a

Word was ſhut up for nine Months in the Bowels of a Woman, and that the ſame God came to take up an Earthly Body in this World, and carry'd it up to his Seat of Bliſs. Nay, they carry the thing farther, for they rally upon the unevenneſs and inconſtancy of *Chriſt*'s Will. Tho' he came into the World to dye, ſay they, yet it appears that he had no mind to it, and that he was afraid to Die. If the Divinity and Humanity had made but one Perſon, he would not have needed to pray or ask for any thing; nay, ſuppoſing that his Divine Nature had not the Aſcendant within him, yet he ought not to have fear'd Death, in regard that the loſs of a Temporal Life is nothing to one that is aſſur'd of reviving for ever; he knew for certain where he was a going, and conſequently ought to have embrac'd Death more chearfully than we do, when we Poyſon our ſelves in order to accompany our Relations to the Country of Souls.

They brand St. *Paul* for a Phantaſtical Man, alledging that he contradicts himſelf every Foot, and Reaſons very ſorrily. They Ridicule the Credulity of the Primitive Chriſtians, whom they look upon as ſimple and ſuperſtitious Creatures; and upon that Head take occaſion to ſay, *That the Apoſtle* Paul *would have found a great deal of difficulty in perſwading the People of* Canada *that he was raviſh'd up to the third Heaven.* There's one place of Scripture above all other that they can digeſt, *viz. Many are called, but few choſen.* Their Comment upon it is this, *God hath ſaid, that many are call'd but few choſen. and what God ſays muſt needs be true. Now, if of three Men only one be ſav'd, and the other two damn'd, then the Condition of a Stag is preferrable to that of a Man; Nay, put it upon an even lay, and let there be but one Man damn'd for one ſav'd, even then the Stag hath the better of*

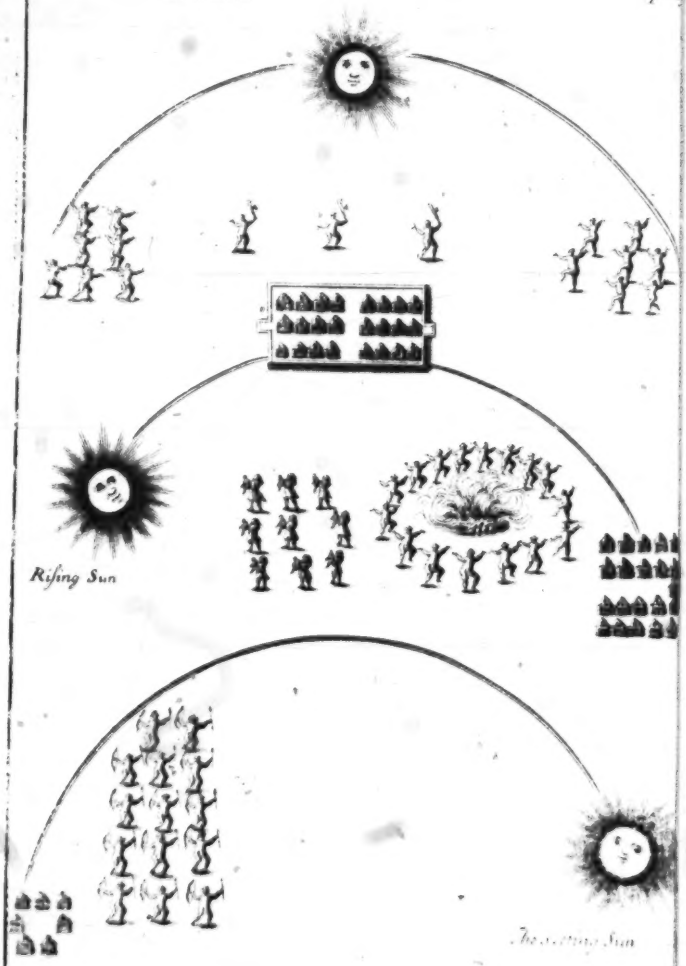
it.

it. This Objection was once put to me by the Rat, or the General of the Savages, when I was a Hunting with him. I reply'd, that we ought to indeavour to be in the number of the Chosen by following the Law and the Precepts of *Jesus Christ*. But my Answer did not satisfie him, for he still ran upon the great risque of two Men damn'd for one sav'd, and that by an immutable Decree. Upon that I refer'd him to the Jesuits, for I durst not tell him, That 'twas in his own Power to procure his Election: If I had, he had given me less Quarter than he did to St. *Paul*; for in Religious Matters they always stick to Probability. This General was not so void of good Sense, but that he could think justly and make true Reflections upon Religious Matters; but he was so prepossess'd with an Opinion, that the Christian Faith was contrary to Reason, that all the Attempts I made could not convince him of the contrary. When I laid before him the Revelations of *Moses* and the Prophets, the universal Consent of almost all Nations in owning and acknowledging *Jesus Christ*, the Martyrdom of his Disciples and of the Primitive Christians, the perpetual Succession of our Sacred Oracles, the entire Destruction of the *Jewish* Republick, and the Destruction of *Jerusalem* foretold by our Saviour; he ask'd me if my Father or my Grandfather had seen all these Events, and whether I was so credulous as to take our Scriptures for Truth, since the Histories of Countries writ but t'other Day are found to be Fabulous. He added, That the *Faith* which the Jesuits beat their Brains about imported no more than to be perswaded of a thing either by seeing it with their Eyes, or by finding it recommended by clear and solid Proofs; That these Fathers and I were so far from convincing them of the truth of our Mysteries,

Myſteries, that we only cover'd their Thoughts with Obſcurity and Darkneſs.

Such, Sir, is the Obſtinacy and prepoſſeſſion of this People. I flatter my ſelf that this ſhort view of their Notions may divert you without Offence. I know that you are too well confirm'd and rivetted in our moſt Holy Faith, to receive any dangerous Impreſſion from their impious Advances. I aſſure my ſelf that you will joyn with me in bemoaning the deplorable ſtate of theſe ignorant Wretches. Let us jointly admire the depth of the Divine Providence, which permits thoſe Nations to entertain ſuch an Averſion to our Divine Truths; and in the mean time let us make the beſt uſe of the undeſerv'd Advantage we have over them. Give me leave to acquaint you with the Reflections that theſe ſame Savages make upon our Conduct when they confine themſelves to the Subject of Morality. *The Chriſtians*, ſay they, *contemn the Precepts of the Son of God, they make a Jeſt of his Prohibitions, and doubt of the Sincerity of his Expreſſions; for they counteract his Orders without intermiſſion, and rob him of the Worſhip which he claims as his due, by paying it to Silver, to Beavers, and to their own Intereſt. They murmur againſt Heaven and him when things go croſs with them; they go about their uſual Buſineſs on ſuch Days as are ſet apart for Works of Piety and Devotion, and ſpend both that and the other parts of their time in Gaming, Drinking to exceſs, Fighting and Scolding. Inſtead of Comforting their Parents they leave them for a Sacrifice to Hunger and Miſery, and not only deride their Counſel, but wiſh impatiently for their Death. In the Night time, all of them, barring the Jeſuits, roll from Houſe to Houſe to debauch the Women Savages. They Murther one another every Day upon the Plea of Theft or Affronts, or upon the ſcore of Women; they Pillage and Rob one another without*

any



Rising Sun

any regard to the tyes of Blood or Friendſhip, as often as they meet with an opportunity of doing it with impunity. They beſpatter and defame one another with outragious Calumnies; and make no ſcruple to lye when they find 'twill ſerve their Intereſt. They are not ſatisfied with the Company of ſingle Women, but debauch other Mens Wives; and theſe Adulterous Women bring forth in the abſcence of their Husbands a ſpurious Off-ſpring, that are at a loſs to know their Fathers. In fine, (continue they) *though the Chriſtians are ſo docile as to believe the Humanity of God, which is the moſt unreaſonable Article that can be; yet they ſeem to doubt of his Precepts, and inceſſantly tranſgreſs them, notwithſtanding they are very pure and reaſonable.* I ſhould never come to an end, if I enter'd into the Particulars of their Savage way of Reaſoning; and for that reaſon 'twill be more proper to take leave of this Subject, and paſs directly to the manner of Worſhip which they offer to their great Spirit or God, call'd *Kitchi Manitou.* A view of that will be more agreeable than the tedious Series of this ſort of Philoſophy, which at the bottom is but too true, and affords matter of Grief to all good Souls that are perſwaded of the Truth of Chriſtianity.

The way of Worſhip, uſed by the Savages.

BEfore we launch out into the particulars of their Worſhip, 'twill be proper to remark that the Savages give the name of *Genius* or *Spirit* to all that ſurpaſſes their Underſtanding, and proceeds from a cauſe that they cannot trace. Some of theſe Spirits they take to be Good, and ſome Bad; of the former ſort are the Spirit of Dreams,

Dreams, the *Michibichi* mentioned in my liſt of Animals, a *Solar Quadrant*, an *Alarm Watch*, and an infinity of other things that ſeem to them to be inconceivable. Of the latter ſort are *Thunder*, *Hail falling upon their Corn*, a *great Storm*, and in a word every thing that tends to their Prejudice, and proceeds from a cauſe that they are ignorant of. If a *Fuſee* burſt either through the fault of the Metal, or by being over Loaded, and Maims a Man, they'll tell you there was an Evil Spirit lodg'd within it. If by chance the Branch of a Tree put out a Mans Eye, the effect is owing to an Evil Spirit; If a ſudden guſt of Wind ſurpriſes 'em in a *Canow* about the middle of their Paſſage acroſs the Lakes, 'tis an Evil Spirit that diſturbs the Air; if the dregs of any Violent Diſtemper robs a Man of his Reaſon, 'tis an Evil Spirit that Torments him. Theſe Evil Spirits they call *Matchi Manitous*, and *Gold* and *Silver* they liſt into that number. However, 'tis to be obſerv'd that they talk of theſe Spirits in a Bantering way, or much after the ſame manner that our ſhrewd *Europeans* rally upon *Magicians* and *Sorcerers*.

Here I cannot forbear to repeat once more that the Hiſtorical Accounts of *Canada*, are as ſcarce as the Geographical Maps of that Country; for I never met with a true one but once, and that in the hands of a *Quebec* Gentleman, the Impreſſion of which was afterwards Prohibited at *Paris*, but for what reaſon I know not. I mention this with regard to their opinion of the *Devil*; for it is alledg'd that the Savages are acquainted with the *Devil*. I have read a thouſand Ridiculous Stories Writ by our Clergymen, who maintain that the Savages have conferences with him, and not only conſult him, but pay him a ſort of Homage. Now all theſe advances are ridiculous; for in earneſt, the *Devil* never appear'd to theſe *Americans*.

ricans. I ask'd an infinity of Savages whether the *Devil* was ever ſeen among 'em in the ſhape of a Man or any other Animal; I likewiſe conſulted upon this head the ingenioſeſt of their Mountebanks or Jugglers, who are a very Comical ſort of Fellows (as you ſhall hear anon;) and it may be reaſonably preſum'd that if ever the *Devil* appear'd to 'em, they had been ſure to have told me of it. In fine, after uſing all poſſible means for a perfect knowledg of this matter; I concluded that theſe Eccleſiaſticks did not underſtand the true importance of that great word *Matchi Manitou*, (which ſignifies an *Evil Spirit*, *Matchi* being the word for *Evil* and *Manitou* for *Spirit*;) For by the *Devil* they underſtand ſuch things as are offenſive to 'em, which in our Language comes near to the ſignification of Misfortune, Fate, Unfavourable Deſtiny, *&c.* So that in ſpeaking of the *Devil* they do not mean that Evil Spirit that in *Europe* is repreſented under the figure of a Man, with a long Tail and great Horns and Claws.

The Savages never Offer Sacrifices of Living Creatures to the *Kitchi Manitou*; for their common Sacrifices upon that occaſion are the Goods that they take from the *French* in exchange for *Beavers.* Several perſons of good Credit have inform'd me, that in one day they Burnt at *Miſſilimakinac* Fifty Thouſand Crowns worth of ſuch Goods. I never ſaw ſo Expenſive a Ceremony, my ſelf: But let that be as it will, the particular circumſtances of the Sacrifice are theſe. The Air muſt be Clear and Serene, the Weather Fair and Calm; and then every one brings his Offering and laies it upon the Wood Pile: When the Sun mounts higher the Children make a Ring round the Pile, with pieces of Bark Lighted, in order to ſet it on Fire; and the Warriours Dance and Sing

Sing round 'em till the whole is Burnt and Conſumed, while the Old Men make their Harangues addreſs'd to the *Kitchi Manitou*, and preſent him from time to time with Pipes of Tobacco Lighted at the Sun. Theſe Dances, Songs and Harangues laſt till Sun ſet, only they allow themſelves ſome intervals of Reſt, in which they ſit down and Smoak at their Eaſe.

It remains only (before I make an end of this *Chapter*) to repeat the very Words of their Harangues pronounc'd by the Old Fellows, and of the Songs ſung by the Warriors: 'Great Spirit, 'Maſter of our Lives; Great Spirit, Maſter of all 'Things both Viſible and Inviſible; Great Spirit, Ma'ſter of other Spirits, whether good or Evil; 'command the Good Spirits to favour thy Chil'dren, the *Outaouas*, *&c.* Command the Evil Spi'rits to keep at a diſtance from 'em. O Great 'Spirit, keep up the Strength and Courage of 'our Warriors, that they may be able to ſtem the 'fury of our Enemies: Preſerve the Old Perſons, 'whoſe Bodies are not quite waſted, that they 'may give Counſel to the Young. Preſerve our 'Children, enlarge their Number, deliver 'em 'from Evil Spirits, to the end that in our old Age 'they may prove our Support and Comfort; pre'ſerve our Harveſt and our Beaſts, if thou mean'ſt 'that we ſhould not die for Hunger: Take care 'of our Villages, and guard our Huntſmen in 'their Hunting Adventures. Deliver us from all 'Fatal Surprizes, when thou ceaſeſt to vouchſafe 'us the Light of the Sun, which ſpeaks thy Gran'deur and Power. Acquaint us by the Spirit 'of Dreams, with what thy Pleaſure requires of 'us, or prohibits us to do. When it pleaſes thee 'to put a Period to our Lives, ſend us to the great 'Countrey of Souls, where we may meet with 'thoſe of our Fathers, our Mothers, our Wives,

'our

'our Children, and our other Relations. O Great 'Spirit, Great Spirit, hear the Voice of the Nati-'on, give ear to all thy Children, and remember 'them at all times.

As for the Songs which the Warriors ſing till Sun ſet, they are to this purpoſe: 'Take heart, 'the Great Spirit vouchſafes ſuch a Glorious Sun; 'Cheer up my Brethren: How great are his 'Works! How fine is the Day! this Great Spirit 'is all Goodneſs; 'tis he that ſets all the Springs in 'motion; he ruleth over all: He is pleas'd to hear 'us; Let us cheer up my Brethren, we ſhall ſub-'due our Enemies: Our Fields ſhall bear Corn; 'our Hunting ſhall ſucceed well; we ſhall all of 'us keep our Health; the Old Perſons ſhall re-'joice, the Children ſhall increaſe, and the Na-'tion ſhall proſper. But now the Great Spirit 'leaves us, his Sun withdraws, he has ſeen the 'Outaouas, &c. 'Tis done, ay, 'tis done; the Great 'Spirit is ſatisfied; my Brethren let us pluck up a 'good heart.

We muſt remark, that the Women likewiſe make Addreſſes to him, and that commonly when the Sun riſes; upon which Occaſion they preſent and hold up their Children to that Luminary. When the Sun is almoſt down, the Warriors march out of the Village, to dance the Dance of the Great Spirit. But after all, there is no Day or Time fix'd for theſe Sacrifices, no more than for the Particular Dances.

An Account of the Amours and Marriages of the Savages.

I Could recount a thouſand Curious Things relating to the Courtſhip, and the way of Marrying among the Savages; but the Relation of ſo many Particulars, would be too tedious; for which Reaſon I ſhall only confine my ſelf to what is moſt eſſential to that Subject.

It may be juſtly ſaid, That the Men are as cold and indifferent as the Girls are paſſionate and warm. The former love nothing but War and Hunting, and their utmoſt Ambition reaches no farther. When they are at home, and have nothing to do, they run with the Match; that is, they are Night-walkers. The Young Men do not marry till they are Thirty Years of Age, for they pretend that the Enjoyment of Women does ſo enervate 'em, that they have not the ſame meaſure of Strength to undergo great Fatigues, and that their Hams are too weak for long Marches, or quick Purſuits: In purſuance of this Thought, 'tis alledged, That thoſe who have married, or ſtroled in the Nights too often, are taken by the *Iroqueſe*, by reaſon of the Weakneſs of their Limbs, and the decay of their Vigour. But after all, we muſt not imagine that they live chaſte till that Age; for they pretend that Exceſſive Continence occaſions Vapours, Diſorders of the Kidneys, and a Suppreſſion of Urine; ſo that 'tis neceſſary for their Health to have a Run once a Week.

If the Savages were capable of being ſubjected to the Empire of Love, they muſt needs have an Extraordinary Command of themſelves to diſguiſe the

the Juſt Jealouſie they might have of their Miſtreſſes, and at the ſame time to carry it fair with their Rivals. I know the Humour of the Savages better than a great many *French* People that have liv'd among 'em all their Life-time; for I ſtudy'd their Cuſtoms ſo narrowly and exactly, that all their Conduct of Life is as perfectly well known to me, as if I had been among 'em all my Life-time: And 'tis thisExact Knowledge that prompts me to ſay, That they are altogether Strangers to that Blind Fury which we call Love. They content themſelves with a Tender Friendſhip, that is not liable to all the Extravagancies that the Paſſion of Love raiſes in ſuch Breaſts as harbour it: In a word, they live with ſuch Tranquility, that one may call their Love Simple Goodwill, and their Diſcretion upon that Head is unimaginable. Their Friendſhip is firm, but free of Tranſport; for they are very careful in preſerving the Liberty and Freedom of their Heart, which they look upon as the moſt valuable Treaſure upon Earth: From whence I conclude that they are not altogether ſo ſavage as we are.

The Savages never quarrel among themſelves, neither do they reproach or affront one another; One man among them is as good as another, for all are upon the ſame Level. They have noDiſorders occaſion'd by a Girl or a Wife, for the Women are Wiſe, and ſo are their Husbands: The Girls indeed are a little fooliſh, and the Young Men play the fool with them not unfrequently: But then you muſt conſider that a Young Woman is allow'd to do what ſhe pleaſes; let her Conduct be what it will, neither Father nor Mother, Brother nor Siſter can pretend to controul her. A Young Woman, ſay they, is Maſter of her own Body, and by her Natural Right of Liberty is free to do what ſhe pleaſes. But on the other

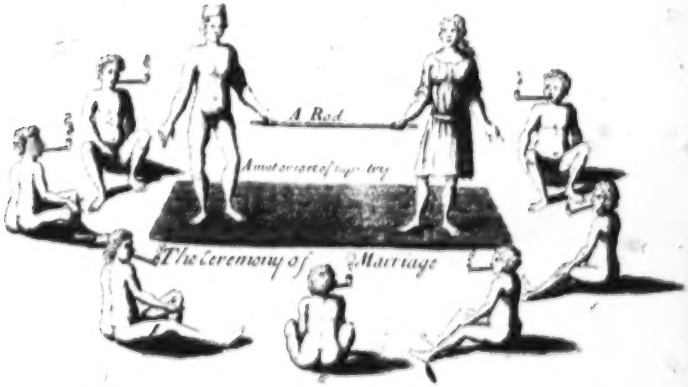
hand the Married Women being allow'd the Priviledge of quitting their Husbands when they pleaſe, had as good be dead as be guilty of Adultery. In like manner, the Husbands being entituled to the ſame Priviledge, would look upon themſelves as infamous, if they were faithleſs to their Wives.

Nothing of Intrigue or Courtſhip muſt be mention'd to the Savage Ladies in the Day time, for they will not hear it; they'll tell you the Night-time is the moſt proper ſeaſon for that; inſomuch that if a Youth ſhould by chance accoaſt a Girl in the Day-time, after this manner, *I love thee more than the Light of the Sun* (ſuch is their Phraſe) *liſten to what I ſay, &c.* ſhe would give him ſome Affront, and withdraw. This is a general Rule, that whoever deſigns to win the Affection of a Girl, muſt ſpeak to her in the Day-time, of things that lie remote from the Intrigues of Love. One may converſe with them privately as long as he will, and talk of a thouſand Adventures that happen every minute, upon which they make their Replies very pleaſantly; for you cannot imagine what a Gay and Jovial Temper they are of; they are very apt to laugh, and that with a very engaging Air. 'Tis at theſe Private Interviews that the Savages ſmell out the Young Womens Thoughts; for though the Subject of their Diſcourſe is of an Indifferent Strain, yet they talk over nicer Subjects in the Language of their Eyes. After a Young Man has paid two or three Viſits to his Miſtreſs, and fancies that ſhe has look'd upon him with a favourable Eye, he takes the following Courſe to know the Truth of the Matter.

You muſt take notice, that foraſmuch as the Savages are Strangers to *Meum* and *Tuum*, to Superiority and Subordination; and live in a State of Equality

A Savage approaching with a torch to his mistresses bed who repeating his offers covers her face with the coverlet.

A Savage carrying a torch to ye bedside of his mistress who shews her consent to admit him by blowing out the light



The Ceremony of Marriage

A Savage sitting on the foot of his mistresses bed and conversing with her

An Old man receives ye new married couple and their relations at the door of the hutt

Equality purſuant to the Principles of Nature; they are underno apprehenſion of Robbers or Secret Enemies, ſo that their Huts are open Night and Day. You muſt know farther, that Two Hours after Sun-ſet, the Old Superannuated Perſons, or the Slaves (who never lie in their Maſters Huts) take care to cover up the Fire before they go. 'Tis then that the Young Savage comes well wrapt up to his Miſtreſs's Hut, and lights a ſort of a Match at the Fire; after which he opens the Door of his Miſtreſſes Apartment, and makes up to her Bed: If ſhe blows out the Light, he lies down by her; but if ſhe pulls her Covering over her Face, he retires; that being a Sign that ſhe will not receive him. The Young Women drink the Juice of certain Roots, which prevents their Conception, or kills the Fruit of the Womb; for if a Girl proves with Child, ſhe'll never get a Husband. They'll ſuffer any body to ſit upon the foot of their Bed, only to have a little Chat; and if another comes an hour after, that they like, they do not ſtand to grant him their laſt Favours. As to this Cuſtom, which indeed is ſingular, the moſt ſenſible Savages gave this Reaſon for it, That they will not depend upon their Lovers, but remove all ground of Suſpicion both from the one and the other, that ſo they may act as they pleaſe.

The Savage Women like the *French* better than their own Countreymen, by reaſon that the former are more prodigal of their Vigour, and mind a Woman's Buſineſs more cloſely. In the mean time the Jeſuits uſe all Efforts to prevent their keeping Company with the *French*: They have Superannuated Fellows placed in all the Huts, who, like Faithful Spies, give an Account of all that they ſee or hear. The *French* who have the Misfortune to be diſcover'd, are publickly nam'd

in the Pulpit, complain'd of to the Biſhop and the Governor General, excommunicated, and treated as Tranſgreſſors of the Law: But after all the Artifices and Oppoſition of the Good Fathers, a great many Intrigues are carried on in the Villages, that they know nothing of. The Jeſuits never offer to check the Young Savages for keeping company with Girls; for if they offer'd to cenſure their Conduct, and uſe 'em with the ſame liberty as they do the *French*, they would tell 'em roundly, that they're ſorry the Fathers have a mind to their Miſtreſſes. This was the Anſwer that a Young *Huron* ſpoke aloud one day in the Church, when a Jeſuit addreſſing himſelf to him, was preaching down the Night-Rambles of the Savages with an Apoſtolical Freedom.

This People cannot conceive that the *Europeans*, who value themſelves upon their Senſe and Knowledge, ſhould be ſo blind and ſo ignorant as not to know that Marriage in their way is a ſource of Trouble and Uneaſineſs. To be ingag'd for one's Life time, to them is matter of Wonder and Surpriſe. They look upon it as a monſtrous thing to be tied one to another without any hopes of being able to untie or break the Knot. In fine, in ſpite of all the Reaſons and Arguments that that Subject affords, they lay down this for a firm and unmoveable Truth, that we *Eropeans* are born in Slavery, and deſerve no other Condition than that of Servitude.

In our Country, their ſtate of Marriage would be juſtly look'd upon as a Criminal way of Converſation. A Savage (for Inſtance) that has ſignaliz'd himſelf ſeveral times in the Field, and acquir'd the Reputation of a brave Warrior, hath a mind to Marry by the means of a Contract, or rather a Leaſe of Thirty Years, with the hopes of ſeeing in his old Age a Family deſcended

ded of himſelf, that ſhall provide for him. This Hero looks out for an agreeable Girle, and after he and ſhe have ſettled the matter, they reveal their Deſign to their Relations, who at the ſame time cannot oppoſe it, but are oblig'd to conſent, and to aſſiſt at the Ceremony. They meet together in the Hut of the ancienteſt Relation or Parent, where a Feaſt is prepar'd on a Day fix'd for that purpoſe. Upon ſuch Occaſions the Company is very numerous, and the Table is cover'd with all manner of Dainties in a very prodigal manner; and thoſe who aſſiſt at the Feſtival, Dance and Sing, and perform the other Diverſions of the Country. After the Feaſting and Merry-making is over, all the Relations of the Bridegroom retire, excepting four of the oldeſt, after which the Bride, accompany'd with four of her ancienteſt Female Relations, appears at one of the Doors of the Hut, and is receiv'd by the moſt decrepit Man of the Bridegroom's Company, who conducts her to the Bridegroom at a certain place, where the two Parties ſtand upright upon a fine Mat, holding a Rod between them, while the old Men pronounce ſome ſhort Harangues. In this Poſture do the two married Perſons Harangue one after another, and Dance together, ſinging all the while, and holding the Rod in their Hands, which they afterwards break into as many pieces as there are Witneſſes to the Ceremony, in order to be diſtributed among them. This done, the Bride is reconducted out of the Hut, where the young Women ſtay for her to accompany her to her Father's Apartment, and the Bridegroom or married Man is oblig'd to go there to find her when he has a mind to her Company, till ſuch time as ſhe brings forth a Child; then, indeed, ſhe conveys her Cloaths

to her Husbands Apartment, and continues with him till the Marriage is diſſolv'd.

'Tis allowable both for the Man and the Woman to part when they pleaſe. Commonly they give one another eight Days Warning; ſometimes they offer Reaſons to juſtifie their Conduct, but for the moſt part the uſual Plea is, that they are ſick and out of order, and that Repoſe is more proper for them than the fatigue of a married Life. Then the little pieces of the Rod that were diſtributed among the Relations of the married Perſons, are brought into that Hut in which the Marriage was Solemniz'd, and burnt in their Preſence. You muſt obſerve that this Separation is accompliſh'd without any Diſpute or Quarrel. Both the Men and the Women thus unmarried may be marry'd again to whom they pleaſe: But commonly they lie bye three or ſix Months before they conſummate their ſecond Marriage. When this Separation happens the Children are divided equally between them, for the Children are the Treaſure of the Savages. If their number be odd the Woman hath the better half.

Though they are at their liberty to change, yet there are ſeveral Savages that live all their Life time with one Woman. I gave you to know above, that during the whole courſe of their married State they maintain an inviolable Fidelity to one another: But, which is yet more Edifying, as ſoon as the Woman is declar'd to be with Child, both ſhe and her Bedfellow abſtain from Enjoyment, and obſerve an exact courſe of Continence from thence to the thirtieth Day after her Childbirth. When a Woman is ready to lye in, ſhe withdraws to a certain Hut allotted for that uſe, being attended by her ſhe Slaves, who ſerve and aſſiſt her as far as they can. In

fine,

fine, the Female Sex in this Country deliver themſelves without the aſſiſtance of Midwives; for they bring forth their Children with a facility that the *European* Women can ſcarce have any Notion of, and they never lye in above two or three Days. They obſerve a ſort of Purification for thirty Days if the Child be a Boy, and for forty if it be a Girle, and till that time is expir'd they do not return to their Husband's Apartment.

As ſoon as their Children come into the World they dip them in warm Water up to the Chin, after which they ſwathe them down upon little Boards or Planks ſtuffed with Cotton, where they lye upon their Backs, as I inſinuated under the Head of the *Habit, Houſes, &c. of the Savages.* They never make uſe of Nurſes unleſs it be when the Mothers are out of order, and they never wean their Children, but ſuckle them ſo long as they have Milk, with which indeed they are very plentifully provided.

The Women have no opportunity of Marriage after the Fiftieth Year of their Age; for the Men of the like Age alledge, that ſince they cannot then bear Children, 'twould be a piece of Folly to meddle with them; and the young Sparks affirm, that their wither'd Beauty has not force enough to Charm them, at a time when there is no ſcarcity of Buxſome young Girles. In this Diſtreſs, when the young Men will not uſe them as Miſtreſſes, and Men of riper Years refuſe them for Wives, if their Complexion be any thing Amorous, they are forc'd to adopt ſome Priſoner of War that is preſented them, in order to anſwer their preſſing Neceſſities.

When the Husband or Wife comes to dye, the Widowhood does not laſt above ſix Months; and if in that ſpace of time the Widow or Widower

dower dreams of their deceas'd Bedfellow, they Poyſon themſelves in cold Blood with all the Contentment imaginable; and at the ſame time ſing a ſort of tune that one may ſafely ſay proceeds from the Heart. But if the ſurviving Party dreams but once of the Deceaſed, they ſay, that the Spirit of Dreams was not ſure that the dead Perſon was uneaſie in the Country of Souls, foraſmuch as he only paſs'd by without returning, and for that reaſon they think they are not oblig'd to go keep him Company.

Theſe Savages are uncapable of Jealouſy; that is a Paſſion they know nothing of. They jeer the *Europeans* upon that head; and brand a man's diſtruſt of his Wife, for a piece of manifeſt Folly; as if, ſay they, we were not certain that 'tis impoſſible for ſo weak an Animal to be true to its promiſes. To purſue their fallacious way of arguing, they alledge that ſuſpicion is only a doubt, and that to doubt of what one ſees is an argument of Blindneſs and Folly; and in fine, that 'tis impoſſible, but that the conſtraint and perpetuity that attends our Marriages, or the bait of Gold and Silver, ſhould oblige a Woman when Cloy'd with one and the ſame Husband, to whet her Appetite in the Embraces of another Man. I am fully convinced that a Savage would chuſe rather to ſuffer Mutilation than to Embrace his Neighbours Wife. Nor is the Chaſtity of the ſhe Savages leſs nice, for I do not believe that in the ſpace of Fifty Years there has been one Inſtance among 'em of the Invaſion of another Man's Bed. 'Tis true the *French*, being uncapable to diſtinguiſh between the Married and Unmarried Women, ſometimes make their Addreſs to the former, when they find them alone in the Woods, or when they walk out into the Fields; but upon ſuch occaſions they always receive this Anſwer;

The

The Fiend which is before mine Eyes hinders me to ſee thee.

The Savages go always by the Mothers Name. To make this plain by an example: the Leader of the Nation of *Hurons*, who is called *Saſtaretſi*, being Married to a Daughter of another *Huron* Family, by whom he has ſeveral Children, that General's Name is extinct at his Death, for that his Children aſſume the Name of the Mother. Now, it may be ask'd how the Name of *Saſtaretſi* has been kept up for the ſpace of Seven or Eight Hundred Years among that People, and is likely to continue to future Ages? But the Queſtion is eaſily Anſwered, if we conſider, that the Siſter of this *Saſtaretſi* being Married to another Savage, whom we ſhall call *Adario*, the Children Springing from that Marriage, will be called *Saſtaretſi* after the Mother, and not *Adario* after this Father. When I asked them the Reaſon of the Cuſtom, they replyed, that the Children having received their Soul from their Father, and their Body from their Mother, 'twas but reaſonable that the Maternial Name ſhould be Perpetuated. I repreſented to them I do not know how often, that God alone was the only Creator of Souls, and that it was more reaſonable to derive the original of that Cuſtom from the certainty that they had of the Mother beyond that of the Father; but they poſſitively affirmed that this reaſon was abſurd, without offering any proof.

When a Woman has loſt a Husband that leaves Brothers who are Batchelours, one of theſe Marries the Widow Six Months after his Death. The ſame is the Caſe with the Siſters of a Wife; for when a Married Woman Dies, commonly one of the Siſters ſupplies her place. But you muſt take notice that this Cuſtom is only obſerved by the Savages that pretend to be Wiſer than their

Neighbours. Some Savages continue Batchelours to their Dying day, and never appear either at Hunting or in Warlike Expeditions, as being either Lunatick or Sickly: But at the ſame time they are as much eſteem'd as the Braveſt and Haileſt Men in the Country, or at leaſt if they rally upon 'em, 'tis never done where they are preſent. Among the *Illineſe* there are ſeveral Hermaphrodites, who go in a Womans Habit, but frequent the Company of both Sexes. Theſe *Illineſe* are ſtrangely given to Sodomy, as well as the other Savages that live near the River *Miſſiſipi*.

This, Sir, is all that I could learn of the way of Marriage and the Amours of the *Americans*; who are ſo far from giving a full looſe to their Venerial Appetite, that they always act with a command over themſelves, being very moderate in their Adventures with Women, whom they make uſe of only for the Propagation of their Families and the Preſervation of their Health. Their Conduct upon this Head may ſerve for a juſt Reprimand to the *Europeans*.

I obſerv'd before, that if once a Girle proves with Child, ſhe never gets a Husband; but I ought to have added that ſome young Women will not hear of a Husband, through a principle of Debauchery. That ſort of Women are call'd *Ickoue ne Kiouſſa*, i. e. *Hunting Women*: for they commonly accompany the Huntſmen in their Diverſions. To juſtify their Conduct, they alledge that they find themſelves to be of too indifferent a temper to brook the Conjugal yoak, to be too careleſs for the bringing up of Children, and too impatient to bear the paſſing of the whole Winter in the Village. Thus it is, that they cover and diſguiſe their Lewdneſs. Their Parents or Relations dare not cenſure their Vicious Conduct; on the contrary they ſeem to approve of it, in declaring

declaring, as I ſaid before, that their Daughters have the command of their own Bodies and may diſpoſe of their Perſons as they think fit; they being at their liberty to do what they pleaſe. In ſhort, the Children of theſe Common Women are accounted a Lawful Iſſue, and intitled to all the Privileges of other Children; abateing for one thing, namely, that the noted Warriours or Counſellours will not accept of 'em for their Sons in Law, and that they cannot enter into Alliance with certain Ancient Families; though at the ſame time theſe Families are not poſſeſſed of any peculiar Right or Preheminence. The *Jeſuits* do their utmoſt to prevent the Lewd Practices of theſe Whores, by Preaching to their Parents that their Indulgence is very diſagreeable to the Great Spirit, that they muſt anſwer before God for not confineing their Children to the meaſures of Continency and Chaſtity, and that a Fire is Kindled in the other World to Torment 'em for ever, unleſs they take more care to correct Vice.

To ſuch Remonſtrances the Men reply, *That's Admirable*; and the Women uſually tell the Good Fathers in a deriding way, *That if their Threats be well grounded, the Mountains of the other World muſt conſiſt of the Aſhes of Souls.*

A View of the Diſeaſes and Remedies of the Savages.

THE *Savages* are a robuſt and vigorous ſort of People, of a Sanguine Temperament, and an admirable Complexion. They are unacquainted with a great many Diſeaſes that afflict the

the *Europeans*, ſuch as the *Gout*, *Gravel*, *Dropſy*, *&c.* Their Health is firm, notwithſtanding that they uſe no precaution to preſerve it; for on the contrary one would think that they weaken themſelves by the Violent Exerciſes of Dancing, Hunting, and Warlike-Expeditions, in which they have frequent returns of Heats and Colds in one day, which in *Europe* would occaſion a Mortal Diſtemper. Sometimes indeed they are ſeiz'd with *Pluriſies*, but theſe are as unfrequent as they are mortal; for this is the only Diſtemper that all their Remedies cannot conquer. The *Small-Pox* are as common in the *North of Canada*, as the *Great-Pox* are to the *Southward*: in the Winter time the *Small-Pox* is very dangerous, by reaſon of the difficulty of reſpiration; but notwithſtanding that 'tis mortal, the Savages matter it ſo little, that when 'tis upon 'em, they walk about from Hut to Hut, if they are able; or if they have not ſtrength to walk, are carried about by their Slaves. In the *Illineſe* Country, and near the *Miſſiſipi*, the *Venereal Diſtemper* is very common. I remember, that in the Interview I had with the *Akanſas* upon that great River, at the Mouth of the *Miſſouris* (as I ſaid in my Sixteenth Letter) I ſaw a Savage, who uncovering himſelf, ſhew'd me part of his Body, that was ready to fall off, through Rottenneſs; at that time he was buſy'd in boiling Roots, and after I had ask'd him the uſe of 'em, he gave me to underſtand by his Interpreter, that he hop'd to be cur'd in a Months time, by drinking the Juice of theſe Roots, and eating conſtantly the Broth or Decoction of Meat and Fiſh.

Brandy makes a terrible havock among the People of *Canada*, for thoſe who drink it are much more numerous than thoſe who have the power to abſtain from it. That Liquor, which of it ſelf is murdering ſtuff, and which is brew'd and adulterated

terated before 'tis imported into this Countrey, ſweeps off men ſo faſt, that one who has not ſeen the fatal effects of it can ſcarce credit 'em: It extinguiſhes their Natural Heat, and throws almoſt all of 'em into that Languiſhing Diſorder, which we call a *Conſumption*: They look pale, livid and ghaſtly like Skeletons. Their Feaſts are the bane and entire ruine of their Stomacks, as being nothing but plentiful Entertainments, at which they value themſelves upon leaving nothing. They pretend, that by vertue of their drinking great quantities of Water and Broth, they digeſt their Victuals with greater Facility than the *Europeans*, who load their Stomacks with Wine and other Liquors, that produce Crudities.

The Savages are not at all alarm'd by Sickneſs, for they fear Death much leſs than the Pain and Duration of their Illneſs. When they are ſick, they only drink Broth, and eat ſparingly; and if they have the good luck to fall aſleep, they think themſelves cur'd: They have told me frequently, that ſleeping and ſweating would cure the moſt ſtubborn Diſeaſes in the World. When they are ſo weak that they cannot get out of Bed, their Relations come and dance and make merry before 'em, in order to divert 'em. To conclude, when they are ill, they are always viſited by a ſort of Quacks, (*Jongleurs*); of whom 'twill now be proper to ſubjoin two or three Words by the bye.

A *Jongleur* is a ſort of *Phyſician*, or rather a *Quack*, who being once cur'd of ſome dangerous Diſtemper, has the Preſumption and Folly to fancy that he is immortal, and poſſeſſed of the Power of curing all Diſeaſes, by ſpeaking to the Good and Evil Spirits. Now though every Body rallies upon theſe Fellows when they are abſent, and looks upon 'em as Fools that have loſt their Senſes by

ſome

ſome violent Diſtemper, yet they allow 'em to viſit the Sick; whether it be to divert 'em with their Idle Stories, or to have an Opportunity of ſeeing them rave, skip about, cry, houl, and make Grimaces and Wry Faces, as if they were poſſeſs'd. When all the Buſtle is over, they demand a Feaſt of a Stag and ſome large Trouts for the Company, who are thus regal'd at once with Diverſion and Good Cheer.

When the Quack comes to viſit the Patient, he examines him very carefully; *If the Evil Spirit be here*, ſays he, *we ſhall quickly diſlodge him.* This ſaid, he withdraws by himſelf to a little Tent made on purpoſe, where he dances and ſings houling like an Owl; (which gives the Jeſuits Occaſion to ſay, *That the Devil converſes with 'em.*) After he has made an end of this Quack Jargon, he comes and rubs the Patient in ſome part of his Body, and pulling ſome little Bones out of his Mouth, acquaints the Patient, *That theſe very Bones came out of his Body; that he ought to pluck up a good heart, in regard that his Diſtemper is but a Trifle; and in fine, that in order to accelerate the Cure, 'twill be convenient to ſend his own and his Relations Slaves to ſhoot Elks, Deer, &c. to the end they may all eat of that ſort of Meat, upon which his Cure does abſolutely depend.*

Commonly theſe Quacks bring 'em ſome Juices of Plants, which are a ſort of Purges, and are called *Maskikik.* But the Patients chooſe to keep them by 'em rather than to drink them; for they think all Purgatives inflame the Maſs of the Blood, and weaken the Veins and Arteries by their violent Shocks. All their Cure conſiſts in ſweating well, in drinking Broth, in keeping themſelves very warm, in ſleeping if they can, and in drinking the Lake-water or Spring-water, in the Paroxyſms of *Fevers*, as well as in other Diſtempers.

The

They cannot conceive how we come to be ſuch Fools as to make uſe of Vomits; for whenever they ſee a *French*-man take down ſuch a violent Remedy, they cannot forbear ſaying that he ſwallows an *Iroqueſe*. They plead, that this ſort of Remedy ſhakes the whole Machine, and makes terrible Efforts upon all the inward Parts. But they are yet more aſtoniſh'd at our cuſtom of Bleeding; *For*, ſay they, *the Blood being the Taper of Life, we have more occaſion to pour it in than to take out, conſidering that Life ſinks when its Principal Cauſe is mov'd off; from whence 'tis a Natural Conſequence, that after loſs of Blood Nature acts but feebly and heavily, the Intrails are overheated, and all the Parts are dry'd, which gives riſe to all the Diſeaſes that afflict the* Europeans.

The Savages are never eight Days together without Sweating, whether they be well or bad; only they obſerve this difference, that when they are perfectly well they throw themſelves while the ſweating moiſture is yet upon them, into the River in Summer, and into the Snow in Winter; whereas when they are out of order they go immediately into a warm Bed. Five or ſix Savages may ſweat conveniently in the place allotted for that uſe, which is a ſort of Oven or Stove cover'd with Mats, Skins, *&c.* In the middle of this Bagnio there ſtands a Diſh or Porringer full of burning Brandy, or of great red hot Stones, which occaſions ſuch a piercing heat, that in the twinkling of an Eye they ſweat prodigiouſly. They never make uſe of hot Baths and Glyſters, unleſs it be when they are over perſwaded by the Jeſuits and our Phyſicians.

I remember, that in a Conference I had one Day with a Savage, the Barbarian ſaid with a great deal of Senſe, *That a good Air, good Water, and Contentment of Mind could not indeed keep a*

Man's Life from coming to an end, but that at leaſt it muſt be own'd, that theſe Advantages contribute in a great meaſure to make a Man run through the courſe of his Life without being ſenſible of any Diſorder or Inconveniency. They make a Jeſt of the Impatience of the *Europeans*, who would be cur'd as ſoon as they are ſick. They alledge that our fear of Death, occaſion'd by the invaſion of the leaſt Feaver, does ſo inflame and fortifie the Diſeaſe, that oftentimes we fall a Sacrifice to Fear it ſelf; whereas if we look'd upon our Illneſs as a Triffle as well as Death, and kept our Bed with Patience and a good Heart, without offering Violence to Nature, by cramming down Drugs and Medicines, the good old Dame would not fail to Comfort and Refreſh us by degrees.

The Savages are always againſt the making uſe of our Surgeons and Phyſicians. They affirm, that all mixtures of Drugs are Poyſon that deſtroys Natural Heat, and conſumes the Breaſt; and that Glyſters are only proper for the *Europeans*, though after all they ſometimes make uſe of them, when the *French* reſort to their Villages. They are of the Opinion, that the obſerving of a Diet heats the Blood, and that 'tis of dangerous Coſequence to baulk the Appetite as to what it craves, provided the Aliment hath a good Juice. The Meat that they eat is little more than half done; but their Fiſh is always over boyl'd. They never touch Sallade, upon the Plea that all cold Herbs oblige the Stomach to hard labour.

There's no Wound or Diſlocation that they cannot cure with the Simples or Plants, whoſe Vertues they are well acquainted with; and, which indeed is ſingular, their Wounds never run to a Gangrene. But after all, this is not to

be

Vol. 2.

Savages come from the Sweats & threw themselves into ye lake

A Savage Village

A Stove or Cabin where two men Sweate

A mountebank in his hutt. Crying &c.

The relations of the Sick person dancing

A heart prepar'd for a feast by ye doctor's Orders &c

A monsterous trout for the entertain-

-ment of the Physitian and his Company

The relations of ye deceas'd dancing

The interment of a Savage

The Slave of ye deceas'd carrying his baggage

The burying place for ye Savages

The relations of ye deceas'd dancing

be imputed to theſe Herbs, nor to the Air of the Country, but to their hail Conſtitution; for notwithſtanding the uſe of theſe very Remedies a Gangrene invades the Wounds of the *French*, who queſtionleſs are harder to cure than the Savages. This People attribute our liableneſs to Gangrenes, and indeed all our Diſeaſes, to the Salt that we eat; for they cannot taſte any ſalt thing without being ſick unto Death, and drinking perpetually. They cannot be perſwaded to drink Ice-water, for they alledge that it infeebles the Stomach, and retards Digeſtion. Such, Sir, are their fantaſtical Opinions of things, which proceed from their Prepoſſeſſion and Bigotry with reference to their own Cuſtoms and ways of Living. 'Tis in vain to viſit them when they lie at the point of Death, in order to preſs them to Bleed or take a Purge; for they ſtill make anſwer, that they cannot conſent to the forwarding of their Death by the Remedies of the *French*, which they take to be as bad as the Perſons who exhibit them.

As ſoon as a Savage dies he is dreſt as neatly as can be, and his Relations Slaves come and mourn over him; neither Mother, Siſter nor Brother ſhews the leaſt mark of Affliction; they ſay, Their decas'd Friend is happy in being thus exempted from farther Sufferings; for this good People believe, and not without Reaſon, that Death is a paſſage to a better Life. When the Corps are dreſt they ſet them upon a Mat in the ſame Poſture as if the Perſon were alive; and his Relations being ſet round him, every one in his turn addreſſes him with a Harangue, recounting all his Exploits as well as thoſe of his Anceſtors. He that ſpeaks laſt expreſſes himſelf to this purpoſe. 'You ſuch a one, you ſit now a-'long with us, and have the ſame Shapes that

'we have; you want neither Arms, nor Head, 'nor Legs. But at the ſame time you ceaſe to 'be, and begin to evaporate like the ſmoke of 'a Pipe. Who is it that talk'd with us but two 'Days ago? Sure! 'twas not you; for then 'you would ſpeak to us ſtill. It muſt therefore 'be your Soul which is now lodg'd in the 'great Country of Souls along with thoſe of our 'Nation. This Body which we now behold 'will in ſix Months time become what it was 'two Hundred Years ago. Thou feeleſt no-'thing, thou knoweſt nothing, and thou ſeeſt 'nothing, becauſe thou art nothing. Never-'theleſs out of the Friendſhip we had for thy 'Body while animated by thy Spirit, we thus 'tender the Marks of that Veneration which is 'due to our Brethren and our Friends.

After they have made an end of their Harangues the Male Relations remove to make room for the ſhe Friends, who make him the like Compliment. This done, they ſhut the Corps up twenty four Hours in the Hut for the Dead, and during that time are imploy'd in Dances and Feaſts, which are far from bearing a mournful ſhew. After the twenty four Hours are expir'd the Slaves of the deceas'd Perſon carry his Corps upon their Backs to the Burying-place, where it is laid upon Stakes that are ten Foot high, in a double Coffin of Bark, with his Arms and ſome Pipes with Tobaco and *Indian* Corn put up in the ſame Coffin. When the Slaves are carrying the Corps to the Burying-place, the Male and Female Relations accompany them, Dancing all the while; and the reſt of the Slaves of the deceas'd Perſon carry ſome Baggage, which the Relations preſent to the dead Perſon and lay upon his Coffin. The Savages that live upon the long River burn their Corps, as I inſinuated before;

fore; but you muſt know that they keep them in Vaults or Cellars till they have a ſufficient number to burn together, which is perform'd out of the Village, in a place ſet a part for that Ceremony. In fine, the Savages know no ſuch thing as Mourning, and never mention the Dead in particular; I mean, they never repeat their Names. They deride us when they hear us recount the Fate of our Parents, our Kings, our Generals, *&c.*

Upon the Death of a Savage his Slaves marry the other Women Slaves, and live by themſelves in a diſtinct Hut, as being then free, or ſuch as have no Maſter to ſerve. The Children that ſpring from this ſort of Marriages, are adopted and reputed the Children of the Nation, by reaſon of their being born in the Village and in the Country. *There's no reaſon,* ſay they, *that ſuch Children ſhould bear the Misfortunes of their Parents, or come into the World in Slavery, ſince they contributed nothing towards their Creation.* Theſe Slaves take care to go every Day to the foot of their Maſter's Coffin, and there offer up ſome Pipes and Tobaco, as a grateful acknowledgment of their Liberty. But now that I am got upon the Subject of Tobaco, I muſt acquaint you that almoſt all the Savages ſmoak, but they never chew Tobaco, nor take it in Snuff. They ſow and reap a great deal of it, but then it differs from what we have in *Europe*, though our firſt Seed came from *America*; and in regard that 'tis in a manner good for nothing, they are forc'd to buy up *Braſil* Tobaco, which they mix with a certain Leaf of an agreeable Smell, call'd *Sagakomi.*

I have nothing more to ſay upon this Head; for I think I have given you a ſufficient account

of their Diſeaſes and of their Remedies, which in my Opinion are as Savage as themſelves. But let that be as it will, 'tis certain they ſeldom die of any other Diſtemper than of a Pleuriſy. As for the other Diſeaſes they get over them with the greateſt danger in the World, for ſetting aſide their Courage and Patience which goes beyond any thing that we can imagine, they take all the ways of the the World to burſt themſelves by Eating and Drinking when they have groſs Feavours upon them, and when the fit is over ſmoaking that *Braſil* Tobaco, which without diſpute is the ſtrongeſt ſort that we know of.

The Women of this Country are ſubject to the Natural Diſorders as well as elſewhere, and ſometimes die of them. 'Tis true they have an admirable Remedy for redreſſing the Diſorders that flow from that Source; I mean, a certain Potion; but it hath no Operation unleſs they abſtain from all manner of Exceſs, which they are very unwilling to do. Some *French* Surgeons aſſur'd me, that the *European* Women void a much greater quantity and hold the Flux longer upon them than theſe *Americans*, who ſeldom have thoſe upon them above two Days at a time. Another Inconvenience that frequently annoys them, is an over-bearing quantity of Milk; for which they uſe to put little Puppies to ſuck their Breaſts.

The Diverſions of Hunting and Shooting uſual among the Savages.

I Have already deſcrib'd the Hunting of the Elks and ſome other Animals of *Canada* in my 10th and 11th Letter, ſo that now it remains only to give you an exact account of the Beavers, which are ſaid to be *Amphibious Animals*, as I obſerv'd in my 16th Letter, with which I ſent you the Figure of theſe Animals. And becauſe theſe Beaſts do ſome things very ſurpriſing by a wonderful Inſtinct, to give you a right Notion wherein their Cunning conſiſts, I ſend you a Draught of thoſe Ponds which they know how to make more Artificially than any Man can do.

The Savages of *Canada* reflecting on the excellent Qualities of the Beavers, are wont to ſay, *That they have ſo much Wit, Capacity and Judgment, that they cannot believe their Souls die with their Bodies.* They add, *That if they were permitmitted to reaſon about things inviſible, and which fall not under their Senſes, they durſt maintain, that they are Immortal like ours.* But not to inſiſt on this Chimerical Fancy, it muſt be allow'd, that there are an infinite number of Men upon the Earth (without mentioning the *Tartars*, the Peaſants of *Muſcovy*, of *Norway*, and a Hundred other ſorts of People) who have not the Hundredth part of the Underſtanding which theſe Animals have.

The Beavers diſcover ſo much Art in thei Works, that we cannot without offering violence to our Reaſon attribute their Skill to mere

Inſtinct, for it is lawful to doubt of ſome things whereof we cannot diſcover the Cauſe, provided they have not any Connexion with Religion; I mean ſuch things as appear ſo ſtrange to Sence and Reaſon, that we cannot give credit to them, unleſs we have ſeen them our ſelves. However, I will venture to write to you many Particulars upon this Subject, which perhaps may make you doubt of the truth of my Narrative. I will begin with aſſuring you, that theſe Animals join together in a Society conſiſting of an Hundred, and that they ſeem to talk and reaſon with one another by certaing bemoaning inarticulate Sounds. The Savages ſay they have an intelligible Jargon, by means whereof they communicate their Sentiments and Thoughts to one another. I never was an Eye Witneſs of this kind of Aſſemblies, but many *Savages* and *Courcurs de Bois*, who are People worthy of Credit, have aſſur'd me, that there is nothing more true. They add, that they conſult among themſelves about what things they muſt do to maintain their Cottages, their Banks and their Lakes, and about every thing that concerns the Preſervation of their Commonwealth. Theſe good People would perſwade me, that the Beavers ſet Centries while they are cutting through great Trees, as big as Tuns, with their Teeth, in the Neighbourhood of their little Lakes, and that when theſe Centinels cry out, upon the approach of Men or Beaſts, all the Beavers that are at Work throw themſelves into the Water and ſave themſelves by diving, till they come at their Cottages. I mention this matter of Fact upon the Report of a Thouſand Perſons, who could have no Intereſt to impoſe upon me with Fables; but what follows I have obſerv'd my ſelf, in the Country where the *Outagamis* Hunt, which

which I mention'd in the beginning of my 16th Letter.

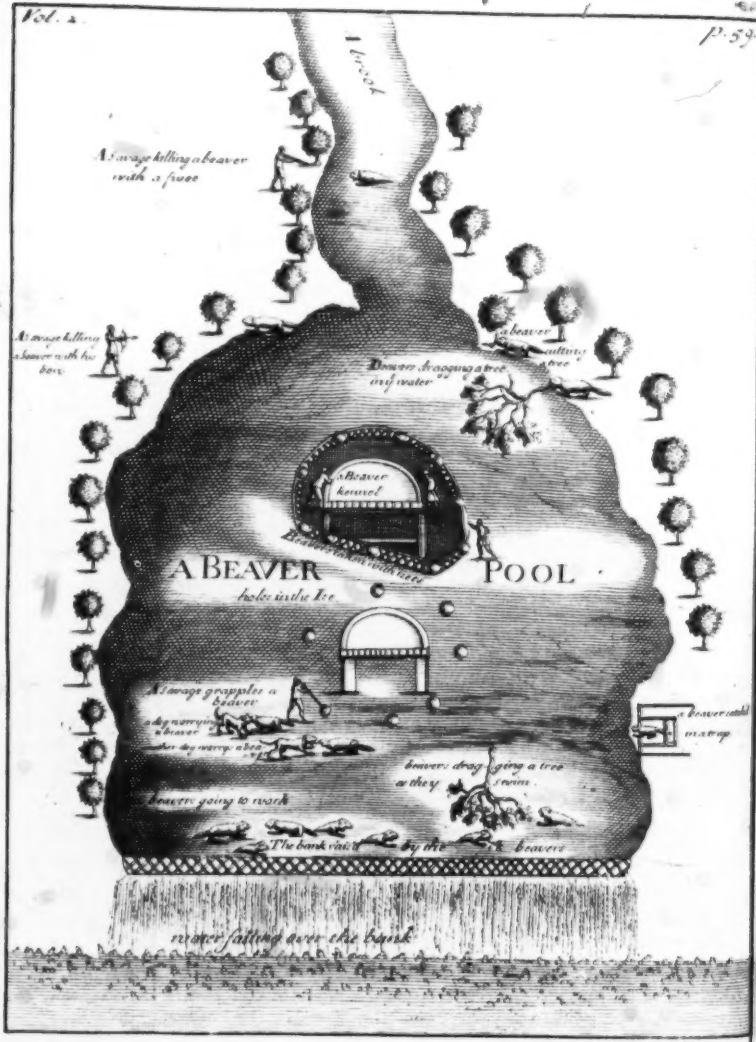
The Beavers finding a Rivulet that runs croſs a Meadow, ſet themſelves to make Banks and Ramparts, which ſtopping the courſe of the Water cauſe an Inundation over the whole Meadow; that ſometimes is no leſs than two Leagues in Circumference. This Bank is made with Trees which they cut down with their four great ſharp Teeth, and then drag them along as they ſwim in the Water. Theſe Trees being rang'd a croſs at the bottom of this Meadow, the Animals load themſelves with Graſs and fat Earth, which they tranſport upon their great Tails, and throw in between the Wood with ſo much Art and Induſtry, that the moſt skilful Bricklayer can hardly make a ſtronger Wall with Lime and Morter. In the Night time they are heard to Work with ſo much Vigour and Diligence, that one would think them to be Men at Work, if he were not aſſur'd before hand that they are Beavers. Their Tails ſerve them for *Trouels*, and their Teeth for *Axes*, their Paws ſupply the place of *Hands*, and their Feet ſerve inſtead of *Oars*: In fine, they make Banks of 4 or 500 Paces in length, of 20 Feet in heighth, and 7 or 8 in thickneſs, in the ſpace of 5 or 6 Months, though there are not above a Hundred at moſt that Work upon them. I muſt obſerve here by the by, that the Savages, out of a ſcruple of Conſcience, never break theſe Banks, but only bore a hole through them, as I ſhall ſhow you hereafter. Beſides their Talent of cutting down the Trees, their Art of making them fall upon the Water appears to me altogether ſurprizing; for it requires Judgment and cloſe Attention to ſucceed in it, and chiefly to nick the time when the Wind can aſſiſt them to make the fall of the

Tree

Tree more eaſie, and to make them fall upon their little Lakes. But this is not the fineſt Work of theſe Animals, that of their Cottages ſurpaſſes all Imagination; for it requires both Skill and Strength to make holes at the bottom of the Water, for planting their ſix Poſts which they take care to place exactly in the middle of the Lake: Upon theſe ſix Poſts they fix their little Houſe, which is built in the form of an Oven, and is made up of fat Earth, Herbs and Branches of Trees, having three Stories that they may mount up from one to the other when the Waters riſe by Rains or Thaw. The Rafters are of Ruſhes, and each Beaver hath an Apartment to himſelf. They enter into their Cabin under Water, thro' a great hole in the firſt Floor, which is encompaſs'd with Aſp Wood cut in pieces on purpoſe, that they may the more eaſily drag it into their Cells when they have a mind to eat; for ſince it is their common Food, they are always ſo Provident as to lay up great heaps of it, and chiefly during the *Autumn*, foreſeeing that the cold Weather will freeze up their Lakes, and keep them ſhut up two or three Months in their Cabins.

I ſhould never make an end if I attempted to give an account of all the ſeveral Artifices of theſe Ingenious Animals, the Order ſettled in their little Commonwealth, and the Precautions they uſe to ſecure themſelves from the purſuit of other Animals: I ſhall only obſerve, that all other Animals upon Earth, however Strong, Active and Vigorous they may be, have other Animals which they are affraid of; but theſe I now ſpeak of are not apprehenſive of any danger but only from Men, for the Wolves, the Foxes, the Bears, *&c.* care not for offering to attack them in their Cabines, although they have the faculty of Diving; and it is certain it

is


A Savage killing a beaver with a spear
A Savage killing a beaver with his bow
A beaver cutting a tree
Beavers dragging a tree into water
A Beaver kennel
A BEAVER POOL
holes in the Ice
A Savage grapples a beaver
A beaver cutting a tree
Beavers drag going a tree as they swim
Beavers going to work
The bank eaten by the beavers
A beaver cutting a tree
Beavers falling down the bank

The Beaver hunting Spoken of in ye: 16 letter.

A. the Iroquese surprising their enemies at hunting

B. the huntsmen coming in a body to meet 'em

C. a Savage taken prisoner of war

D. a Savage surpris'd and killd in the action

E. the Iroquese in Ambush firing upon ye Canows

G. the Iroquese shooting upon ye Canows that fly.

H. Savages flying to their Canows

I. Canows of bark

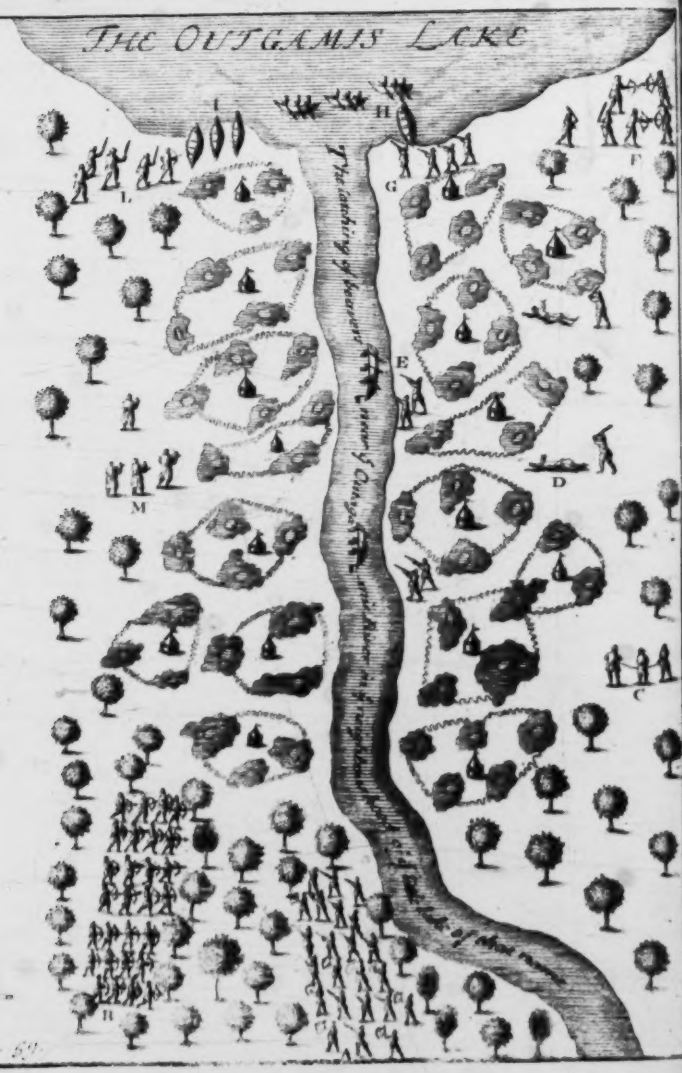
L. Savages put to flight

M. women flying with their Children

A hut for 10 huntsmen

The precinct of a hut for ten huntsmen placid in ye middle

A poole or little lake in ye midst of which ye beavers build their kennels


THE OUTGAMIS LAKE
The Landing of Iberville
I
H
G
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L
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C
B

is not their Interest to do it, for the Beavers would defend themselves very easily with their sharp cutting Teeth; so that they cannot be insulted but by Land, and 'tis for that reason they never go farther than twenty Paces from the edge of their Lake, and always set Centinels to watch, who cry out to give them notice when they hear the least noise.

It remains now only that I should give an Account of the Nature of the Countries where the Beavers are hunted, some of which are describ'd in my Map. And first you must know, that you cannot go four or five Leagues in the Woods of *Canada*, but you meet with a little Beaver-Lake: So that one may say, that all this vast Continent is a Country for *Beaver hunting*; but this is not what I mean. The Places for Hunting that I now speak of are a multitude of little Lakes replenish'd with these Animals, the distance of which from one to another is inconsiderable. For Instance, those of *Saguinan*, of *L' ours qui dort*, of the *River of Puants*, are about twenty Leagues in length, and in that whole compass of Ground their are found Sixty little Beaver Lakes more or less, where a certain number of Savages may Hunt in the Winter time. 'Tis commonly about the end of *Autumn* that the Savages set out from their Villages in a Canow to go and post themselves in the places for Hunting, and as they know all the places much better than I do the Streets of *Quebec*, they agree among themselves, as they are Travelling, to allot each Family a certain compass of Ground, so that when they arrive at the place they divide themselves into *Tribes*. Each Hunter fixes his House in the Center of that Ground which is his District, as you may see describ'd in this Cut. There are eight or ten Hunters in each Cottage,

tage, who have four or five Lakes for their ſhare. In each Lake there is at leaſt one Houſe or Kennel of Beavers, and ſometimes two or three. After the Huntſmen have built their Huts they employ themſelves in laying Traps for *Otters*, *Foxes*, *Bears*, *Land Beavers* and *Martens*, upon the ſides of their Lakes; and when they are ſet go very orderly to look after them every Day: But above all they are ſo Juſt, that they would chooſe rather to die for Hunger than to ſtraggle out of the Bounds allotted them, or to ſteal the Beaſts that are taken in their Neighbours Traps. They feed well and make merry during this Hunting Seaſon, which laſts for four Months; for they find more than they have occaſion for, of *Trouts*, *Hares*, *Wood-Foul*, *Bears*, and ſometime they meet with *Deer* and *Roebucks*.

The *Beavers* are ſeldom catch'd by Traps unleſs they put in them ſome pieces of red Aſp * which they love extreamly, and is not eaſie to be found. They are taken in the *Autumn* by making a great hole under their Banks, by which they drain all the Water out of their Lakes, and then the Beavers being left on dry Ground the Savages kill them all, except a dozen of Females, and half a dozen of Males; after which they are very exact in ſtopping up the hole they had made, which they do in ſuch a manner that the Lake is fill'd with Water as before.

* *A ſort of a Willow.*

Their way of Hunting in the Winter time when the Lake is frozen, is by making holes round the Kennels of the Beavers, upon which they place Nets that reach from one to the other, and when they are extended as they ſhould be, they lay open the Kennels of theſe poor Animals with an Ax; upon which they throw themſelves into the Water, and coming to take Breath

Breath at theſe Holes, are catch'd in the Nets; at this rate not one of them eſcapes, but the Savages having no mind to extirpate 'em throw back into the Holes, the ſame number of Beavers, Male and Female, as they uſually do at their Hunting in Autumn, as I have already told you.

They may likewiſe be kill'd when they Swim upon the Water, or when they come Aſhore to cut down Trees; but then you muſt be very well hid and not ſtir, for upon the leaſt noiſe that they hear, they throw themſelves into the Water, and Dive till they come to their Kennels. This way of Hunting is peculiar to Travellers, who finding themſelves lodg'd near ſome Beaver Lake, endeavour to ſurprize them, by Sculking behind ſome Log or ſome great Tree till Night comes on.

The Savages take alſo other Animals in theſe Beaver-Hunting-Countries, by running up and down. I have already told you, that they ſet Traps, in which *Foxes*, *Wolves*, *Martens* and others are catch'd when they bite at the Bait. I have alſo explain'd to you the way of making this ſort of Traps, in my 11th Letter. Theſe Engines do not differ from one another, but only in bulk: Thoſe for the Bears are the ſtrongeſt, but they are of no uſe till the beginning of Winter; for then the Bears ſeek out great Trees which are Hollow, where the Branches begin to ſpread, that they may Neſtle in them. Many People will hardly believe that theſe Animals can live 3 Months in ſuch Priſons, without any other Food but the Juice of their Paws which they ſuck continually: And yet the matter of Fact is undeniably true. But I reckon it yet more ſtrange, that they are able to climb up to thoſe Lurking-Holes, eſpecially at a time when they are ſo Fat,

that

that 2 Savages conduct them whither they pleaſe with Poles, they being ſcarce able to walk. This I ſaw 3 or 4 times during the Winter in 1687, when I Winter'd at *Fort St. Joſeph*; for the *Hurons* of *Gaintſouan* brought ſome of them off, which enter'd the Fort without any reluctancy.

The Savages make likewiſe Traps for the *Land-Beavers*, which for the reaſon given in my 16th Letter, neſtle on the Land, like *Foxes*, *Conies* and *Badgers*: And notwithſtanding that they are purſu'd by the other Beavers, yet they make their Dens about the Lakes, Brooks and Rivers. They are eaſily taken in theſe Traps, eſpecially when they are Baited with the Head of an *Otter*. For there is ſo great an Antipathy between theſe 2 ſorts of Animals, that they are continually at War with one another.

The Savages inform'd me, that they ſaw a great Company of *Otters* Aſſembled together about the Month of *May*, who had the boldneſs to attack the *Beavers* in their Huts, but were beaten back and driven from the Lake with loſs. They added, that a Beaver can defend himſelf againſt 3 Otters, by the help of his Teeth and Tail. In fine, 'tis certain that the Lake Beavers are ſeldom taken in Traps, unleſs they be Baited with ſome Aſpwood, as I have already obſerv'd. I acquainted you above that the Savages viſit their Traps every day, and carry into their Cottages the Prey that they find catch'd. Immediately after that, the Slaves Flea the Beaſts that are taken, and ſtretch out their Skins in the Air, or on the Ice to dry them. This Imployment laſts as long as the time of Hunting, which ends with the great Thaw; and then they put up their Skins in Bundles, and carry them to the place where they left the Canows when they firſt came into this Hunting-Country.

Altho

Altho the Savages have great reaſon to be afraid of their Enemies, while they lye diſperſed up and down in a Country, which is no leſs than 20 Leagues in Compaſs, as I intimated above; yet they ſcarce ever uſe the Precaution of ſending out Scouts upon all hands, and for want of it are often Surpriz'd, when they leaſt think of it. I could relate 20 fatal Excurſions of the *Iroqueſe* into the Hunting-Countries I have been ſpeaking of, in which they cut the Throats of many of our Friends and Allies. I did all that I could to perſuade our Allies that their Conduct was faulty upon this occaſion, ſince they could eaſily ſecure themſelves from ſuch Inſults, by Building their Cottages at a place where they might poſt a Guard of Centinels, to watch and diſcover any Enemies, that might advance to the Frontiers of theſe Hunting-Countries. They only made anſwer; *that this indeed was reaſonable, and that it was true, they did not ſleep in ſafety for want of that Precaution.* In fine, they imagine that their Enemies are buſied in Hunting on their own Coaſts; and upon that Apprehenſion, are ſuch Fools as not to uſe any Precaution. But this I know, that the *Iroqueſe* take quite another Method, having their Scouts and advanc'd Guards, which are always in Motion; by which means they are ſcarce ever diſturb'd in their Hunting. Nevertheleſs, I think I ought not to conclude this Chapter, without giving you an account of 2 Attempts wherein the *Iroqueſe* miſs'd of their deſign to ſurprize their Enemies, tho they had very good Succeſs upon many other occaſions.

In the year 1680. The *Oumamis* and *Ilineſe* being at Hunting near the River *Oumamis*; a Party of 400 *Iroqueſe* ſurpriz'd them, kill'd 30 or 40 Hunters, and took 300 Priſoners, including Women

Women and Children. After they had reſted a little while, they prepar'd to return Home by ſhort Journeys, becauſe they had reaſon to believe that they ſhould reach their own Villages before the *Ilineſe* and *Oumamis* could have time to Rally, and give notice of their Diſaſter to ſuch of the Nations as were Hunting in remoter Places. But they were ſo much deceiv'd, that the *Ilineſe* and *Oumamis* Rallied to the number of 200, and reſolv'd to die Fighting rather than ſuffer their Countrymen to be carried away by the *Iroqueſe*. In the mean time, becauſe their Party was not an equal Match for the Enemies, they contriv'd a notable Stratagem: For after they had well conſider'd in what manner they ſhould Attack them, they concluded that they ought to follow them at a ſmall diſtance till it began to Rain. Their Project ſucceeded, and the Heavens ſeem'd to favour it: For while it Rain'd continually one whole day from Morning to Night, they ſo quicken'd their pace, from the time that the Rain begun to fall, that they paſs'd by on one ſide at 2 Leagues diſtance from the *Iroqueſe*, and ſo got before them to lay an Ambuſcade in the middle of a Meadow, which the Enemy was to croſs in order to reach a Wood, where they had a mind to make a halt and kindle great Fires. The *Ilineſe* and *Oumamis* lying upon their Belly among the *Fern*, waited till the *Iroqueſe* were got into the middle of them before they Shot off their Arrows; and then they Attack'd them ſo vigorouſly with their Clubs, that the Enemy finding their Fire-Arms unſerviceable, by reaſon that their Prime was wet, were forc'd to throw them down on the Ground, and defend themſelves with the ſame Arms wherewith they were Attack'd, (I mean with Clubs.) But as I obſerv'd before, that the

Ilineſe

Ilineſe are ſomething more dextrous and nimble than the *Iroqueſe*, ſo the latter were forc'd to yield to the former, and retreated Fighting till Night came on, after they had loſt 180 Soldiers. The Fight which laſted but one hour, had continued all Night, if the Conquerors had not been afraid, leſt their Countrymen being ſtill Bound and left behind 'em, ſhould be expos'd to ſome Surprize in the dark: And therefore after they had rejoyn'd them, and ſeiz'd all the Fire-Arms of their Enemies who were fled and diſpers'd up and down, they return'd into their own Country, without taking one *Iroqueſe*, for fear of weakning themſelves.

The 2d Attempt hapned 3 years after this, in the Hunting-Country of the *Outagamis*; where the Governor of that Nation, as I inform'd you in my 16th Letter, gave me 10 Soldiers to accompany me to the Long River. The Blow then given was after this manner. A Body of 1000 *Iroqueſe* being come in their Canows about the end of Autumn, as far as the Bay of *Miſſiſagues*, in the Lake of the *Hurons*, without being diſcover'd, Landed at this place; and being very numerous, march'd up the Country with their Nets, in order to Fiſh in the little Lakes and Rivers, till the Froſty Seaſon ſhould come on, which hapned a few days after. After the Ice was ſtrong enough to bear them, they continued their Courſe, coaſting along the great Lake of the *Hurons*, till they were 5 or 6 Leagues below the Fall call'd *Saut Sainte Marie*, which they would not approach to for fear of meeting with ſome *Coureurs de bois* in the Fort of the *Jeſuits*. Having croſs'd the Bay, they judg'd it convenient to make very ſhort Journies, for fear of being diſcover'd. And they were ſo cautious as to march all in a Row upon the Snow; that if

by chance any one ſhould diſcover their Foot-ſteps, it might be thought that they were not above Thirty or Forty at the moſt. After this manner they Travell'd till the 15th or 20th of *February*, without being perceiv'd, but at laſt they had the misfortune to be diſcover'd by four *Sauteurs*, who ſeeing ſo great a number paſs over a little Lake, run with all ſpeed to the Hunting Country of the *Outagamis* to give them notice, notwithſtanding that the *Sauteurs* were then at War with the *Outagamis*. In the mean time the Thaw coming on ſuddenly contrary to the Expectation of the *Iroqueſe*, who reckon'd upon Twenty Days of Froſt to come, according to the common courſe of the Seaſon; this made them mend their pace, and look out for the narroweſt and leaſt frequented Paſſes. The *Outagamis* were mightily perplex'd what courſe to take in this caſe, It was certain that they might get back again to their Villages in ſafety, but then they would be forc'd to abandon their Wives and Children, who had not ſtrength to run as the Men. In fine, after they had held a Council among themſelves, they reſolv'd to advance as far as a certain Paſs about half a League in length and Thirty Paces in breadth, between two little Lakes, which way they ſaw plainly that the *Iroqueſe* were oblig'd to paſs.

The *Outagamis* being no more than four Hundred thought fit to divide themſelves into two Bodies, and it was agreed, that two Hundred ſhould be poſted at the end of a Paſs which they ſhould Fortifie immediately with a Range of Stakes from one Lake to another; and that the other two Hundred ſhould go about a quarter of a League off of the other end of the Paſs, thro' which the *Iroqueſe* were to march, to the end that every one having cut down a Stake the

migh

might all run quickly in to ſtop up that end of the Paſſage, and that immediately after the *Iroqueſe* had entred the Defile, the Scouts appointed to obſerve their March ſhould come and give them notice; all which was punctually put in Execution: For as ſoon as that great Multitude, who induſtriouſly pitch'd upon the narrow Roads, was entred into this Paſs, the two Hundred *Outagamis*, who were about a quarter of a League to one ſide of it, run in with all their Might and carried with them a ſufficient number of Pales to encloſe that little piece of Land which was bounded by the two little Lakes, ſo that they had time enough to ſet them up and faſten them with Earth, before the *Iroqueſe*, being aſtoniſh'd to find their way block'd up at the other end, could return back the ſame way, to ſee themſelves ſhut up between two Barricadoes. Now the Savages, as I have often told you, are never ſo raſh as to attack a Redoubt of Fifty Paliſadoes, yet theſe *Iroqueſe* were reſolv'd to venture upon an Attack, and with that view run up with all expedition to force the new Barricado; but they ſlacken'd their pace after the firſt diſcharge which the *Outagamis* made through the intervalls of the Pales, for they had not time to joyn them as they ſhould be. The *Iroqueſe* ſeeing themſelves thus ſhut up, took the number of the *Outagamis* to be much greater than realy it was. In the mean time the great Queſtion was, how to get out of this Priſon? For to throw themſelves into the Water and ſwim over one of theſe Lakes, was to run the hazard of ones Life, beſides that one muſt be long-winded and have a good Heart to ſwim over a broad Lake, at a time when the Water was cold, the Ice being not quite melted. This Conſultation gave the *Outagamis* time to fortifie their Barricadoes, and to

ſend out Scouts who were plac'd at a diſtance from one another, upon the Banks of theſe two Lakes, to knock all on the Head that offer'd to ſwim to the ſhore.

Notwithſtanding all theſe Precautions the *Iroqueſe* found out a wonderful Expedient, which was to make Floats of the Trees wherewith they were encompaſs'd; but the blows of the Ax made too great a noiſe, which diſcover'd their Deſign to the *Outagamis*, and therefore they made Canows of Hart-skins to run backward and forward upon the two Lakes in the Night time. Theſe Boats were made in five or ſix Days, during which time the *Iroqueſe* fiſh'd and catch'd abundance of Trouts in the ſight of the *Outagamis*, who could not hinder them. After this no body doubted, but they muſt croſs one of the Lakes, and fight ſtoutly when they came to the Landing place, in caſe their ſecret Navigation was diſcover'd. That they might the better ſucceed in their Deſign they made a Feint, which had infallibly anſwer'd their end if the bottom of the Lake had not been Clay: For about Midnight having Sacrific'd Twenty Slaves upon one of the Lakes, whom they forc'd to puſh a Float along, they made account to paſs the other the ſame way, making uſe of Poles inſtead of Oars: But in regard that the Poles ſunk ſo deep into the Clay, that the Steerſmen could not pull them out again without great difficulty, they made but ſlow diſpatch; inſomuch that the *Outagamis*, that at firſt were under a miſtake in joyning themſelves to the Slaves, had time to run to the other Lake, where they found the *Iroqueſe* about a Musket-ſhot off the Shore. As ſoon as the *Iroqueſe* came to have but three Foot Water they threw themſelves into the Water with their Guns cock'd, ſuffering at the

the ſame time the Fire of the *Outagamis*, who were not above three Hundred, there being Fifty of them left to guard each Barricado. 'Tis a wonder the *Iroqueſe* were not all cut off in the Landing, for they ſunk in the Clay up to their Knees. 'Tis true, 'twas in the Night time, and for that reaſon all the Enemy's Fire might not bear upon them. However five Hundred of them fell in the Water, and the reſt having gain'd the Shoar notwithſtanding all the oppoſition of the *Outagamis*, attack'd them with ſuch Fury that if the Hundred Men that were left for a Guard to the Barricadoes had not run in to their Aſſiſtance upon the firſt noiſe of the Guns, the poor *Outagamis* were in danger of falling upon the Spot. They fought till the break of Day with wonderful fury, and that in the greateſt Confuſion imaginable, being diſpers'd up and down a Wood, inſomuch that ſeveral were kill'd by their own Men, who could not diſtinguiſh who was who. The *Iroqueſe* were obſtinately reſolv'd not to yield the Field of Battel, out of regard to their wounded Men, and in conſideration that they would not have the *Outagamis* to take the Hair of their Dead. But at laſt they were oblig'd to give way, without being purſued, and fled half a League off where they rally'd. I was inform'd by ſeveral *Iroqueſe* ſome Years after this Engagement happen'd, that thoſe who ſurviv'd the Engagement were for venturing upon a new Bruſh; but conſidering that they wanted Powder, and that they were oblig'd to return home through the Country of the *Sauteurs*, or thoſe who live on the Confines of the great Water Falls, they chang'd their Reſolution. But after all they were much out in not coming to a freſh Engagement; for being ſtill three Hundred ſtrong they could not but

have the better of it, for the *Outagamis* were not ſo numerous by one third, having loſt half their number in that ſharp Engagement, not to mention that of the two Hundred which remain'd there were Thirty Wounded. In ſhort the *Outagamis* having intrench'd themſelves in the ſame place where the Fight was, took care in the firſt place to dreſs the Wounds both of their own Men and of their Priſoners; and after taking the Hair off the Heads of all their dead Enemies, ſent out Scouts to obſerve the Enemy, after which they return'd home in ſafety.

When the *Outagamis* arriv'd at their Villages, the firſt thing they did was a return of Thanks to the four *Sauteurs* that had given them Intelligence of the approach of the *Iroqueſe*. They proclaim'd them to be great Maſters of War, and preſented 'em with one half of what they had got at Hunting, which amounted to Sixty Thouſand Crowns, pretending farther, that theſe four Savages ought to inherit the Beaver and other Skins belonging to thoſe of the *Outagamis* that were kill'd in the Battle. In fine, after entertaining thoſe Intelligencers with good Chear, and all the Marks of Honour that were poſſible in their way, they ſent them in a Canow to *Sault St. Mary*, by the way of the Bay of *Puanies*, with a Guard of Fifty Warriors. The *Sauteurs* refus'd both their Preſents and their Convoy, upon the account that the two Nations were then at War with one another: But the *Outagamis* forc'd them upon 'em, and 'twas this that procur'd a Peace between them at the end of four Months.

This, Sir, as I take it is ſufficient to give you an *Idea* of the Hazards that the Savages run at their Beaver Hunting. In the mean time, tho' I have but juſt made an end of two Military Adventures, yet I allot the very next Chapter for

for an account of their Military Art, in which you'l meet with ſomethings that will ſerve for Diverſion to your ſelf and and Entertainment to your Friends.

The Military Art of the Savages.

THE Savage call'd *Rat*, whom I have mention'd ſo often in my Letters, has ſaid to me ſeveral times, that the only thing in the World that vex'd and diſturb'd his Mind was the ſeeing Men wage War with Men. *Prithee, my Brother*, ſaid he, *do but look; our Dogs agree perfectly well with the* Iroqueſe *Dogs, and thoſe of the* Iroqueſe *bear no Enmity to the Dogs that come from* France. *I do not know any Animal that wages War with others of its own Species, excepting Man, who upon this ſcore is more Unnatural than the Beaſts. For my part* (continues he) *I am of the Opinion, that if the Brutes could Think and Reaſon, and communicate their Thoughts, 'twould be an eaſie matter for them to extripate the Human Race: For, in earneſt, if the Bears and Wolves were but capable of forming a Republick, who could hinder them to draw together a Body of ten or twelve Thouſand, and to fall upon us? If ſuch a thing ſhould happen, what defence can we make? They would ſcale our Villages with the greateſt Facility imaginable, and after the pulling down of our Huts devour our ſelves. Could we in ſuch a Caſe undertake a Hunting Expedition, without running the riſque of being torn in Pieces? We ſhould then be reduc'd to live upon Accorns and Roots, without Arms and without Cloaths, and to run the perpetual hazard of falling into the Clutches of theſe Animals. Their Strength and Nimbleneſs would ſink all Oppoſition from us, and command us to yield.*

Let us conclude therefore, my dear Brother, that this Reason *which Man boasts so much of is the greatest Instrument of his Misery; and that if Men were without that Faculty of Thinking, Arguing and Speaking, they would not imbarque in mutual Wars as they now do, without any regard to Humanity or Sacred Promises.*

Such, Sir, are the Moral Thoughts of a Savage, who pretends to Philosophise upon the Custom that we have of killing Men with Justice and Honour. The Jesuits do their utmost to remove this Scruple by such Reasons as they have, as they do upon several other Subjects, and the Savages hear 'em very gravely, but at the same time they tell 'em that they do not understand 'em.

The Wars of the Savages are grounded upon the Right of Hunting, or of a Passage upon such and such Grounds; for their Limits are adjusted, and every Nation is perfectly well acquainted with the Boundaries of their own Country. Now these *Americans* are as Cruel to their Enemies, as they are True to their Allies; for some Nations among them use their Prisoners with the last degree of Inhumanity; as I shall shew you more at large in the Sequel. When the *Europeans* offer to Censure the Savages for their barbarous and cruel Usage, they reply very coldly, *That Life is nothing, that they are not reveng'd on their Enemies by cutting their Throats, but by putting them to a long, tedious, sharp and lasting Torture; and that Women would be as chearful Warriors as Men, if there were nothing to be fear'd but bare Death.* At the Age of Fifteen they begin to bear Arms, and lay 'em down at Fifty. If they happen to bear Arms sooner or later, 'tis only in the way of marauding, for they are not listed into the number of the Warriors.

The

The Strength of the *Iroqueſe* lies in engaging with Fire-Arms in a Forreſt; for they ſhoot very dexterouſly; beſides that they are very well vers'd in making the beſt advantage of every thing, by covering themſelves with Trees, behind which they ſtand ſtock ſtill after they have diſcharg'd, though their Enemies be twice their Number. But in regard that they are more clumſy and not ſo clever as the more *Southern Americans*, they have no Dexerity in handling a Club; and thus it comes to paſs, that they are always worſted in the open Field, where the Clubs are the only Weapons; for which Reaſon they avoid any Engagement in Meadows or open Fields as much as is poſſible.

The Savages never court an Engagement but by way of Surpriſal, that is, the ſide which makes the firſt diſcovery is almoſt always ſure of having the better of it; for they have it in their choice to make the Attack either in the open Field, or in the moſt dangerous Defiles or Paſſes.

In the Day time they take all the Precaution in the World to cover their March, by ſending out Scouts on all Hands, unleſs it be that the Party is ſo ſtrong as to fear nothing; for then, indeed, they March all in a cloſe Body. But they are as Negligent in the Night time, as they are Vigilant in the Day; for they place neither Centries nor Guards at the entry of their Camp, and when they go a Hunting or Shooting of Beavers, they are equally ſecure or careleſs. When I enquir'd into the reaſon of this bad Diſcipline, I was aſſur'd that the Savages did it by way of Preſumption, as reckoning ſo much upon the Reputation of their Valour, that they imagine their Enemies will not not be ſo bold as to Attack them: And when they ſend out Scouts in the Day time, that Precaution proceeds more

from

from an itch to ſurpriſe their Enemies, than from the fear of being ſurpris'd themſelves.

There are a great many Savage Nations in *Canada* that tremble at the very Name of the *Iroquese*, for the latter are a brave ſort of People; they are expert Warriors, ready upon all Enterpriſes, and capable to put them in Execution, with all due Dexterity. 'Tis true, they are not ſo ſprightly as moſt of their Enemies, nor ſo happy in fighting with Clubs; and 'tis for that Reaſon that they never march but in numerous Bodies, and that by ſlower Marches than thoſe of the other Savages. In fine, you'l ſee in my Liſt of the Nations of *Canada*, which of 'em are Warlike, and which are only qualify'd for Hunting.

The Savages have a wonderful Talent in ſurpriſing their Enemies; for they can trace the Footſteps of Men and Beaſts upon Graſs and Leaves, better than the *Europeans* can upon Snow or wet Sand. Nay, which is more, they can diſtinguiſh with a great deal of Facility between freſh Tracts and thoſe of longer ſtanding, and can make a juſt Eſtimate of the number and kind that made them. Theſe Tracts they follow whole Days without being miſtaken. This I have ſeen ſo often with my own Eyes, that there's no room left for the leaſt doubt upon the matter.

The Warriors never undertake any thing without the Advice of the Ancient Men, to whom they propoſe their Projects. Upon a Propoſal thus made the old Men meet and conſult upon it; after which their Speaker walks out of the Council-Hut, and with a loud Voice Proclaims the Reſolution of the Council, that all the Village may have due Information of the ſame.

You

You muſt obſerve that each Village hath its General or Great Head of the Warriors, who in conſideration of his Valour, Capacity and Experience is proclaim'd ſuch by an unanimous Conſent. But after all, this Title inveſts him with no Power over the Warriors; for theſe People are Strangers to a Military as well as to a Civil Subordination. Nay, they are ſo far from it, that if the great Leader ſhould order the ſilleſt and moſt pittiful Fellow in his Army to do ſo and ſo, why truly, this ſhaddow of a Captain would receive this Anſwer from the Centinel, *That what he orders another to do he ought to do it himſelf.* But 'tis ſuch an uncommon thing for the Leader to act ſo indiſcreetly, that I Queſtion if there be one Inſtance of it. However this mutual Independance is of no ill Conſequence; for though the great Leader is not inveſted with Power and Authority, yet they acquieſce entirely in what he Propoſes. He no ſooner opens his Mouth in ſaying, *I think ſuch and ſuch a thing proper, let's detach Ten or Twenty Men,* &c. than 'tis put in Execution, without the leaſt Oppoſition. Beſides the great Leader there are ſome other Leaders that Head a certain number of Warriors who follow them out of Friendſhip and Reſpect; and theſe are not look'd upon as as Leaders or Commanders by any other than their own Family or Followers.

When the old Men think it proper that a Party of Warriors ſhould take the Field, the *Great Leader* who always aſſiſts at the Council, hath the privilege of making his choice whether he'll Head them himſelf, or ſtay at home in the Village. If he hath a mind to go himſelf, he orders the Cryer of that Nation to make publick Proclamation in all the Streets of the Village, That on ſuch a Day he gives the Feaſt of War to thoſe who

pleaſe

pleaſe to be preſent. Then, thoſe who have a mind to go in that Party, ſend their Diſhes to the General's Houſe on the appointed day, and are ſure to be there themſelves before noon. When the Company is all gather'd, the General walks out to a publick place with his Club in his hand, being followed by the Warriours who ſit down round him. This done, there comes ſix Savages, with as many Kettle-Drums, which make a Clutter, rather than a Warlike Sound. Theſe Drummers ſit down ſquat upon their Tails by a Poſt fix'd in the Center of the great Ring: And at the ſame time, the General fixes his Eyes upon the Sun, all the Company following his example, and makes his Addreſſes to the Great Spirit; after which a Sacrifice is commonly offer'd up. When this Ceremony is over, he ſings the Song of War, the Drummers beating Time to him after their way; and at the end of every Period, which contains one of his Exploits, he knocks againſt the Poſt with his Club. When he has made an end of his Song, each Warriour ſings in his turn after the ſame faſhion, provided he has made a Campagne before; for if he has not, he's doom'd to Silence. This done, the whole Company returns to the General's Hutt, where they find their Dinner ready for them.

If the General do's not think it fit to Command the Party in Perſon, and chooſes to ſtay at home; the Warriours that deſign to go upon the Party, chooſe one of the *Under-Leaders* that I mention'd but now: And the *Under-Leader* thus choſen, obſerves the ſame Ceremonies of Addreſſing the Great Spirit, Sacrificing, Singing, and Feaſting. The laſt Ceremony is continued every day till they March out.

Some of theſe Parties go half way, or three quarters of their way in Canows; particularly thoſe

thoſe who live upon the Banks of Lakes, as well as the *Iroqueſe*. The *Iroqueſe* have this advantage over their Enemies, that they are all Arm'd with good Fire-Locks; whereas the others who uſe thoſe Engines only for the Shooting of Beaſts, have not above half their number provided with 'em: And 'tis for this reaſon, that the nearer they come to their Enemies Country, the leſs they ſpread out in Hunting or Shooting, eſpecially with Fire-Arms, the report of which might Alarm the Enemy. When they come within thirty or forty Leagues of danger, they give over Hunting and Shooting, being afraid to fire their Guns; and content themſelves with the *Indian Corn*, of which each of them carries a Bag of ten pound weight; and upon which they feed, after 'tis mix'd with a little Water without Boiling.

When the *Illineſe*, the *Outagamis*, the *Hurons*, and the *Sauteurs* wage War with the *Iroqueſe*, and have a mind to make a bold Attempt; if there be but thirty of them, they'll march directly up to the end of the Village, preſuming that in caſe of a diſcovery, they can eaſily ſave themſelves by their good Heels. In the mean time, they have the Precaution to March one after another; and he that comes laſt takes care to ſtrow the Ground with Leaves, in order to cover their footſteps. After they have paſt the Village, and are got into the *Iroqueſe* Country, they run all night; and in the day time lye flat upon their Bellies, in the Copſes and Thickets, being ſometimes diſpers'd, and ſometimes all in a Body. Towards the Evening, or as ſoon as the Sun ſets, they Spring out from their Ambuſcade, and fall upon every one they meet, without ſparing either Age or Sex: For 'tis a cuſtomary thing with theſe Warriours to ſhew no Mercy, not to Children and Women. After they have finiſh'd their Maſſacre, and taken the

the Hair off the Heads of the Dead, they have the boldneſs to make a Funeral Cry. If they ſee any *Iroqueſe* at a diſtance, they ſtrain their Voices to acquaint 'em that they have kill'd ſome of their Folks, whom they may take care to Bury: That the Action was accompliſh'd by ſuch a Leader and ſuch a Nation. This done, they all betake themſelves to Flight by different Roads, and run with their utmoſt ſpeed till they come to a general place of Rendezvous, about thirty or forty Leagues off. In the mean time, the *Iroqueſe* do not give themſelves the trouble of purſuing them, as being ſenſible that they are not ſo nimble Footed as to overtake 'em.

If theſe Parties are two or three hundred Men ſtrong, they'll venture to enter the Village in the Night time; making one or two of their Warriours to Scale the Paliſſadoes and open the Gates, in caſe they are ſhut. But you muſt know, that the *Ontaouas*, as well as the other Savages that have not ſo much Courage and Activity, content themſelves with purſuing the *Iroqueſe* in the Countries where they Hunt or Fiſh: For they dare not come within forty Leagues of their Villages, unleſs they know of a place of Refuge, in caſe of a diſcovery or purſuit: And there can be no other Refuge than ſome little Forts kept up by the *French*.

The Savages never take any Priſoners at the Gates of their Enemies Villages; by reaſon of the Expedition they are oblig'd to make in running Night and Day to ſave themſelves: 'Tis in the Hunting and Fiſhing Countries, and in the other places that afford them an opportunity of ſurprizing their Enemy, that they take 'em Priſoners: For upon ſuch occaſions, the weaker ſide being forc'd to give way, and to maintain a running Fight without any Order or Diſcipline, while

while every one flies his own way, 'tis not poſſible but that the Conquerors muſt take Priſoners: And there's always ſome ſtrong brawny Savages who know how to throw down the Priſoner dextrouſly, and to bind him in a moment. But there are ſome of the defeated Parties, who chooſe rather to kill themſelves than to be took Priſoners; and others are ſo obſtinate that they muſt be Wounded before they can be catch'd. As ſoon as a Savage is Fetter'd, he ſings his Death Song, after the manner deſcrib'd in my 23d Letter. The *Iroqueſe* that have the misfortune to be catch'd, have nothing to expect but fearful Torture, if they fall into the hands of the *Oumamis*, the *Outaouas*, the *Algonkins*, and the Savages of *Canada*: For theſe People are extream cruel to their Priſoners. The leaſt Puniſhment they inflict upon 'em, is, that of obliging the poor Wretches to put their Finger into the mouth of a lighted Pipe; which makes an agreeable diverſion to the Conqueror in his Journey home. The other Nations uſe their Priſoners with much more Humanity. From hence we may conclude, that we ought to make a great difference between the ſeveral Nations of *Canada*; ſome of which are Warlike, others Cowardly; ſome a lively Active People, others Heavy and Dull: In a Word, the Caſe is the ſame in *America* as it is in *Europe*, where every Nation has not the Virtues or Vices of another. For the *Iroqueſe*, and the other Nations that I nam'd along with them, burn all their Priſoners; whereas the other Nations content themſelves with the keeping of them in Slavery, without putting any to Death. 'Tis the firſt ſort that I mean to ſpeak of in the three enſuing Paragraphs.

As

As ſoon as a party of *Barbarians* approach their own Village, they make as many Dead-Cries as they have loſt Men; and when they come within a Muſquet-Shot of the Village, they renew the mournful Tune; and repeat it for a certain number of times anſwerable to the number of the ſlain among the Enemies. Then the Youths under ſixteen, and above twelve years of age, Arm themſelves with Sticks, and make a Lane in order to beat the Priſoners, which they put in execution as ſoon as the Warriours have made their entry, carrying the Hair of thoſe they have ſlain upon the end of their Bows.

The next day, the old Men meet in Council upon the diſtribution of the Priſoners, which are commonly preſented to ſuch Married Women or Maids as have loſt Relations in the Expedition, and to thoſe that want Slaves. After the diſtribution is adjuſted, three or four Young Scoundrels of the Age of fifteen, take the Priſoners and conduct them to theſe Women or Girles. Now, if the Woman to whom the preſent is made, means that the poor Wretch ſhould die, ſhe gives him to underſtand that her Father, her Brother, her Husband, *&c.* having no Slaves to ſerve them in the Country of the Dead, it behoves him to take a Journey thither out of hand. If evidence be brought that the poor Slave has kill'd either Women or Children in his lifetime, the young Executioners lead him to a Woodpile, where he is forc'd to undergo the diſmal Torments mentioned in my 23d Letter; and ſometimes ſomewhat that is yet more terrible. But if the unfortunate Priſoner can make it appear that he only kill'd Men, they content themſelves with the Shooting of him. If the Woman or Girl has a mind to ſave the Priſoners life (which often happens) ſhe takes him by the hand; and afte

A Bow

A Club call'd Casse-tête

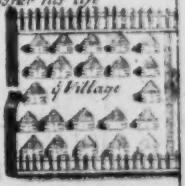
an Arrow

A Savage taken in war and burnt by his Enemies

A woman that condemns to death a prisoner that is given her

A Savage Shot.

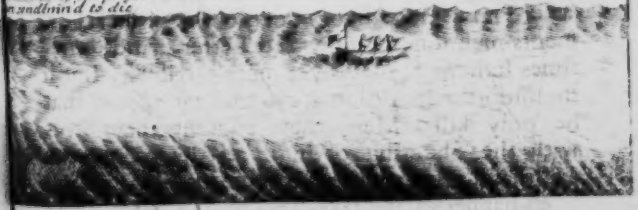
A woman that gives a prisoner his life



A Village

Beating of the prisoners that are condemn'd to die

The Savages returning to the Village.



after conducting him into the Hut, cuts his Bonds and orders him Cloaths, Arms, Victuals and Tobacco. This favour is usually accompany'd with these words. *I have given thee thy life, I have knock'd off thy chains, pluck up a good heart, serve me well, be not ill minded, and thou shalt have whereupon to comfort thee for the loss of thy Country and thy Relations.* Sometimes the *Iroquese* Women adopt the Slaves that are presented to 'em, and then they are look'd upon as Members of the Nation. As for the Women Prisoners they are distributed among the Men, who are sure to grant 'em their lives.

You must take notice that the Savages of *Canada* never exchange their Prisoners. As soon as they are put in Chains, their Relations and the whole Nation to which they retain, look upon 'em as dead; unless it be that they were so much Wounded when they were taken, that they could not possibly kill themselves. These indeed they receive when they make their escape; but if the other Prisoners should offer to return, they would be contemn'd by their neareſt Relations, and no body would receive 'em. The way of waging War among the Savages is so harsh, that one must have a Body of Steel to bear the Fatigues they are oblig'd to undergo. Now if we joyn to this inconveniency that of their giving but little Quarter to one another; and for the most part, without any regard either to Women or Children, we will not think it strange that the number of their Warriours is so small, that sometimes one Nation can scarce muster up a thousand.

The Savages are never rash in declaring War; they hold frequent Councils before they resolve upon it, and must be very well assur'd of the steddiness of the Neighbouring Nations, whose

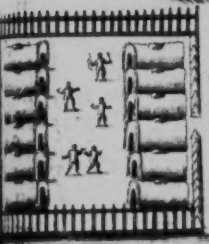
Alliance or Neutrality they require. Beſides, before they come to ſuch a reſolution, they make it their buſineſs to fathom the Minds of ſuch Nations as lye remote; to the end that they may take juſt meaſures, by weighing all the Conſequences ſeriouſly, and endeavouring to foreſee all the accidents that may happen. They uſe the Precaution of ſending Deputies to the People whom they propoſe for their Allies, to make a narrow inquiry whether their Old Men have Heads well turn'd for Government, and for the giving of judicious and ſeaſonable Counſels to their Warriours, whoſe number they want to know as well as their Valour and Experience. The next thing that they have in view, is the carrying on of the Trade of Skins with the *French* without diſadvantage, and the Hunting of Beavers in Winter without expoſing themſelves to danger. After all, they make this propoſal to their Allies; that they ſhall engage not to put an end to the War till their Enemies are intirely deſtroy'd, or elſe oblig'd to abdicate their Country.

Their way of declaring War is this: They ſend back to the Nation that they have a mind to quarrel with, a Slave of the ſame Country; with orders to carry to the Village of his own Nation an Axe, the Handle of which is painted red and black. Sometimes they ſend three or four ſuch Slaves, obliging them to promiſe before hand, that they ſhall not bear Arms againſt them; and commonly this Promiſe is religiouſly obſerv'd.

It remains only to acquaint you how they make Peace; you muſt know that the Savages never think of an Accommodation till after a long War: But when they are ſenſible that 'tis their Intereſt to come to it they detach five, or ten, or fifteen, or twenty Warriors, to make

Pro

The calumet of peace being a great pipe &c:



Savages staying at the gate of the Village for him that brings the calumet

A savage carrying the calumet of peace and dancing

Strangers

Savage demanding passage

A Canoe going from the Village to meet him

The canoe that goes before with the calumet of Peace

The calumet dance.

The council of the Old men

The dance of War

Propoſal to the Enemies. Theſe Commiſſioners go ſometimes by Land, and ſometimes in Canows, and always carry the great Calumet of Peace in their Hand, much after the ſame manner as a Cornet carries his Standard. I ſet forth in my Seventh Letter what a profound Veneration all the Savages of *Canada* have for this famous Pipe. There was not one Inſtance of their Violating the Sacred Rights of this Pipe before the Embaſſy of *Chevalier Do*, at which time they took occaſion to revenge the Buſineſs of the *Rat*, as I gave you to know in my Seventeenth Letter. If the Commiſſioners of Peace march by Land, as ſoon as they arrive within a Musket-ſhot of the Village, ſome young Men march out and poſt themſelves in an oval Figure. This done, the Commiſſioner that carries that great ſign of Peace, makes up towards them, ſinging and dancing the Calumet Dance; which he continues to do while the old Men meet in Council. If the Inhabitants of the Village do not think it proper to accept of the Propoſal of Peace, their Orator or Speaker makes a Harangue to the Envoy that carries the Calumet, who upon that goes and rejoins his Company. This Pacifick Retinue is regal'd with Preſents of Tents, Corn, Meat and Fiſh; but at the ſame time they are acquainted that they muſt depart their Country the next Day. If on the other Hand, the old Men agree to the concluſion of a Peace, they march out and meet the Commiſſioners, and after conducting the whole Company into the Village, provide them with extraordinary good Lodgings and a plentiful Table, during the whole courſe of the Negotiation. When the Commiſſioners come by Water they ſend out a Canow while the reſt lye by; and as ſoon as this Canow comes near to the Village, the Inha-

bitants of the Village ſend out another to meet it, and conduct the Propoſer of Peace to their Habitations, where the Ceremonies are perform'd after the ſame manner as before. This great Calumet is likewiſe made uſe of by the Confederate Savages, that demand Paſſage thro' the Country of their Allies, whether by Land or Water, in purſuance of Warlike or Hunting Expeditions.

A View of the Heraldry, or the Coats of Arms of the Savages.

AFter a peruſal of the former Accounts I ſent you of the Ignorance of the Savages with reference to Sciences, you will not think it ſtrange that they are unacquainted with Heraldry. The Figures you have repreſented in this Cut will certainly appear ridiculous to you, and indeed they are nothing leſs: But after all you'l content your ſelf with excuſing theſe poor Wretches, without rallying upon their extravagant Fancies. They make uſe of the Blazoning repreſented in the Cut, for the following Purpoſes.

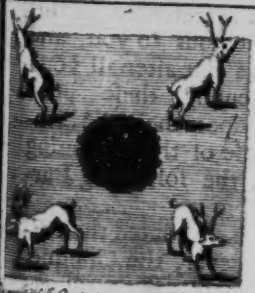
When a Party of Savages have routed their Enemies in any Place whatſoever, the Conquerours take care to pull the Bark off the Trees for the height of five or ſix Foot in all Places where they ſtop in returning to their own Country; and in honour of their Victory paint certain Images with Coal pounded and beat up with Fat and Oyl. Theſe Pictures, which are deſign'd and explain'd in the inſuing Chapter, continue upon the peel'd Tree for ten or twelve Years,

The arms of the Outagamis call'd foxes

The arms of the Outchipoues alias Sauteurs

Arms of the Poutouatamis call'd Puants

The arms of the Outtaouis.



Arms of ye Outtouas 5 nations.

The arms of the Hurons

Arms of ye Illinois

The arms of the Nadouessis

Years, as if they were Grav'd, without being defac'd by the Rain.

This they do to give all Paſſangers to underſtand what Exploits they have done. The Arms for the Nation, and ſometimes a particular Mark for the Leader of the Party, are painted in Colours upon theſe ſtrip'd Trees; and for that reaſon 'twil not be improper to ſubjoin a Deſcription of 'em.

The five *Outaouaſe* Nations have a *Sinople* or Green Field, with four Elks in Sable Canton'd, and looking to the four Corners of the Eſcutcheon, there being a heap of Sand in the middle.

The *Illineſe* bear a Beech Leaf with a Butterfly Argent.

The *Nadoueſſis* or *Scioux* have a Squirrel *Gules*, gnawing a Citron *Or*.

The *Hurons* bear a Beaver Sable, ſet ſquat upon a Beaver Kennel Argent, the midſt of a Pool or Lake.

The *Outagamis* bear a Meadow Sinople, croſs'd by a winding River Pale, with two Foxes Gules at the two Extremities of the River, in Chief and Point.

The *Pouteoutamis* call'd *Puants* bear a Dog in Argent, ſleeping upon a Mat *d' Or*. Theſe People obſerve the Rules of Blazoning leſs than the other Nations.

The *Oumamis* have a Bear Sable, pulling down with his two Paws a Tree Sinople moſſy, and laid along the Eſcutcheon.

The *Oucahipoues*, call'd *Sauteurs*, have an Eagle Sable, pearching upon the top of a Rock Argent, and devouring an Owl *Gules*.

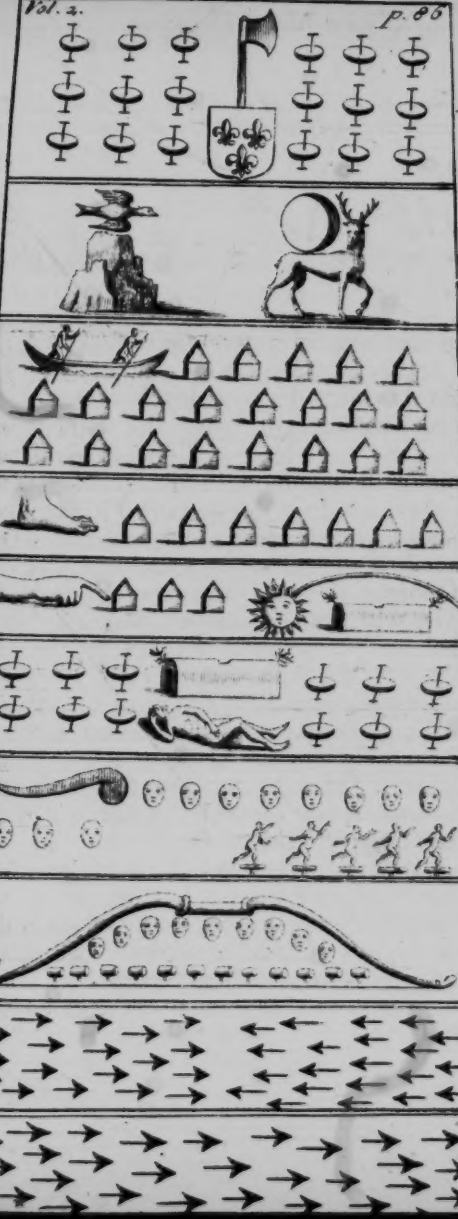
An Explication of the Hieroglyphicks that ſtand oppoſite to the Letters A B C D E F G H I K, being plac'd at the ſide of a Column repreſenting the Foot of a ſuppos'd Tree.

IF we take the Word *Hieroglyphick* in its natural Senſe, 'tis only a Repreſentation of Sacred and Divine Objects, Calculated according to the *Ideas* we have of 'em. But without any regard to the Etymology, I chooſe rather to make uſe of the common Priviledge of an infinity of Authors, in beſtowing the Title of Hieroglyphick Symbols upon all theſe Figures that correſpond to the following Letters.

A. Oppoſite to this Letter you ſee the Arms of *France*, with an Ax above. Now the Ax is a Symbol of War among the Savages, as the Calumet is the Bond of Peace: So that this imports, that the *French* have taken up the Ax, or have made a Warlike Expedition with as many tens of Men as there are Marks or Points round the Figure. Theſe Marks you ſee are Eighteen in number, and ſo they ſignifie an Hundred and eighty Warriors.

B. Over againſt this Letter you meet with a Mountain that repreſents the City of *Montreal*, (according to the Savages) and the Fowl upon the Wing at the top ſignifies Departure. The Moon upon the Back of the Stag ſignifies the firſt Quarter of the *July* Moon, which is call'd the *Stag-Moon.*

C. Oppo-


A
B
C
D
E
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C. Oppoſite to this Letter you deſcry a Canow, importing that they have travel'd by Water as many Days as you ſee Huts in the Figure, *i. e.* 21 Days.

D. Upon the ſame parallel with this Letter you ſee a Foot, importing that after their Voyage by Water they march'd on Foot as many Days as there are Huts deſign'd; that is, ſeven Days Journeys for Warriors, each Days Journey being as much as five common *French* Leagues, or five of thoſe which are reckon'd to be twenty in a Degree.

E. By this Letter you perceive a Hand and three Huts, which ſignifie that they are got within three Days Journey of the *Iroqueſe Tſonnontouans*, whoſe Arms are a Hut with two Trees leaning downwards, as you ſee them drawn. The Sun imports that they were juſt to the Eaſtward of the Village: For you muſt obſerve, that if they had march'd to the Weſtward the Arms of theſe Savages had been plac'd where the Hand is, and the Hand had been turn'd and plac'd where you now ſee the Hut with the two Trees.

F. Oppoſite to this Letter you perceive twelve Marks, ſignifying ſo many times ten Men, like thoſe at the Letter *A.* The Hut with the two Trees being the Arms of the *Tſonnontouans* ſhews that they were of that Nation; and the Man in a lying poſture ſpeaks that they were ſurpris'd.

G. In the row which anſwers to this Letter there appears a Club and eleven Heads, importing that they had kill'd eleven *Tſonnontouans*, and the five Men ſtanding upright upon the five Marks ſignifie, that they took as many times ten Priſoners of War.

H. Opposite to this Letter you see nine Heads in an Arch, the meaning of which is, that nine of the Aggressors or of the Victorious side (which I supposed to be *French*) were kill'd; and the twelve Marks underneath signifie that as many were Wounded.

I. Opposite to this Letter you see Arrows flying in the Air, some to one side and some to the other, importing a vigorous Defence on both sides.

K. At this Letter you see the Arrows all pointed one way, which speaks the worsted Party either flying or fighting upon a Retreat in disorder.

The meaning of the whole is in a few Words as follows. An Hundred and eighty *French* Men set out from *Monreal* in the first Quarter of the *July* Moon, and sail'd twenty one Days; after which they march'd thirty five Leagues over Land and surpris'd a hundred and twenty *Tsonnontouans* on the East side of their Village, eleven of whom were Kill'd, and fifty taken Prisoners; the *French* sustaining the loss of nine Kill'd and twelve Wounded, after a very obstinate Engagement.

This may serve to prompt you and me to return thanks to God for vouchsafing to us the means of expressing our Thoughts by the bare ranking of twenty three Letters, and above all of Writing in less than a Minute a Discourse that the *Americans* cannot Decypher with their impertinent Hieroglyphicks in the space of an Hour. Though the number of those dark Symbols is of no large extent, yet 'tis very perplexing to an *European*; for which Reason I have contented my self in learning only such of 'em as are most Essential; the knowledge of which I owe

I owe to Neceſſity more than Curioſity. I could ſend you others that are as extravagant as theſe I now ſend you; but conſidering that they will be of no uſe to you, I chooſe to ſave my ſelf the labour of drawing them upon Paper, and you the trouble of looking 'em over.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

3. That the Great Spirit has furnish'd us with a Rational Faculty, capable of distinguishing Good from Evil, as much as Heaven from Earth; to the end that we might Religiously observe the true Measures of Justice and Wisdom. 4. That the Tranquility and Serenity of the Soul pleases the Great Master of Life: And on the other hand, that he abhors trouble and anxiety of Mind, because it renders Men Wicked. 5. That Life is a Dream, and Death the Season of Awaking, in which the Soul sees and knows the Nature and Quality of all things, whether visible or invisible. 6. That the utmost reach of our Minds can't go one Inch above the Surface of the Earth: So that we ought not to corrupt and spoil it by endeavouring to pry into Invisible and Improbable things. This my dear Friend is Our Belief, and we act up to it with the greatest Exactness. We believe that we shall go to the Country of Souls after death; but we have no such apprehension as you have, of a good and bad Mansion after this Life, provided for the good and bad Souls; for we cannot tell whether every thing that appears faulty to Men, is so in the Eyes of God. If your Religion differs from ours, it do's not follow that we have none at all. Thou knowest that I have been in *France*, *New-York* and *Quebec*; where I Study'd the Customs and Doctrines of the *English* and *French*. The *Jesuits* allege, that out of five or six hundred sorts of Religions, there's only one that is the good and the true Religion, and that's their own; out of which no Man shall 'scape the Flames of a Fire that will burn his Soul to all Eternity. This is their allegation: But when they have said all, they cannot offer any Proof for it.

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Lahontan. They have a great deal of reason, *Adario*, to assert that there are bad Souls; for without straggling far for a Proof, they need only to give thine for an Instance. He that is unacquainted with the Truths of the *Christian Religion*, is not capable of receiving a Proof. All that thou hast offer'd in thy own defence is prodigious Madness. The Country of Souls that thou speakest of is only a Chimerical Hunting Country: Whereas our Holy Scriptures inform us of a Paradise, Seated above the remotest Stars, where God does actually reside; being incircled with Glory, and the Souls of all the Faithful Christians. The same very Scriptures make mention of a Hell, which we take to be Situated in the Centre of the Earth: And in which the Souls of all such as reject Christianity, as well as those of bad Christians, will burn for ever without Consumption. This is a Truth that you ought to think of.

Adario. These Holy Scriptures that thou quotest every foot, as well as the *Jesuits*, require that mighty Faith which the Good Fathers are always teazing us with. But this can be nothing but a persuasion: To believe, Importsno more than to be perswaded of a thing: and to be perswaded or convinc'd, is to see a thing with one's eyes, or to have it recommended by clear and solid Truths. Now how can I have that Faith, since thou canst neither prove a tittle of what thou say'st, nor shew it me before my eyes. Believe me, my Friend; do not wrap up thy Mind in obscurity; give over the visionary thoughts of these Holy Scriptures, or else let us make an end of our Conferences upon that Head; for according to our Principles, we must have probability in every thing we admit of. What Ground hast thou for the Destiny of the good Souls, who are

lodg'd

lodg'd with the Great Spirit above the Stars, or the Fate of the bad ones that shall burn for ever in the Centre of the Earth? Thou canst not but charge God with Tyranny, if thou believest that he Created but one single Man, with intent to render him eternally Miserable amidst the Flames in the Centre of the Earth. I know you'll pretend, that the Holy Scriptures prove that Great Truth: But granting it to be so, then the Earth must be of eternal Duration; which the *Jesuits* deny. That flaming Place must therefore cease to be, when the Earth comes to be consum'd. Besides, how canst thou imagine, that the Soul which is a pure Spirit, a thousand times subtiler and lighter than Smoak; how canst thou imagine, I say, that this airy Being should move to the Centre of the Earth, contrary to its natural tendency? 'Tis more likely, it should mount upwards and fly to the Sun, where you may fix that fiery place more reasonably; especially considering that this Star is much bigger, and infinitely more hot than the Earth.

Labontan. Hark ye me, my dear *Adario*, thy Blindness is screw'd up to an extremity, and the hardness of thy Heart makes thee reject this Faith and these Scriptures; the truth of which does easily appear, if one would but lay aside Prejudices: For you have nothing to do but to cast your Eye upon the Prophecies contain'd in the Sacred Pages; which beyond all dispute were Written before they came to pass. This Sacred History is confirm'd by *Heathen* Authors, and by the Monuments of greatest Antiquity, and those the most uncontested that past Ages can afford. Believe me, if thou wouldst but reflect upon the manner in which the Religion of *Jesus Christ* was Establish'd in the World, and the Change that it wrought; if thou hadst but a just view of the

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Characters of Truth, Sincerity and Divinity that ſhine in the Scriptures: In a word, if thou didſt but enter into the particulars of our Religion; thou wouldſt ſee and be ſenſible, that its Doctrines and Precepts, its Promiſes and Threats, are not chargeable with any abſurdity; nor with any ill deſign, or any thing that runs contrary to our natural Sentiments: And that nothing is more ſuitable to right Reaſon, and the Principles of Conſcience.

Adario. This is the ſame Stuff that the *Jeſuits* have had up above a hundred times. They will have it, that ſome five or ſix thouſand years ago, all that is ſince come to paſs, was then unchangeably decreed. They lay down the way in which the Heavens and the Earth were Created; and tell you, that Man was made of the Duſt of the Earth, and the Woman out of one of his Ribs, as if God had not made her of the ſame Stuff; that a Serpent tempted this Man in a Garden of Fruit-Trees to eat of an Apple, which was the occaſion that the Great Spirit put his own Son to Death, on purpoſe to ſave all men. If I ſhould ſay that theſe advances have a greater appearance of fabulouſneſs than of truth, you would cloſe upon me with Reaſons fetch'd from your Bible: But according to your own words, this Scripture of yours had not always a Being; the invention of it bears the date of ſome three thouſand years ago; and 'twas not Printed till within theſe four or five Centuries. Now, conſidering the divers events that come round in the courſe of ſeveral Ages, one muſt certainly be very credulous in giving credit to ſo many idle Stories as are huddled up in that great Book that the Chriſtians would have us to believe. I have ſeen ſome of the Books that the *Jeſuits* Writ of our Country; and thoſe who knew how to read

'em,

'em, explain'd to me the ſenſe of 'em in the Language that I ſpeak; but I found they contain'd an infinity of Lyes and Fictions heap'd up one above another. Now, if we ſee with our eyes that Lyes are in Print, and that things are not repreſented in Paper as they really are; how can you preſs me to believe the Sincerity of your Bible that was Writ ſo many Ages ago, and Tranſlated out of ſeveral Languages by ignorant Men that could not reach the juſt Senſe, or by Lyars who have alter'd, interpolated, or pared the Words you now read. I could mention ſeveral other Objections, which in the end will perhaps influence thee in ſome meaſure, to own that I have ſome reaſon to confine my Belief to ſuch things as are viſible and probable.

Labontan. Poor *Adario*, I have laid before thee, the certainty and evidence of the Chriſtian Religion; but inſtead of being convinc'd, thou look'ſt upon my Proofs as Chimerical, and offereſt the moſt fooliſh Reaſons in the World. You quote the Falſhoods Written in the Accounts of your Country that you have ſeen; as if the Jeſuits who Writ 'em could not have been impos'd upon by thoſe who ſupplied them with ſuch Memoirs. You muſt conſider, that theſe Deſcriptions of *Canada* are Bawbles that cannot come into the Ballance with the Books that treat of Sacred things; ſuch things as a hundred different Authours have Writ of, without contradicting one another.

Adario. How do you mean, *without contradicting one another*? Why! That Book of Holy Things, is not it full of Contradictions? Theſe Goſpels that the Jeſuits ſpeak of, do not they occaſion diſcord between the *French* and the *Engliſh*? And yet if we take your word for it, every Period of that Book ſprung from the Mouth

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of the Great Spirit. But if the Great Spirit mean'd that his Words ſhould be underſtood, why did he talk ſo confuſedly, and cloath his Words with an ambiguous Senſe? One or two things muſt follow from this advance. If he was born and died upon the Earth, and made ſpeeches here, why, then his diſcourſes muſt be loſt; for he would certainly have ſpoke ſo diſtinctly and plainly, that the very Children might conceive his meaning. Or, if you will have the Goſpels to be his genuine Words, and contain nothing but what flow'd from him; why, then he muſt have come to raiſe Wars in the World inſtead of Peace; which cannot be. The *Engliſh* have told me that tho' their Goſpels contain the ſame Words with the *French*, yet there's as great a difference between their Religion and yours, as between Night and Day. They ſay poſitively that their's is the beſt; and on the other hand, the Jeſuits allege, that the Religion of the *Engliſh*, and of a thouſand Nations beſides, is good for nothing. If there be but one true Religion upon Earth, who muſt I believe in this caſe? Who is it that do's not take their own Religion to be the moſt perfect? How can the Capacity of Man be able to ſingle out that Divine Religion from amongſt ſo many more, that lay claim to the ſame Title? Believe me, my dear Brother, the Great Spirit is Wiſe, all his Works are perfect; 'tis he that made us, and he knows perfectly well what will become of us. 'Tis our part to act freely, without perplexing our thoughts about future things. He order'd thee to be Born in *France*, with intent that thou ſhouldeſt believe what thou neither ſeeſt nor conceiveſt; and me he has caus'd to be Born a *Huron*, to the end that I ſhould give credit to nothing but what I underſtand, and what my reaſon teaches me.

Labontan. Reaſon teaches thee to be a Chriſtian, and yet you refuſe to be ſuch. If you would, you might underſtand the Truths of our Goſpel, in which all things are of a piece, and nothing can be found that ſavours of Contradiction. The *Engliſh* are Chriſtians as well as the *French*; and tho' theſe two Nations have ſome difference upon the ſcore of Religion, it only relates to ſome Paſſages of Scripture, that they underſtand different ways. The firſt and principal Point that occaſions ſo many diſputes, is this. The *French* believe that ſince the Son of God ſaid, that his Body was in a morſel of Bread; we are bound to take it for a truth, in regard that he could not lie. He told his Apoſtles that the Bread was truly his Body, and that they ought to eat it, and to perpetuate that Ceremony in Commemoration of him. Accordingly this Precept is obſerv'd; for ſince the death of that God made Man, the Sacrifice of the Maſs is perform'd every day among the *French*, who make no doubt of the real preſence of the Son of God in that bit of Bread. But the *Engliſh* pretend, that the Son of God being in Heaven, cannot be Corporally preſent upon Earth, and that his words inſuing upon that Inſtitution (the repetition of which would be tedious to thee) are evidence that he is only Spiritually preſent in the Bread. This is all the difference between them and us; for as to the other Points, they are ſo trifling, that we could eaſily come to an accommodation upon 'em.

Adario. I perceive then, the words of the Son of the Great Spirit are chargeable with ſelf-contradiction or obſcurity; for as much as you and the *Engliſh* diſpute about his meaning with ſo much heat and animoſity: And this ſeems to be the principal Spring of the hatred that theſe two Nations

Nations bear to one another. But that is not what I inſiſt upon. Doſt thou hear, my Brother; both the one and the other muſt needs be fools, in believing the Incarnation of a God,; conſidering the ambiguity of thoſe Diſcourſes mention'd in your Goſpel. There you meet with an infinity of things which are too groſs to come from the Mouth of ſo perfect a Being. The Jeſuits aſſure us, that the Son of the Great Spirit declar'd that he ſincerely deſired the Salvation of all Men. Now, if he deſires it, doubtleſs it muſt come to paſs; and yet they are not all Sav'd neither, for as much as he has ſaid; *many are call'd, but few are choſen.* This I take to be a plain Contradiction. The Fathers reply, that God does deſire the Salvation of men, but upon the condition that they deſire it themſelves. But after all, we do not find that God has added that Clauſe, for if he had, he had not ſpoke ſo poſitively. But the Myſtery lies here. The Jeſuits have a mind to pry into the Secrets of the Almighty, and to aſſume what himſelf did not pretend to, for he mention'd no ſuch condition. The caſe is the ſame, as if the great Captain General of the *French* ſhould give notice by his Viceroy, that 'tis his pleaſure that all the Slaves of *Canada* ſhould be Tranſported to *France*, where they might all grow rich; and thereupon the Slaves ſhould make anſwer that they will not go, becauſe that great Captain cannot deſire it unleſs they be of the ſame mind themſelves. Is not it true, my Brother, that their anſwer would be ridicul'd, and they would be forc'd to go to *France* againſt their will? Can you offer any thing to the contrary? In a word, the Jeſuits have commented to me upon ſo many Expreſſions in that Book that contradict one another, that I'm amaz'd to find that they ſtill call it the

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CONFERENCE

OR

DIALOGUE

BETWEEN THE

AUTHOR and *ADARIO*,

A Noted Man among the

SAVAGES.

CONTAINING

A Circumſtantial View of the Cuſtoms and Humours of that People.

Lahontan. I Am infinitely well pleas'd, my dear *Adario*, that I have an opportunity of reaſoning with you upon a Subject of the greateſt Importance; for my buſineſs is to unfold to you the great Truths of Chriſtianity.

Adario, I am ready to hear thee, my dear Brother, in order to be inform'd of a great many things that the Jeſuits have been Preaching up for

for a long time; and I would have us to diſcourſe together with all the freedom that may be. If your Belief is the ſame with that of the Jeſuits, 'tis in vain to enter into a Conference; for they have entertain'd me with ſo many Fabulous and Romantick Stories, that all the credit I can give 'em, is to believe, that they have more Senſe than to believe themſelves.

Lahontan, I do not know what they have ſaid to you; but I am apt to believe that their Words and mine will agree very well together. The Chriſtian Religion is a Religion that Men ought to profeſs in order to obtain a place in Heaven. God hath permitted the diſcovery of *America*, meaning to ſave all Nations that will follow the Laws of Chriſtianity. 'Twas his Divine Pleaſure that the Goſpel ſhould be Preach'd to thy Nation, that they may be inform'd of the true way to Paradiſe, the bleſſed Manſion of good Souls. 'Tis pity thou wilt not be perſwaded to make the beſt uſe of the Favours and the Talents that God hath beſtow'd upon thee. Life is ſhort; the Hour of our Death is uncertain, and Time is precious. Undeceive thy ſelf therefore, as to the imagin'd Severity of Chriſtianity, and imbrace it without delay, regrating the loſs of thoſe Days thou has ſpent in Ignorance, without a due ſenſe of Religion and Worſhip, and without the knowlege of the true God.

Adario. How do you mean, *without the Knowledge of the True God?* What! are you mad? Do'ſt thou believe we are void of Religion, after thou haſt dwelt ſo long amongſt us? Do'ſt not thee know in the firſt place, that we acknowledge a Creator of the Univerſe, under the Title of the Great Spirit or Maſter of Life; whom we believe to be in every thing, and to be unconfin'd to Limits? 2. That we own the Immortality of the Soul.

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Adario. Hitherto thou proveſt nothing; and the more I ſift the pretended Incarnation, I find it the leſs probable. What! To think that this Great and Incomprehenſible Being, the Creator of the Earth, of the Seas, and of this vaſt Firmament, ſhould be capable of debaſing himſelf ſo far, as to lye nine Months Priſoner in the Bowels of a Woman, and expoſe himſelf to the miſerable Life of his Fellow Sinners, that Writ the Books of your Goſpel; to be Beaten, Whip'd, and Crucify'd like an unhappy Wretch; this, I ſay, is what can't enter into my thoughts. 'Tis written, that he came upon the Earth on purpoſe to die there, and with the ſame Breath 'tis ſaid that he was afraid to die. This implies a Contradiction two ways. In the firſt place, if his deſign was to be Born, in order to die, he ought not to have dreaded death; for, what is the ground of the fear of death? The dread of death proceeds from this, that one do's not know what will become of 'em when they depart this Life. But he was not unacquainted with the place he was bound for, ſo that he had no reaſon to be afraid. You know very well that we and our Wives Poyſon our ſelves frequently, in order to keep one another Company in the Regions of the dead, when one or t'other is ſnatch'd away. So you ſee plainly the loſs of Life does not ſcare us, tho' at the ſame time, we are not certain what courſe our Souls will ſteer. What anſwer canſt thee give me upon this Head? In a ſecond place; Since the Son of the Great Spirit was inveſted with a Power equal to that of his Father; he had no occaſion to pray his Father to ſave his Life, in regard that he was able to guard off Death by his own Power; and that in praying to his Father he pray'd to himſelf. As for my part, my dear Brother, I can't have any no-

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tion of what thou wouldeſt have me to Conceive.

Labontan. I find you were in the right of it in telling me but now, that your capacity would not reach an inch above the ſurface of the Earth. Your way of Reaſoning is ſufficient Proof of your Aſſertion. Now that I have heard this, I do not think it ſtrange that the Jeſuits have ſo much trouble in Preaching to you, and giving you to underſtand the Sacred Truths. I play the fool in reaſoning with a Savage, that is not capable of diſtinguiſhing a Chimerical Suppoſition from a certain and a ſtanding Principle, or a Conſequence well drawn from a falſe Inference. To give you an inſtance. When you ſpake of this truth, that God was willing to ſave all men, and at the ſame time that they are but few who are ſav'd; you charg'd a Contradiction upon it, and at the ſame time there's no ſuch thing in the caſe: For he deſires to ſave all men that wiſh their own Salvation, by obſerving his Law and his Precepts; that is, ſuch as believe his Incarnation, the truth of the Goſpels, the rewards provided for the Good, the puniſhments prepared for the Wicked, and a State of Futurity. But in regard that few ſuch will be found, all the reſt are doom'd to the everlaſting Flames of that Fire that you make a jeſt of. Take care you are not one of the latter Claſs. If it ſhould happen ſo, 'twould be a great trouble to me, becauſe thou art my Friend. You will not ſay then, that the Goſpel is cramm'd with Contradictions and Chimæra's; you will not then require groſs Proofs for all the Truths I have laid before you; you'll repent in earneſt of having branded our Evangeliſts for weak and ſilly Tale-tellers. But, the worſt is, 'twill then be too late. Prithee, think of all this, and be not ſo very obſtinate;

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for, in earneſt, if thou doſt not yield to the unconteſtable Reaſons that I produce for our Myſteries, I will never ſpeak to thee as long as I live.

Adario. Ha! my Brother, do not trouble thy head, I do not pretend to provoke thee by offering my Reaſons. I do not hinder thee to believe the Goſpels: I only beg the favour that thou'lt ſuffer me to doubt the truth of all the Advances thou haſt made. Nothing can be more natural to the Chriſtians than to believe the Holy Scriptures, upon the account, that from their Infancy they have heard ſo much of 'em, that in imitation of ſo many People Educated in the ſame Faith, they have 'em ſo much Imprinted upon their Imagination, that Reaſon has no farther influence upon their Minds, they being already prepoſſeſs'd with a firm belief of the truth of the Goſpels. To People that are void of Prejudice, ſuch as the *Hurons*, there's nothing ſo reaſonable, as to examine things narrowly. Now, after frequent reflexions for the courſe of ten years upon what the Jeſuits Preach'd of the Life and Death of the Son of the Great Spirit, I muſt tell you, that all my *Hurons* will give thee fourty reaſons to the contrary. As for my own part, I have always maintain'd that if twere poſſible that the Great Spirit had been ſo mean, as to deſcend to the Earth, he had ſhewn himſelf to all the Inhabitants of the Earth; he had deſcended in Triumph, and in publick view, with Splendour and Majeſty; he had rais'd the dead, reſtor'd ſight to the blind, made the lame to walk upright, cur'd all the diſeaſes upon the Earth: In fine, he had ſpoke and commanded all that he had a mind to have done; he had gone from Nation to Nation to work theſe great Miracles, and to give the ſame Laws to the whole World. Had he done ſo, we had been all of the ſame Reli-

Religion, and that great Uniformity ſpread over the face of the Earth, would be a laſting Proof to our Poſterity for ten thouſand years to come, of the truth of a Religion that was known and receiv'd with equal approbation in the four Corners of the Earth. But inſtead of that Uniformity, we find five or ſix hundred Religions, among which that Profeſs'd by the *French*, is according to your Argument the only true one, the only one that is Good and Holy. In fine, after I had reflected a thouſand times upon thoſe Riddles that you call Myſteries, I was of the Opinion that a Man muſt be Born beyond the great Lake; that is, he muſt be an *Engliſh-man* or a *French-man*, that can form any Idea of 'em. For when they allege that God, who can't be repreſented under any Figure; could produce a Son under the Figure of a Man: I am ready to reply, that a Woman can't bring forth a Beaver; by reaſon that in the courſe of Nature, every Species produces its like. Beſides, if before the coming of the Son of God all men were devoted to the Devil, what reaſon have we to think that he would aſſume the Form of ſuch Creatures as were liſted into the Service of the Devil. Could not he take upon him another Form, which might be finer and more pompous than the Humane? That he might, is the more reaſonable, ſince the third Perſon of that Trinity (which is ſo inconſiſtent with Unity) aſſum'd the Form of a Dove.

Labontan. Thou haſt drawn up a Savage ſort of a Syſtem by inventing Chimæra's that are nothing to the purpoſe. Give me leave to tell thee once more, that I ſee 'tis in vain for me to attempt to convince thee by ſolid Reaſons, in regard that thou art not capable of underſtanding 'em. I muſt therefore refer you to the Jeſuits.

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In the mean time, I have a mind to give you to underſtand one thing that's very plain, and that will fall within the Verge of your Genius, *viz.* That 'tis not the bare believing of the Great Truths of the Goſpel which you deny, that is ſufficient to conduct one to the Manſions of the Great Spirit. Over and above the belief, one muſt inviolably obſerve the Precepts of the Law that is there deliver'd; that is to ſay, one muſt not adore any thing but the Great Spirit alone, one muſt not work on the days allotted for ſolemn Prayer, one muſt honour their Father and their Mother, and not only avoid the embraces of Girles, but be free from an inclination that way, unleſs it be upon the foot of Marriage. 'Tis requir'd for this end, that we ſhould not kill or promote the killing of any one; that we ſhould not ſpeak ill of our Brethren, or utter Lies, or touch another man's Wife, or incroach upon the property of our Brethren. We muſt go to Maſs on the days appointed for that purpoſe by the Jeſuits, [illegible] Faſt ſome days of the week. For tho' you believ'd the Holy Scriptures as much as we do, unleſs you obſerve the Precepts they contain, you'll be doom'd to everlaſting Flames after your death.

Adario. So, my dear Brother, this is what I expected. 'Tis a long time ſince I knew all that thou haſt now ſet forth; and indeed I take it to be a very reaſonable Article in your Goſpel. Nothing can be juſter and more plauſible than thoſe Precepts you ſpeak of. You act diſingenuouſly in ſaying that unleſs the Commandments are punctually obſerv'd and practis'd, the giving Faith and Credit to the Goſpel will not avail: For, pray, how comes it about that the *French* believe the Goſpel, and yet make a jeſt of its Precepts. This I take to be a manifeſt Contradicti-

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on: For, in the first place, as to the Adoration of the Great Spirit, I see no sign of it in your Actions, so that your Worship consists only in Words, and seems to be Calculated to cheat us. To give you an instance; do not you see every day that your Merchants when they bargain with us for Beaver-Skins, do commonly say, my Goods cost me so much, 'tis true as I Adore the Almighty; I lose so much by you, 'tis as true as that God is in Heaven. But I do not find that they offer him the Sacrifice of their most valuable Goods, as we do after we have bought 'em from them, when we burn 'em before their Faces. In the next place, as for Working on the days set apart for Worship, I do not find that you make any difference between Holy-Days and Work-Days; for I have frequently seen the *French* bargain for Skins on your Holy-Days, as well as make Nets, Game, Quarrel, beat one another, get Drunk, and commit a hundred extravagant Actions. In a third place, touching the Veneration we have for our Fathers or Ancestours, 'tis but seldom that you follow their Counsel; you suffer 'em to die for Hunger, you leave 'em and take up separate Habitations; you are always ready to ask something of 'em, but never to give 'em any thing; and if you expect any thing from 'em, you wish for their death; or at least you expect it with impatience. In the fourth place, as for Continence with respect to the tender Sex; who is it among you (abating for the Jesuits) that has ever acted up to it; do not we see every day that your Youths pursue our Daughters and our Wives, even to the very Fields, with a design to inveigle 'em by presents? Do not they Roll every Night from Hutt to Hutt in our Village, in order to debauch 'em? And dost not thee know how many such Adventures

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there are among thy own Soldiers? In the fifth place, to touch upon the head of Murder; 'tis ſuch a common thing among you, that upon the leaſt accident, you clap your Hands to your Swords and Butcher one another. I remember when I was at *Paris*, People were run thro' in the Streets every night; and upon the Road between *Paris* and *Rochel*, I was told that I was in danger of my life. Sixthly. Lying and Slandering your Brethren, is a thing that you can as little refrain as Eating and Drinking. I never heard four *French-Men* Converſe together, without ſpeaking ill of ſome body; and if you knew what I have heard 'em ſay publickly of the Vice-roy, the Intendant, the Jeſuits, and of a thouſand People that you know, not excepting your Self, you would be convinc'd that the *French* are very well vers'd in Defamations. And as to the buſineſs of Lying, I affirm it for a truth, that there is not one Merchant in this Country that will not tell you twenty Lies in ſelling the worth of a Beaver's Skin in Goods; not to mention the lies they invent in order to defame their Neighbours. In a ſeventh place, to adjuſt the Point of ingaging with Married Women, we need no other Proof than to hear your Diſcourſes when you have got a little Drink in your Heads; then you'll entertain us with a great many fine Stories of your Adventures that way. But to go no farther, pray reckon up how many Children are got upon the Wives of the *Coureurs de Bois* during their Husbands abſence. In the eighth place, to come to the Article of not encroaching upon our Neighbours Property, how many Theſts or Robberies have you ſeen committed among the *Coureurs de Bois* ſince you came to this Country? Have not the Thieves been taken in the Fact, and puniſh'd accordingly? Is not it ſuch a com-

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mon thing in your Towns, that one can't walk in the Streets in the Night time with ſafety, and that you dare not leave your Doors open? In the ninth place, as for going to your Maſs to hear ſome Words ſpoke in an unknown Language; 'tis true the *French* go commonly to it, but their deſign in going is to think of other things than Praying. At *Quebec*, the Men go to Maſs to pick up the Women, and the Women take the ſame Method to make Aſſignments with the Men. I have ſeen ſome of your Women call for Cuſhions, for fear of ſpoiling their Stockins and Petti-coats; then they ſit down upon their Heels, and pull a Book out of a great Bag, which they open and hold in their hands, tho' at the ſame time, they look more at the Men they like, than at the Prayers contain'd in the Book. Moſt of your *French* People take Snuſh when they're at Maſs; they talk, and laugh; and ſing rather for Diverſion than out of Devotion. And, which is yet worſe; I know that during the time of Maſs, ſeveral Women and Girles take the opportunity of purſuing their Amours, by ſtaying at home all alone. As for your Faſts, I muſt ſay they are very comical: You eat of all ſorts of Fiſh till you burſt again, you cram down Eggs and a thouſand other things, and yet you call this faſting. In fine, my dear Brother, you *French* Folks do all of you make large Pretenſions to Faith, and yet you are downright Infidels; you would fain paſs for wiſe People, and at the ſame time you are fools; you take your ſelves to be Men of Senſe, but at the bottom Ignorance and Preſumption is your true Character.

Lahontan. This concluſion, my dear Brother, ſavours too ſtrong of the *Hurons*, in being apply'd to all the *French* in general. If your repreſentation were juſt, ne're a one of 'em would go to

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Paradiſe. But we know that there are Millions of 'em in the State of the Bleſſed, whom we call Saints, and whoſe Images you ſee in our Churches. I own that there are but few of the *French* who have that true Faith that's the only Principle of Piety; ſeveral make a Profeſſion of believing the Truths of our Religion, but this belief is wanting as to its due ſtrength and livelineſs. I own that the greateſt part of thoſe who know the Divine Truths, and make a Profeſſion of believing them, do act quite contrary to what Faith and Religion injoyns. I cannot deny the juſtneſs of your Charge, in alleging a Contradiction upon 'em. But you muſt conſider, that ſometimes Men ſin againſt the light of their own Conſcience, and ſome Men lead wicked Lives that have receiv'd good Inſtruction. Now this may be owing either to their want of Attention, or to the force of their Paſſions, and the tyes they lye under to their Temporal Intereſt. Man being full of Corruption is ſway'd to evil by ſo many various motives, and by ſo ſtrong an inclination that way, that 'tis hard for him to renounce it, without an abſolute Neceſſity.

Adario. When you ſpeak of *Man*, you ought to ſay *French-Man*; for you know that the Paſſions, the Intereſt, and the Corruption we ſpeak of, are not known among us: But that is not the Point I would be at. Do ye hear, my Brother, I have talk'd frequently to the *French* of all the Vices that reign among them; and when I have made it out that they have no regard to the *Laws* of their *Religion*, they confeſs'd that 'twas true and that they ſaw it plainly and knew it to be ſo, but at the ſame time they ſaid 'twas impoſſible for them to obſerve thoſe Laws: Upon that I ask'd 'em if they did not believe then that their Souls would be doom'd to eternal Flames; and receiv'd this an-

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ſwer, *That the Mercy of God is ſo great, that whoever truſts in his Goodneſs ſhall be Sav'd; that the Goſpel is a Covenant of Grace, in which God condeſcends to the Condition and Weakneſs of Man, who is tempted by ſo many violent and frequent Attractives, that he is forc'd to give way; and that this World being a place of Corruption, there can be no Purity in Corrupt Man, unleſs it be in the Country where God reſides.* This, I think, is a leſs rigid ſort of Morality than that of the Jeſuits, who ſend us to Hell for a Trifle. Your *French* Men have reaſon to ſay, *That 'tis impoſſible to keep that Law*; ſo long as the diſtinction of *Meum* and *Tuum* is kept up among you: You need no other proof for this than the Example of all the Savages of *Canada*, who notwithſtanding their Poverty are Richer than you, among whom all ſorts of Crimes are committed upon the ſcore of that *Meum* and *Tuum*.

Lahontan. I own, my dear Brother, that thou'rt in the right of it; and I can't but admire the Innocence of all the Savage Nations: And 'tis for that reaſon that I earneſtly wiſh they were acquainted with the Sanctity of our Scriptures, I mean, that Goſpel that thou and I have talk'd ſo much of. There's nothing wanting but that to render their Souls Eternally Happy. All of you live ſo Morally that you will then have but one Difficulty to ſurmount before you arrive at Paradiſe; I mean, that Cuſtomary Fornication that prevails amongſt the ſingle perſons of both Sexes, and the liberty that the Men and the Women take in breaking their Marriage Bonds, in order to a Reciprocal Change, and a freſh Choice. For the Great Spirit has ſaid, *That Death and Adultery are the only two things that can break that indiſſolvable Bond.*

Adario. We ſhall take another Opportunity of Diſcourſing more particularly of that great Obſtacle that thou findeſt to ſtand in the way of our Salvation. In the mean time, I'll content my ſelf with giving thee one Reaſon with reſpect to one of the two Points that are mention'd, that is, the liberty that Batchelors and Girls take with one another. In the firſt place the young Warrior will not Embarque in a Married State till he has made ſome Campaigns againſt the *Iroqueſe*, and took ſome Slaves to ſerve him either in the Village, or at Hunting, Fiſhing, *&c.* and till he is perfectly well vers'd in the Exercifes of Hunting, Shooting and Fiſhing. Further, he will not enervate himſelf by the frequent Exerciſe of Venery, at a time when his Strength enables him to ſerve his Nation in oppoſing their Enemies; not to mention that he will not expoſe a Wife and Children to the affliction of ſeeing him kill'd or taken Priſoner. Now, conſidering that 'tis inpoſſible for a young Man to abſtain from the Embraces of Women altogether, you muſt not Cenſure the Youth for keeping Company with young Women once or twice a Month, nor the Girles for receiving their Addreſſes. Without that Liberty our Batchelors would be liable to great Diſorders, as Experience has taught me, with reference to ſeveral that obſerv'd a ſevere Continence to make 'em run the better; and beſides, our Daughters and young Women would be there by tempted to a mean ſubmiſſion to the Embraces of Slaves.

Labontan. Believe me, my dear Friend, God will not be ſatisfied with theſe Reaſons; he orders you either to Marry, or to entertain no Commerce with the Sex: For everlaſting Flames are entail'd upon one amorous thought alone, upon

on one longing wish, one bare desire to satisfie the brutish Passion. When thou fastens upon Continence a Character of Impossibility, thou giveſt God the lie, for he injoyns nothing but what is possible. 'Tis in our Power to moderate our Passions when we will; there's nothing requir'd towards that but our Good-will and Consent. All Men that believe in God ought to observe his Precepts, and to resist Temptations by the assistance of his Grace which never fails 'em. To instance in the Jesuits, Dost not thee think that when they see a pretty Girle in thy Village, they feel the Influence of Temptation as well as other Folks? Questionless they do; but they call in God to their Assistance; they pass the whole course of their Lives, as well as all our Priests, without Marrying, or having any criminal Conversation with the tender Sex. When they put on the black Habit they make solemn Promises to God to that Effect. They wage an uninterrupted War with all Temptations, during the whole course of their Lives, and are oblig'd to reach the Kingdom of Heaven by Violence. When one therefore is apprehensive of falling into that Sin, he can't avoid it better than by throwing himself into a Cloyster.

Adario. I would not for ten Beaver Skins lye under an obligation of silence upon this Head. In the first place, that set of Men are guilty of a Crime in taking an Oath of Continence, for God having created an equal number of Men and Women, he mean'd that both the one and the other should be imploy'd in the Propagation of Mankind. All things in Nature multiply, whether Trees, Plants, Birds, Beasts, or Insects. They repeat this Lesson to us every Year, and such Persons as do not follow it are useless to the World, they do good to none but themselves,

Holy Scriptures. 'Tis written there, that the first man whom the Great Spirit made with his own Hands, did eat of a forbidden Fruit, for which both he and his Wife were punish'd, as being equally Criminal. Now, let's suppose the Punishment inflicted upon the account of the Apple to be what you will; this poor Man had nothing to complain of, but that the Great Spirit knowing that he would eat of it, should have Created him to be Miserable. But let's consider the case of his Posterity, who according to the Jesuits are involv'd in his Overthrow: Are the Children Blame-worthy for the Gluttony of their Father and their Mother? If a man Murder'd one of our Kings, must the Punishment reach to his whole Generation; to Fathers, Mothers, Uncles, Cousins, Sisters, Brothers, and all his other Relations? Shall we suppose, therefore, that when the Great Spirit gave this Man a Being, he knew not what he might do after his Creation? But that cannot be. But let's suppose again that all his Posterity were accomplices of the Crime, (which at the same time is an unjust supposition) do's not your Scripture make this Great Spirit to be a Being of such Mercy and Clemency, that his Loving-Kindness to the Human Race leaves all Conception far behind it? Is not he so great and so puissant, that if all the Spirits of men that either are, or have been, or are to come, were united in one Person, 'twould be impossible for that Mighty one to comprehend the least tittle of his Omnipotence? Now, since his goodness and mercy are so transcendent, can't he by one Word vouchsafe a Pardon to that man and all his descendants? And since he is so powerful and great, how improbable is it, that such an Incomprehensible Being should turn himself into a Man, and not only live a miserable Life, but

but die an infamous Death; in order to expiate the Sin of so mean a Creature, that is as much or more beneath him, as a Flie is beneath the Sun and the Stars? Where would that infinite Power be then? What use would it be of to him, and what advantage would he make of it? To my mind, to believe the debasing of the Divine Nature, speaks a doubt of the Incomprehensible reach of his Omnipotence, and an extravagant Presumption with respect to our selves.

Lahontan. Do'st not thou perceive, my dear *Adario*, that the Great Spirit being so powerful, and intitled to the Perfections you have nam'd, the Sin of our Primitive Father must by consequence be the most enormous and heinous Crime that imagination it self can reach? To make the case plain by an example; If I beat one of my Soldiers, there's no harm done, but if I offer'd an affront to the King, my Crime would be inflam'd to the last degree, and be justly accounted unpardonable. Now, *Adam* having offer'd a piece of Indignity to the King of Kings, we come into the list of his Accomplices, as being part of his Soul; and consequently the Divine Justice requires such a Satisfaction as the Death of his Son. 'Tis true, God could have Pardon'd us with one Word; but for reasons that I cannot give you easily to understand, he was graciously pleas'd to live and to die for all Mankind. I own that he is merciful, and that he might have acquitted Adam the same day that the Crime was committed; for his Mercy is the ground of all the hopes we have of Salvation: But if he had not resented *Adam*'s Disobedience, his Prohibition had been a jest. Had he overlook'd it, the consequence would have been that he did not speak seriously; and upon that foot, all the World would have had a just Plea for doing what they pleas'd.

PAGES PARTIALLY ILLEGIBILE

the leſs light I find. To my mind, the beſt way for all of you is to agree upon this concluſion; That the Great Spirit has beſtow'd upon all Men, a Light ſufficient to ſhew 'em what they ought to do, without running the riſque of being impos'd upon: For I have heard that in each of theſe different Religions, there's an infinite number of Perſons of different Opinions. To inſtance in your Religion; every religious Order maintains certain Points that the reſt do not, and obſerves as great a diverſity in their Inſtitutions as in their Habits. This makes me think that in *Europe* every particular Man forms a peculiar Religion to himſelf, which differs from that which he outwardly profeſſes. As for my own part, I firmly believe that Men are not capable of knowing what the Great Spirit requires of 'em; and I can't diſſuade my ſelf from believing, that ſince the Great Spirit is ſo juſt and ſo good, 'tis impoſſible that his Juſtice ſhould render the Salvation of Mankind ſo difficult, as that all of 'em ſhould be Damn'd that are not retainers to your Religion, and that even few of the Profeſſors of it ſhould be admitted into Paradiſe. Believe me, my Friend; the other World goes upon a lay that's quite different from what we have in this. Few People know what paſſes there: All *our* knowledge amounts only to this; That we *Hurons* are not the Authours of our own Creation, that the Great Spirit has vouchſaf'd us an honeſt Mould, while Wickedneſs neſtles in yours; and that he ſends you into our Country, in order to have an opportunity of Correcting your Faults, and following our Example. Purſuant to this Principle, my Brother, thou may'ſt believe as long as thou wilt, and have as much Faith as thou haſt a mind to: But after all, thou ſhalt never ſee the good Country of Souls, unleſs thou

turn'ſt

urn'ſt *Huron*. The Innocence of our Lives, the Love we tender to our Brethren, and the Tranquility of Mind which we injoy in contemning the meaſures of Intereſt: Theſe, I ſay, are three things that the Great Spirit requires of all Men in General. We practiſe all theſe Duties in our Villages, naturally; while the *Europeans* defame, kill, rob, and pull one another to pieces, in their Towns. The *Europeans* have a ſtrong mind to Inherit a Place in the Country of Souls, and yet they never think of their Creator, but when they diſpute with the *Hurons*. Fare well, my dear Brother; it grows late: I'll now retire to my Hute, in order to recollect all the advances thou haſt made, that I may call 'em to mind to morrow, when I come to reaſon the Point with the Jeſuits.

Of Laws.

Lahontan. WEll, my Friend, thou haſt heard what the Jeſuit had to ſay; he has ſet matters in a clear light, and made 'em much plainer than I could do. You ſee plainly there's a great difference between his Arguments and mine. We Soldiers of Fortune have only a ſuperficial knowledge of our Religion, tho' indeed we ought to know it better; but the Jeſuits have Study'd it to that degree, that they never fail of converting and convincing the moſt obſtinate Infidels in the Univerſe.

Adario. To be free with thee, my dear Brother, I could ſcarce underſtand one tittle of what he meant, and I am much miſtaken if he underſtands it himſelf. He has repeated the very

ry ſame Arguments a hundred times in my Hutt; and you might have obſerv'd, that yeſterday I anſwer'd above twenty times, that I had heard his Arguments before upon ſeveral occaſions. But, what I take to be moſt ridiculous, he teazes me every minute to get me to interpret his Arguments, word for word, to my Countrymen; upon the Plea that a Man of my Senſe may find out in his own Language, more ſignificant terms, and render the meaning of his Words more Intelligible, than a Jeſuit who is not throughly Maſter of the *Huron* Language. You heard me tell him, that he might Baptiſe as many Children as he pleas'd, tho' at the ſame time he could not give me to know what Baptiſm was. He may do what he pleaſes in my Village; let him make Chriſtians, and Preach, and Baptiſe if he will; I ſhall not hinder him. But now, methinks, we have had enough of Religion, let us therefore talk a little of what you call Laws; for you know that we have no ſuch Word in our Language; tho' at the ſame time, I apprehend the force and importance of the Word, by vertue of the explication I had from you t'other day, together with the examples you mention'd, to make me conceive what you meant. Prithee tell me, are not Laws the ſame as juſt and reaſonable Things? You ſay they are. Why then, to obſerve the Law, imports no more than to obſerve the meaſures of Reaſon and Juſtice: And at this rate you muſt take juſt and reaſonable things in another ſenſe than we do; or if you take 'em in the ſame ſenſe, 'tis plain you never obſerve 'em.

Labontan. Theſe are fine Diſtinctions indeed, you pleaſe your ſelf with idle Flams. Haſt not thee the Senſe to perceive, after twenty Years Converſation with the *French*, that what the *Hu-*

rons

rons call Reaſon is Reaſon among the *French*. 'Tis certain that all Men do not obſerve the Laws of Reaſon, for if they did there would be no occaſion for Puniſhments, and thoſe Judges thou haſt ſeen at *Paris* and *Quebec* would be oblig'd to look out for another way of Living. But in regard that the good of the Society conſiſts in doing Juſtice and following theſe Laws, there's a neceſſity of puniſhing the Wicked and rewarding the Good; for without that Precaution Murthers, Robberies and Defamations would ſpread every where, and in a Word, we ſhould be the moſt miſerable People upon the Face of the Earth.

Adario. Nay, you are miſerable enough already, and indeed I can't ſee how you can be more ſuch. What ſort of Men muſt the *Europeans* be? What Species of Creatures do they retain to? The *Europeans*, who muſt be forc'd to do Good, and have no other Prompter for the avoiding of Evil than the fear of Puniſhment. If I ask'd thee, what a Man is, thou wouldſt anſwer me, *He's a Frenchman*, and yet I'll prove that your *Man* is rather a *Beaver*. For *Man* is not intitled to that Character upon the ſcore of his walking upright upon two Legs, or of Reading and Writing, and ſhewing a Thouſand other Inſtances of his Induſtry. I call that Creature a *Man*, that hath a natural inclination to do Good, and never entertains the thoughts of doing Evil. You ſee we have no Judges; and what's the reaſon of that? Why? We neither quarrel nor ſue one another. And what's the reaſon that we have no Law Suits? Why? Becauſe we are reſolved neither to receive nor to know Silver. But why do we refuſe admiſſion to Silver among us? The reaſon is this; We are reſolv'd to have no Laws, for ſince the World

was

was a World our Anceſtors liv'd happily without 'em. In fine, as I intimated before, the Word *Laws* does not ſignifie juſt and reaſonable things as you uſe it, for the Rich make a Jeſt of 'em, and 'tis only the poor Wretches that pay any regard to 'em. But, pray, let's look into theſe *Laws*, or reaſonable things, as you call 'em. For theſe Fifty Years, the Governors of *Canada* have ſtill alledg'd that we are ſubject to the Laws of their great Captain. We content our ſelves in denying all manner of Dependance, excepting that upon the Great Spirit, as being born free and joint Brethren, who are all equally Maſters: Whereas you are all Slaves to one Man. We do not put in any ſuch Anſwer to you, as if the *French* depended upon us; and the reaſon of our ſilence upon that Head is, that we have no mind to Quarrel. But, pray tell me, what Authority or Right is the pretended Superiority of your great Captain grounded upon? Did we ever ſell our ſelves to that great Captain? Were we ever in *France* to look after you? 'Tis you that came hither to find out us. Who gave you all the Countries that you now inhabit, by what Right do you poſſeſs 'em? They always belong'd to the *Algonkins* before. In earneſt, my dear Brother, I'm ſorry for thee from the bottom of my Soul. Take my advice, and turn *Huron*; for I ſee plainly a vaſt difference between thy Condition and mine. I am Maſter of my own Body, I have the abſolute diſpoſal of my ſelf, I do what I pleaſe, I am the firſt and the laſt of my Nation, I fear no Man, and I depend only upon the Great Spirit: Whereas thy Body, as well as thy Soul, are doom'd to a dependance upon thy great Captain; thy Vice-Roy diſpoſes of thee; thou haſt not the liberty of doing what thou haſt a mind to; thou'rt afraid of Robbers,

falſe

falſe Witneſſes, Aſſaſſins, *&c.* and thou dependeſt upon an infinity of Perſons whoſe Places have rais'd 'em above thee. Is it true, or not? Are theſe things either improbable or inviſible? Ah! my dear Brother, thou ſeeſt plainly that I am in the right of it; and yet thou chooſeſt rather to be a *French* Slave than a free *Huron*. What a fine Spark does a *Frenchman* make with his fine Laws, who taking himſelf to be mighty Wiſe is aſſuredly a great Fool; for as much as he continues in Slavery and a ſtate of Dependence, while the very Brutes enjoy that adorable Liberty, and like us fear nothing but Foreign Enemies.

Labontan. Indeed, my Friend, thy way of Reaſoning is as Savage as thy ſelf. I did not think that a Man of Senſe, who hath been in *France* and *New England*, would ſpeak after that Faſhion. What benefit haſt thou reap'd by having ſeen our Cities, Forts and Palaces? When thou talk'ſt of ſevere Laws, of Slavery, and a Thouſand other idle Whims, queſtionleſs thou preacheſt contrary to thy own Sentiments. Thou takeſt pleaſure in diſcanting upon the Felicity of the *Hurons*, a ſet of Men who mind nothing but Eating, Drinking, Sleeping, Hunting, and Fiſhing; who have not the enjoyment of any one Conveniency of Life, who travel four Hundred Leagues on Foot to knock four *Iroqueſe* on the Head, in a Word, who have no more than the ſhape of Men: Whereas we have our Conveniences, our unbending Diverſions, and a Thouſand other Pleaſures, which render the Minutes of our Life ſupportable. To avoid the laſh of thoſe Laws which are ſevere only upon wicked and criminal Perſons, one needs only to live honeſtly, and offer Injuries to no man.

Adario.

Adario. Ay, my dear Brother, your being an honeſt Man would not avail you; if two falſe Witneſſes ſwear againſt you, you'll preſently ſee whether your Laws are ſevere or not. Have not the *Coureurs de Bois* quoted me twenty inſtances of Perſons that have been cruelly put to death by the laſh of your Laws, whoſe Innocence has appear'd after their death? What truth there is in their Relations, I do not pretend to know; but 'tis plain that ſuch a thing may happen. I have heard 'em ſay farther (and indeed I had heard the ſame thing in *France* before) that poor innocent Men are Tortur'd in a moſt horrible manner, in order to force 'em by the violence of their Torment to a Confeſſion of all that is charg'd upon 'em, and of ten times more. What execrable Tyranny muſt this be! Tho' the *French* pretend to be Men, yet the Women are not exempted from this horrid Cruelty, no more than the Men; both the one and the other chooſe rather to die once than to die fifty times. And indeed they are in the right of it: For if it ſhould happen that by the influence of extraordinary courage, they were capable of undergoing ſuch Torments without confeſſing a Crime that they never committed; what health, what manner of life can they enjoy thereafter? No, no, my dear Brother, the black Devils that the Jeſuits talk ſo much of, are not in the Regions where Souls burn in Flames, but in *Quebec* and in *France*, where they keep Company with the Laws, the falſe Witneſſes, the Conveniencies of Life, the Cities, the Fortreſſes and the Pleaſures you ſpoke of but now.

Lahontan. The *Coureurs de Bois* and the other Sparks who told you ſuch Stories, without acquainting you with the other Circumſtances that they knew nothing of, are Block-heads that had bet-

better have held their peace. I'll ſet the whole matter before thee, in its clear and natural colours. Suppoſe, two falſe Witneſſes depoſe againſt a Man; they are preſently put into two ſeparate Rooms, where they can't ſee or converſe with one another. Then they are examin'd one after another upon the Articles charg'd againſt the Perſon Arraign'd; and the Judges, are of ſuch tender Conſciences, as to uſe their utmoſt efforts to diſcover whether one or both of 'em vary's, as to the Circumſtances. If they happen to perceive any falſity in their depoſitions, which is eaſily perceiv'd, they Sentence 'em to die without remiſſion. But if it appears that they are ſo far from contradicting, that they back one another, they are preſented before the Priſoner, to ſee if he has any Objection to make againſt 'em, and if he is willing to rely upon their Conſciences. If he has nothing to object, and if the two Witneſſes Swear by the Great Spirit, that they ſaw him Murder, Rob, *&c.* the Judges condemn him out of hand. As for Torture, 'tis never made uſe of, but when there's only one Witneſs, whoſe Oath can't inſer Death; for the Law which requires the Teſtimony of two Men for a ſufficient Proof, looks upon the Atteſtation of one but as half a Proof. But at the ſame time, you muſt remark that the Judges take all imaginable Precaution to avoid the paſſing of an unjuſt Sentence.

Adario. I'm e'en as wiſe as I was; for when all comes to all, the two falſe Witneſſes have a perfect good underſtanding between themſelves, before they are brought to the Bar, and they are not to ſeek for the Anſwers they are to make: And I find the depoſition of one Scoundrel will put a Man to the Rack as well as that of an honeſt Man; who in my Opinion do's juſtly forfeit

and rob the Earth of the Corn that feeds 'em, in regard that they convert it to no uſe, according to your Principles. A ſecond Crime that they are guilty of conſiſts in violating their Oath (which they do but too commonly) and making a Jeſt of their Word and Promiſes to the Great Spirit. This Crime draws on one or two more, whether in Converſing with young Women or with other Men's Wives. If they keep Company with Girles, 'tis manifeſt that by Deflowring 'em they rob 'em of what they can never return; I mean, they rob 'em of that Flower, which the *Freneh* have ſuch an itch to gather themſelves when they Marry, and which they look upon as ſo valuable a Treaſure, that a Robbery of that Nature is reckon'd a Crime of the higheſt demerit. Another Crime they are guilty of conſiſts in uſing the abominable precaution of doing things by halves to prevent Impregnation. If they court the Embraces of Married Women, they ſtand accountable for the Adultery, and for the Injury that the Woman does to her Husband. Farther; the Children ſpringing from thoſe Adulterous Embraces are Robbers and Interlopers, that live upon the Means of a pretended Father and half Brethren. In a fifth place, they are chargeable with the unlawful and prophane Methods that they take to ſtifle their Brutiſh Paſſion; for they being the Perſons that Preach your Goſpel, they give a quite different turn to things in private to what they do publickly, or elſe they could never find a Salvo for their Libertiniſm which the Vulgar take for a Crime. Thou art ſenſible, my Friend, that I ſpeak juſtly upon the Point, and that in *France* I have ſeen ſome of theſe Black Prieſts that would not hide their Talent under their Caps when they came into the Company of Women.

Give

Give me leave, my dear Brother, to tell thee once more that 'tis impoſſible for theſe Men to be without the Converſation of Women at a certain Age, and far leſs to be free from amorous Thoughts. As for that Reſiſtance and thoſe vigorous Efforts thou ſpeak'ſt of, that's but a frivolous and poor Plea, as well as their idle pretence of avoiding the Temptation by being mew'd up in a Convent. If Convents are Antidotes againſt Temptation, why do you ſuffer the young Prieſts and Monks to Confeſs Maids and Married Women? Is that the way to avoid the Temptation; or is it not rather a plain contrivance for a handſome Opportunity? What Man in the World can hear the Amorous Intrigues of the confeſſing Ladies, without being Tranſported, eſpecially if he be one of thoſe who injoy Health, Youth and Strength, who are without Fatigue or Working, and who encourage Nature with the moſt Nouriſhing Liquors and Food, ſeaſon'd with I do not know how many Drugs and Spices, that are ſufficient to inflame the Blood without any other Provocation? For my part, after a due Conſideration of theſe Articles, I ſhall not think it ſtrange if there be not ſo much as one Eccleſiaſtick in the Paradiſe of the Great Spirit. And pray, how have you the Confidence to maintain that the Cattel turn Monks and Prieſts in order to avoid Sin, when you know they are addicted to all manner of Vice? I have been inform'd by *French* Men of very good Senſe, that thoſe who enter into Prieſts or Monks Orders among you, and have no other view than to live at their eaſe, without the fatigue of Work, and without the diſquieting fears of dying for Hunger or being obliged to venture their Lives in the Army. If you would have your Prieſts good Men, they ought

to be all Married, and to live with their respective Families; or else they should be all above Sixty Years of Age. Then indeed they might Confess, Preach and visit Families without Scruple, and Edifie all the World by their Example. Then, I say, 'twould not be in their Power to seduce Maids or married Women; their Age and their Conduct would speak them Wise, Moderate and Considerate; and at the same time the Nation would sustain no loss by their being set apart for Divine Service, in regard that after Sixty Years of Age they are not fit for Warlike Exploits.

Labontan. I told you before, that you ought not to charge the whole World with the Misdemeanours of a few. 'Tis true there are some who take upon 'em Monks or Priests Orders, with no other design than to subsist handsomely; and unmindful of the devoirs of their Ministry, think of nothing but calling in their yearly Rents. I own that some of 'em are Drunkards, and extravagant in their Actions and Words; that among some of 'em who are wedded to their Interest, Sordid Avarice bears the Ascendant; that some are Proud and Implacable in the way of Resentment; that some of 'em are Whore-masters, Debauchees, Swearers, Hypocrites, Ignorant Fellows, Worldly minded, Backbiters, *&c.* But their number is but very inconsiderable with respect to the whole; for the Church receives none but the wiser and graver sort of Men, of whom they have some moral Assurances, and whom they try and endeavour to know throughly before they admit 'em: Tho' after all their precaution it can't be otherwise but that they must be impos'd upon sometimes; and indeed this is a great Misfortune, for when the Conduct of Ecclesiasticks is blacken'd with such Vices,

Vices, it raiſes the greateſt Scandal that can be; the Sacred Word is polluted in their Mouths, the Laws of God are contemn'd, Divine Things are diſreſpected, the Office of the Miniſtry is deba's'd, Religion in general is trampled under Foot, and the People ſhaking off the due regard to Religion give way to an uncontroul'd Licentiouſneſs. But in the mean time you ought to conſider, that in ſuch Caſes we take our Meaſures from their Doctrine more than from the Example of ſuch ſcandalous Eccleſiaſticks; we are not upon the ſame lay with you who have not the neceſſary Diſcretion to diſtinguiſh the Doctrine from the Example, and to remain unſhaken by the Scandalous Lives of thoſe you ſaw at *Paris*, whoſe Converſation and Sermons were far from being of a piece. In fine, all that I have to ſay upon this Head, turns upon this, that the Pope having given expreſs Orders to our Biſhops not to confer the Eccleſiaſtical Dignity upon any unworthy Object, they take all the Precaution imaginable, and at the ſame time uſe their utmoſt Efforts to reclaim thoſe who have already gone aſtray.

Adario. I am ſurpris'd to find that you give all along ſuch ſuperficial Anſwers to all the Objections I have offer'd. I perceive that you court Digreſſions, and always depart from the Subject of my Queſtions. But ſince 'tis ſo, I'll come to the Pope then; and with reference to that Point, you muſt know that one Day at *New York* an *Engliſh*-man gave me to know that the Pope was ſuch another Man as he or I was; but that he ſent every body to Hell that he Excommunicated; that he releas'd whom he pleas'd from a ſecond place of Torment, that it ſeems you have forgot, and open'd the Gates of the Great Spirit's Country to ſuch Perſons as he lik'd, as being

intrusted with the Keys of that upper Region. If all this be true, methinks all his Friends should kill themselves when he expires, that they may croud in along with him when he opens the Gates for himself; and if it be in his Power to send Souls to Hell, 'tis a dangerous thing to be rank'd in the number of his Enemies. At the same time, I was inform'd by that *English* Gentleman, that this Papal Authority had no footing in *England*, and that the *English* ridicul'd it. Now, prithee, tell me whether this *English* Christian spoke the truth, or not.

Labouran. The unfolding of this question would run me out to so wide a compass of things, that I should not have done, not in fifteen days. The Jesuits will satisfie you upon that point better than I can pretend to. However I'll take the liberty to say one thing, namely: That the *English* Man rally'd and jeer'd while he mention'd some things that were true. He had a great deal of reason to perswade you that those of his Religion, did not depend upon the Pope for their Passage to Heaven, because that lively Faith which you and I spoke of before, conducts 'em thither without any regard to that holy Man. The Son of God is willing to save all the *English* by his Blood and Merits. And thus you see that they are happier than the *French*, of whom God has requir'd good Works that they scarce ever mind, and who are doom'd to everlasting Flames, if their evil Actions run counter to the abovemention'd Commandments of God; tho' at the same time, both they and we are of the same Faith. As to the second flaming place, which we call *Purgatory*, they are exempted from the necessity of passing thro' it; because they'd rather choose to continue upon Earth thro' all the Ages of Eternity without visiting Paradise, than to Burn

for

for some thousands of years by the way. They are so tender upon this point of Honour, that they'll never accept of any Present at the purchase of bearing some Bastinadoes. According to their Notions of things, they do not take a man to be oblig'd by the giving him Mony and hard Usage at the same time: This is rather an affront in their way. But the *French*, who are less nice upon the point; they take it for a mighty favour, that they're allowed to burn for an infinity of Ages in *Purgatory*, upon the apprehension that by that means, they will be better acquainted with the true value of Heaven. Now for as much as the Pope is the Creditor of the *English*, and demands Restitution of his own, they are far from asking his Pardons; that is, his Passports for removing to Heaven without touching at *Purgatory*; for if they did, he would order 'em a Pass to that sort of Hell, which they pretend was never made for 'em. But we *French* Folks that pay him good round Annuities, being acquainted with his Wonder-Working Power, and affected with a sense of our Sins against God; we, I say, that lye under such Circumstances, must of necessity have recourse to the Indulgences of that holy Man, in order to obtain a Pardon that he has Power to grant; for if one of us be Condemn'd to lye forty years in *Purgatory* before he is remov'd to Heaven, why, 'twill cost the Pope but one Word to get the Sentence Reverss'd. In fine, to repeat once more what I said before, the Jesuits will inform you admirably well, of the Authority and Power of the Pope, and of the State of *Purgatory*.

Adario. I am at a loss to know how to form a distinct Idea of the difference between you and the *English*, as to the point of Belief; for the more I endeavour to have it set in a clearer light,

we'd shut 'em up in Prisons and Convents, and Condemn 'em to a perpetual Confinement. The Physicians, 'twould be unjust to abuse, for of a hundred Patients they do not kill two; nay, on the contrary, they use their utmost efforts to Cure 'em. There's a necessity that Superannuated Persons, and those who are worn out, should put a Period to their Lives. And after all, tho' all of us have occasion to imploy Doctors, if 'twere prov'd that they had kill'd any Patient, either thro' Ignorance or Malice, the Law would not spare 'em no more than others.

Adario. Were these Laws observ'd, you would stand in need of a great many Prisons; but I see plainly that you do not speak all the truth, and that you're afraid of carrying the Thing farther, least my Reasons should put you to a stand. However, let's now cast our eyes upon those two Men who fled last year to *Québec*, to avoid the being Burnt in *France*. If we look narrowly into their Crime, we'll find occasion to say, that *Europe* is pester'd with a great many foolish Laws. But, to speak to the purpose; these two *French* Men were Branded for Jugglers, pretended Magicians, and charg'd with the Crime of playing Magical Tricks. Now, what harm have these poor Fellows done; perhaps they have had a fit of Sickness, that has brought 'em into that State of Simplicity and Folly, as it happens sometimes among us. Prithee tell me, what harm do our Jugglers do? When a Patient is recommended to 'em, they shut themselves up all alone in a little Hutt, where they Sing, Roar, and Dance, and utter some extravagant Expressions; then they give the Patient's Relations to know, that they must prepare a Feast for Solaceing the Patient; and this Feast consists of Flesh or Fish, according to the Humour of this Juggler, who is only an imaginary

ginary Phyſician, whoſe Head has been turn'd by ſome hot Feaver or other. You ſee we rally upon 'em in their abſence, and ſee thro' the Impoſture; you are ſenſible that they are as fooliſh in their Actions as in their Words, and that they never go upon Hunting or Warlike Expeditions: And why would you Burn the poor Wretches, that in your Country fall under the ſame Miſfortune?

Labontan. There's a great deal of difference between our Jugglers and yours: Thoſe of that Profeſſion among us, have interviews with the evil Spirit, and feaſt with him every Night; by vertue of their Witchcraft, they hinder a Man from Imbracing his own Wife; by putting a certain Charm into the Victuals or Drink of Vertuous and Wife Ladies, they draw 'em to Debauchery; they Poyſon the Cattel, they blaſt the Product of the Earth, they cauſe Men to die in a languiſhing Condition, and a Big-Belly'd Woman to Miſcarry: In fine, they do an infinity of miſchievous Actions, which I have not nam'd. This ſet of Men calls themſelves Inchanters and Sorcerers; but there's another ſort that is yet worſe, namely, the Magicians, who converſe in a familiar way with the evil Spirit, and get him to appear in what Figure they pleaſe, to thoſe who have the curioſity to ſee him. They have ſecret Charms that will procure good Luck at Gaming, and Inrich thoſe upon whom they are beſtow'd; they foretel Futurities, and have the Power to transform themſelves into all ſorts of Animals, and the moſt frightful Figures; they run about to certain Houſes, where they make a fearful Howling, interlac'd with Cries and diſmal Moans, and appear to be as tall as the loftyeſt Trees, with Chains on their Feet, and Serpents in their Hands: In fine, they do ſo ter-

rify the People, that they are forc'd to have recourſe to the Prieſts, for their Exorciſms; upon the apprehenſion that theſe Apparitions are Souls come from *Purgatory* to this World, to beg ſome Maſſes which are neceſſary for their Tranſlation into the Preſence of the Almighty. Now, take all theſe Articles together, you will not think it ſtrange, that we Burn 'em without Mercy, purſuant to the Tenor of our Laws.

Adario. Is it poſſible, that you believe ſuch idle Stories? Sure, you only rally to ſee what I would anſwer. Theſe Stories ſeem to be of a piece with * *Æſop's Fables.* thoſe I have Read in the * Books of ſpeaking Animals. Some of our *Coureurs de Bois* Read theſe idle Fictions every day; and I'm much miſtaken if what you now ſpeak of, is not Written in theſe Books: For, one muſt be a Fool that believes that the evil Spirit is inveſted with the Power of coming upon the Earth; ſuppoſing it to be true that he is ſuch as the Jeſuits repreſent him. No Creature can ſubſiſt out of its own Element: Fiſh die when forc'd upon the Land, and Man expires when under Water. How can you imagine then that the Devil can live out of his Element, which is Fire? Beſides, If he could come upon the Earth, he would do miſchief enough by himſelf, without imploying theſe Sorcerers; and if he convers'd with one Man, he would be ready to converſe with many others; for conſidering that in your Country the wicked out-number the good, every one of you would then turn Sorcerer, and ſo all would go to Deſtruction together; the World would be turn'd upſide down; and in a word, a remedyleſs Diſorder would enſue. Doſt not thee know, my Brother, that to credit ſuch idle Whims, is an affront offer'd to the Great Spirit; in regard that it charges him with Authoriſing

thoriſing Miſchief, and being the direct Authour of all the abovemention'd Diſorders, by ſuffering the Evil Spirit to turn out of Hell? Since the Great Spirit is ſo good, as you and I are ſenſible he is, 'tis more credible that he would ſend good Souls with agreeable Shapes, to check men for their unwarrantable Actions, and to invite 'em in an amicable way to the practice of Vertue, by ſetting forth the Felicity and Bliſs of thoſe Souls that are poſſeſs'd of the good Country. As for the Souls that lye in *Purgatory* (if ſo be that there's any ſuch place) I take it, the Great Spirit has no occaſion to be intreated and pray'd to on their behalf, by thoſe who have enough to do to pray for themſelves: Beſides, ſince he gives 'em leave to come to the Earth, he might as well allow them to mount up to Heaven. Upon the whole, my dear Brother, if I thought you ſpoke ſeriouſly of theſe things, I ſhould truly be apprehenſive that you are Delirious, or have loſt your Senſes. Certainly, there muſt be ſome more inflaming Article againſt theſe two Jugglers, or elſe both your Laws and your Judges are equally unreaſonable. If 'twere true that theſe miſchievous Actions were actually committed, the Conſequence I ſhould draw from thence, would be this; That ſince there's no ſuch thing heard of among any of the Nations of *Canada*, it can't be otherwiſe but that the Evil Spirit has a power over you that he has not over us. Upon this lay, we are a good People, and you on the other hand are perverſe, malicious, and addicted to all degrees of Vice and Wickedneſs. But, prithee, let's make an end of our Conferences upon this Head; and ſo I'll expect no anſwer to what has been ſaid. To come back to your Laws, pray inform me how it comes to paſs that they ſuffer Women to be Sold for Mony to thoſe who have

a mind to make uſe of 'em? Why do they ſuffer thoſe publick Houſes where the Whores and Bawds are in readyneſs all the hours of the day, to oblige all ſorts of Perſons? Why are ſome allow'd to wear Swords, in order to kill others that dare not wear 'em? Why do not they prohibit the Selling of Wine above a determin'd quantity, or the adulterating of it with I do not know how many Ingredients, that ruin one's Health? Do not you ſee the Diſorders committed at *Quebec* by Drunkards? You'll anſwer perhaps, as others have done before you; that the Vintner is allow'd to Sell as much Goods as he can put off, for the maintenance of himſelf and his Family; and that he who drinks the Wine ought to regulate his own Conduct, and be moderate in that as well as in all other things. But I'll prove that to be impoſſible, for a Man in drink, loſes his Reaſon before he is aware, or at leaſt his Reaſon is ſo drown'd that he is not capable of diſtinguiſhing what he ought to do. Why do not your Laws reſtrain the exceſſive Gaming, that is the ſource of a thouſand evils? Fathers ruin their Families (as I ſaid before) Children either Rob their Fathers, or run 'em into Debt; the Wives and Daughters proſtitute themſelves for Mony, when they're reduc'd to extremities, and have plaid away their Cloaths, and their Houſhold Furniture. This gives riſe to diſputes, murders, enmity, and irreconcileable hatred. Theſe prohibitions, my Brother, would be of no uſe among the *Hurons*; but they are very much wanted among the *French*. If by ſuch methods you would gradually reform the Diſorders that Intereſt has rais'd amongſt you, I ſhould hope that one day you might come to live without Laws as we do.

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Labontan. I acquainted you before, that our Laws inflict Penalties on Gamesters; and provide Punishments for Whores and Bawds, and above all, for publick-House-Keepers, when disorders happen in their Houses. All the difference lies here, that our Cities are so large and populous that 'tis not easy for the Judges to trace all the Abuses that are committed: But at the same time, they are prohibited by the Laws, and all possible measures are us'd to prevent 'em. In one word, our Judges indeavour with such care and application to stifle bad Customs, to establish a good Order in all the Branches of the Society, to punish Vice and reward Vertue; this, I say, they do with such care and application, that if you could but shake off your faulty Prejudices, and weigh narrowly the excellency of our Laws, you would be oblig'd to own that the *French* are a just, judicious and knowing People, who pursue the true measures of Justice and Reason more than you do.

Adario. I would gladly embrace any opportunity of working my self into that Belief before I die, for I have a natural affection for the *French*; but I am very apprehensive that I shall not meet with that Consolation. Upon this foot, your Judges ought to begin first to observe the Laws, that their example may influence others; they ought to discontinue their Oppression of Widows, Orphans, and poor Creatures; to give dispatch to the Suits of Persons that come an hundred Leagues off for a Hearing; and in a word, to form such Judgments of Causes as the Great Spirit shall do. I can never entertain a good thought of your Laws, till they lessen the Taxes and Duties that poor People are constrain'd to pay, at a time when the Rich of all Stations pay nothing in proportion to their Estates; till

you

you put a ſtop to the courſe of Drunkenneſs that ſpreads thro' our Villages, by prohibiting the *Coureurs de Bois* to import Brandy among us. Then indeed I ſhall hope that you'll compleat your Reformation by degrees, that a levelling of Eſtates may gradually creep in among you; and that at laſt you'll abhor that thing call'd Intereſt, which occaſions all the Miſchief that *Europe* groans under. When you arrive at that pitch, you'll have neither *Mum* nor *Tum* to diſturb you, but live as happily as the *Hurons*. This is enough for one day: I ſee my Slave coming to acquaint me that I am wanted in the Village. Farewel, my dear Brother, till to morrow.

Labontan. I am of the Opinion, my dear Friend, that you would not have come ſo ſoon to my Apartment, if you had not deſign'd to purſue our laſt Diſpute. As for my part, I declare I will not enter the liſts farther with you, upon the conſideration that you are not capable to apprehend my Arguments. You are ſo prepoſſeſs'd on the behalf of your own Nation, ſo ſtrongly byaſs'd to the Savage Cuſtoms, and ſo little fond of a due enquiry into ours; that I ſhall not daign to kill both my Body and my Soul, in endeavouring to make you ſenſible of the ignorance and miſery that the *Hurons* have always liv'd in. Thou knoweſt I am thy Friend; and ſo I have no other view, but to ſet before thine eyes the Felicity that attends the *French*, to the end that thou and the reſt of thy Nation may live as they do. I told you, I do not know how often, that you inſiſt on the Converſation of ſome *French* Debauchees, and meaſure all the reſt by their Buſhel. I acquainted you, that they were puniſh'd for their Crimes; but theſe reaſons will not go down with you; you obſtinately

nately maintain your aſſertion by throwing in affrontive anſwers, as if the *French* were not Men. Upon the whole, I am downright weary of hearing ſuch poor ſtuff come from the Mouth of a Man that all the *French* look upon as a Man of excellent Senſe. The People of thy Nation reſpect thee not only for thy Senſe and Spirit, but for thy Experience and Valour. Thou art the Head of the Warriours, and the Preſident of the Council; and without flattery, I have ſcarce met with a Man of a quicker apprehenſion than thy ſelf. 'Tis upon this conſideration, that I pity thee with all my heart for not throwing off thy prejudicate Opinions.

Adario. Thou'rt miſtaken, my dear Brother, in all thou haſt ſaid; for I have not form'd to my ſelf any falſe Idea of your Religion, or of your Laws. The Example of all the *French* in General, will ever oblige me to look upon all their Actions as unworthy of a Man. So that my Idea's are juſt; the prepoſſeſſion you talk of is well grounded; and I am ready to make out all my advances. We talk'd of Religion and Laws, and I did not impart to you above a quarter of what I had to ſay upon that Head. You inſiſt chiefly upon our way of living, which you take to be Blame-worthy. The *French* in general take us for Beaſts; the Jeſuits Brand us for impious, fooliſh and ignorant Vagabonds. And to be even with you, we have the ſame thoughts of you; but with this difference, that *we* pity you without offering invectives. Pray hear me, my dear Brother, I ſpeak calmly and without paſſion. The more I reflect upon the lives of the *Europeans*, the leſs Wiſdom and Happineſs I find among 'em. Theſe ſix years I have bent my thoughts upon the State of the *Europeans*: But I can't light on any thing in their Actions that is not be-

beneath a Man; and truly I think 'tis impoſſible it ſhould be otherwiſe, ſo long as you ſtick to the meaſures of *Meum* and *Tuum*. I affirm that what you call Silver is the Devil of Devils; the Tyrant of the *French*; the Source of all Evil; the Bane of Souls, and the Slaughter-Houſe of living Perſons. To pretend to live in the Mony Country, and at the ſame time to ſave one's Soul, is as great an inconſiſtency as for a Man to go to the bottom of a Lake to preſerve his Life. This Mony is the Father of Luxury, Laſciviouſneſs, Intrigues, Tricks, Lying, Treachery, Falſeneſs, and in a word, of all the miſchief in the World. The Father ſells his Children, Husbands expoſe their Wives to Sale, Wives betray their Husbands, Brethren kill one another, Friends are falſe, and all this proceeds from Mony. Conſider this, and then tell me if we are not in the right of it, in refuſing to finger, or ſo much as to look upon that curſed Metal.

Labontan. What! is it poſſible that you ſhould always Reaſon ſo ſorrily! Prithee, do but liſten once in thy life time to what I am going to ſay. Doſt not thou ſee, my dear Friend, that the Nations of *Europe* could not live without Gold and Silver, or ſome ſuch precious thing. Without that Symbol, the Gentlemen, the Prieſts, the Merchants, and an infinity of other Perſons who have not Strength enough to labour the Earth, would die for Hunger. Upon that lay, our Kings would be no Kings: Nay, what Soldiers ſhould we then have? Who would then Work for Kings or any body elſe, who would run the hazard of the Sea, who would make Arms unleſs 'twere for himſelf? Believe me, this would run us to remedileſs Ruine, 'twould turn *Europe* into a Chaos, and create the moſt diſmal Confuſion that Imagination it ſelf can reach.

Adario.

Adario. You fobb me off very prettily, truly, when you bring in your Gentlemen, your Merchants and your Priests. If you were Strangers to *Meum* and *Tuum*, those distinctions of Men would be sunk; a levelling equality would then take place among you as it now do's among the *Hurons*. For the first thirty years indeed, after the banishing of Interest, you would see a strange Desolation; those who are only qualify'd to eat, drink, sleep and divert themselves, would languish and die; but their Posterity would be fit for our way of living. I have set forth again and again, the qualities that make a Man inwardly such as he ought to be; particularly, Wisdom, Reason, Equity, *&c.* which are courted by the *Hurons*. I have made it appear that the Notion of separate Interests knocks all these Qualities in the Head, and that a Man sway'd by Interest can't be a Man of Reason. As for the outward Qualifications of a Man; he ought to be expert in Marching, Hunting, Fishing, Waging War, Ranging the Forests, Building Hutts and Canows, Firing of Guns, Shooting of Arrows, Working Canows: He ought to be Indefatigable, and able to live on short Commons upon occasion. In a word, he ought to know how to go about all the Exercises of the *Hurons*. Now in my way, 'tis the Person thus qualify'd that I call a *Man*. Do but consider, how many Millions there are in *Europe*, who, if they were left thirty Leagues off in the Forrests, and provided with Fusees and Arrows, would be equally at a loss, either to Hunt and maintain themselves, or to find their way out: And yet you see we traverse a hundred Leagues of Forrests without losing our way, that we kill Fowl and other Beasts with our Arrows, that we catch Fish in all the places where they are to be had; that we

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feit the Character of Honesty by such a deposition, even when he has seen the Crime committed. The *French* are a fine sort of People, who are so far from saving one another's Lives, like Brethren, that they refuse to do it when 'tis in their power. But, prithee, tell me; what dost thou think of these Judges? Is it true that some of 'em are so ignorant as they are said to be; and that others are so Wicked as to pronounce unjust Judgments contrary to their own Consciences; with intent to favour a Friend, or to oblige a Mistress or a great Lord, or to hook in Mony. I foresee thou'lt reply that the Allegation is false, and that Laws are just and reasonable things. But at the same time, I know 'tis as true as that we are here; for a Man that demands his Estate of another who is unjustly possess'd of it, and makes the Innocence of his Cause to appear as clear as the Sun-shine; that very Man, I say, shall never make any thing of his Suit; if the great Lord, the Mistress, the Friend, and the Mony business, speak on the Adversary's behalf, to the Judges who are impower'd to decide the Cause. The same is the case of persons Arraign'd for Crimes. Ha! Long live the *Hurons*; who without Laws, without Prisons, and without Torture, pass their Life in a State of Sweetness and Tranquility, and enjoy a pitch of Felicity to which the *French* are utter Strangers. We live quietly under the Laws of Instinct and innocent Conduct, which wise Nature has imprinted upon our Minds from our Cradles. We are all of one Mind; our Wills, Opinions and Sentiments observe an exact Conformity; and thus we spend our Lives with such a perfect good understanding, that no Disputes or Suits can take place amongst us. But how unhappy are you in being expos'd to the lash of Laws, which your ignorant,

rant, unjuſt, and vicious Judges break in their private Actions, as well as in the Adminiſtration of their Offices? Theſe are your juſt and equitable Judges; who have no regard to Right; who make their Intereſt the Standard of their Conduct, in the way of their Office; who have nothing in view but the Inriching of themſelves; who are not acceſſible by any but the Dæmon of Silver; who never adminiſter Juſtice, but thro' a Principle of Avarice or Paſſion; who give Countenance to Crimes, and ſet aſide Juſtice and Honeſty, in order to give a full range to Cheating, Quarrelling, and the carrying on of tedious Law Suits, to the abuſe and violation of Oaths, and to an infinity of other Diſorders. This is the practice of theſe doughty Aſſertors of the fine Laws of the *French* Nation.

Lahontan. I gave you to know before, that you ought not to give credit to all that every Fool whiſpers in your Ear. You give Ear to ſome Blockheads that have not a tincture of Common Senſe, and that ſpread lies under the notion of truths. Theſe bad Judges, that they ſpeak of, are as uncommon as white Beavers; for 'tis a queſtion if there are four ſuch in all *France*. Our Judges are men that love Vertue, and have Souls to be ſav'd as well as thee and I; being inveſted with a publick Capacity, they are to anſwer for their Conduct before a Judg that has no reſpect to Perſons, and before whom the greateſt Monarch is no more than the meaneſt Slave. There's ſcarce any of theſe Men, who would not chooſe to die, rather than wound their Conſcience or violate the Laws. Mony is too baſe a Metal to tempt 'em, and Women warm 'em no more than the Ice. Friends and great Lords make leſs Impreſſion upon their Minds, than the Waves upon the Rocks. They curb Libertiniſm,

they redreſs Diſorders, and do Juſtice to all that Sue for it; without the leaſt regard to what we call Intereſt. As for my own part, I have loſt my whole Eſtate by being caſt in three or four Law-Suits at *Paris*; but I would be loth to believe that the Judges are in fault, notwithſtanding that my Adverſaries found both Mony and Friends to back bad Cauſes. 'Twas the Law that gave it againſt me, and I take the Law to be juſt and reaſonable, imputing my ſurprize upon the matter, to my unacquaintedneſs with that Study.

Adario. I proteſt I don't underſtand one word of what thou haſt ſaid; for I know the contrary of what thou ſayeſt to be true, and thoſe who inform'd me ſo of the Judges are Men of undiſputed Honour and Senſe. But if no body had given me any ſuch Information, I am not ſo dull Pated as not to ſee with my own Eyes, the Injuſtice of your Laws and your Judges. I'll tell thee one thing my dear Brother; I was a going one day from *Paris* to *Verſailles*, and about half way, I met a Boor that was a going to be Whipt for having taken Partridges and Hares with Traps. Between *Rochel* and *Paris*, I ſaw another that was Condemn'd to the Gally's for having a little Bag of Salt about him. Theſe poor Men were puniſh'd by your unjuſt Laws, for endeavouring to get Suſtenance to their Families; at a time when a Million of Women were got with Child in the abſence of their Husbands, when the Phyſicians Murder'd three fourths of the People, and the Gameſters reduc'd their Families to a Starving Condition, by loſing all they had in the World; and all this with Impunity. If things go at this rate, where are your juſt and reaſonable Laws; where are thoſe Judges that have a Soul to be Sav'd as well as you and I? After this, you'll

you'll be ready to Brand the *Hurons* for Beasts. In earnest, we should have a fine time of it if we offer'd to punish one of our Brethren for killing a Hare or a Partridge; and a glorious sight 'twould be, to see our Wives inlarge the number of our Children, while we are ingag'd in Warlike Expeditions against our Enemies; to see Physicians Poison our Families, and Gamesters lose the Beaver Skins they've got in Hunting. In *France*, these things are look'd upon as trifles, which do not fall within the Verge of their fine Laws. Doubtless, they must needs be very blind, that are acquainted with us, and yet do not imitate our Example.

Lahontan. Very fine, my dear Friend; thou goest too fast; believe me, thy Knowledge is so confin'd, as I said before, that thy Mind can't reach beyond the appearances of things. Wouldst thou but give Ear to Reason, thou wouldst presently be sensible that we act upon good Principles, for the support of the Society. You must know, the Laws Condemn all without exception, that are guilty of the Actions you've mention'd. In the first place, they prohibit the Peasants to kill Hares or Partridges, especially in the Neighbourhood of *Paris*; by reason that an uncontroul'd liberty of Hunting, would quickly exhaust the whole Stock of those Animals. The Boors Farm the Grounds of their Landlords, who reserve to themselves the Priviledge of Hunting, as being Masters. Now, if they happen to kill Hares or Partridges, they not only rob their Masters of their Right, but fall under the Prohibition enacted by the Law: And the same is the Case of those who run Salt, by reason that the Right of Transporting it is solely lodg'd in the King. As to the Women and the Gamesters that you took notice of; you can't think sure that

Strain; whilſt thou prefers the Condition of the *Hurons* to that of the *Europeans*. Can there be a more agreeable and delightful Life in the World, than that of an infinity of rich Men, who want for nothing? They have fine Coaches, Stately Houſes adorn'd with Rich Hangings and Magnificent Pictures, Sweet Gardens repleniſh'd with all ſorts of Fruit, Parks Stock'd with all ſorts of Animals, Horſes and Hounds and good ſtore of Mony, which enables 'em to keep a Sumptuous Table, to frequent the Play-Houſes, to Game freely, and to diſpoſe handſomely of their Children. Theſe happy Men are ador'd by their Dependants; and you have ſeen with your own eyes our Princes, Dukes, Mareſhals of *France*, Prelates, and a Million of perſons of all Stations, who want for nothing, and live like Kings, and who never call to mind that they have liv'd, till ſuch time as Death alarms 'em.

Adario. If I had not been particularly inform'd of the State of *France*, and let into the knowledge of all the Circumſtances of that People, by my Voyage to *Paris*; I might have been Blinded by the outward appearances of Felicity that you ſet forth: But I know that your Prince, your Duke, your Mareſhal, and your Prelate are far from being happy upon the Compaariſon with the *Hurons*, who know no other happineſs than that of Liberty and Tranquility of Mind: For your great Lords hate one another in their Hearts; they forfeit their Sleep, and neglect even Eating and Drinking, in making their Court to the King, and undermining their Enemies; they offer ſuch Violence to Nature in diſſembling, diſguiſing and bearing things, that the Torture of their Soul leaves all Expreſſion far behind it. Is all this nothing in your way? Do you think it ſuch a trifling matter to have fifty Ser-

Serpents in your Boſom? Had not they better throw their Coaches, their Palaces and their Finery, into the River, than to ſpend their life time in a continued Series of Martyrdom? Were I in their place, I'd rather chooſe to be a *Huron* with a Naked Body and a Serene Mind. The Body is the Apartment in which the Soul is lodg'd; and what ſignifies it, for the Caſe call'd the Body, to be ſet off with Gold Trappings, or ſpread out in a Coach, or planted before a Sumptuous Table, while the Soul Galls and Tortures it? The great Lords, that you call Happy, lie expos'd to Diſgrace from the King, to the detraction of a thouſand ſorts of Perſons, to the loſs of their Places, to the Contempt of their Fellow Courtiers; and in a word, their ſoft Life is thwarted by Ambition, Pride, Preſumption and Envy. They are Slaves to their Paſſions, and to their King, who is the only *French* Man that can be call'd Happy, with reſpect to that adorable Liberty which he alone enjoys. There's a thouſand of us in one Village, and you ſee that we love one another like Brethren; that whatever any one has is at his Neighbour's Service; that our Generals and Preſidents of the Council have not more Power than any other *Huron*; that Detraction and Quarreling were never heard of among us; and in fine, that every one is his own Maſter, and do's what he pleaſes, without being accountable to another, or cenſur'd by his Neighbour. This, my dear Brother, is the difference between us and your Princes, Dukes, *&c.* And if thoſe great Men are ſo Unhappy, by conſequence, thoſe of inferiour Stations muſt have a greater ſhare of Trouble and perplexing Cares.

Labonton. You must know that as your *Hurons* who are brought up in the way of Fatigue and Misery, have no mind to be rid of it; so these great Lords being inur'd from their infancy to ambition, care, *&c.* can't live without it. As Happiness lies in the imagination, so they feed themselves with Vanity, and in their hearts think themselves as good as the King. That Tranquility of mind that the *Hurons* enjoy, never car'd for crossing over to *France*, for fear of being confin'd to the little Religious Houses. Tranquility of mind passes in *France* for the Character of a Fool, of a senseless, careless Fellow. To be happy, one must always have somewhat in his view that feeds his Wishes. He that confines his Wishes to what he enjoys, must be a *Huron*, which none will desire to be, if he consider that Life would be a Scene of Uneasyness, if our Mind did not direct us every minute to desire somewhat that we are not yet possess'd of; and 'tis this that makes a Life happy, provided the means imploy'd in the prosecution of such Wishes are lawful and warrantable.

Adario. Is not that Burying a Man alive; to rack his Mind without intermission in the acquisition of Riches and Honour, which cloy us as soon as obtain'd; to infeeble and waste his Body, and to expose his Life in the forming of Enterprises, that for the most part prove Abortive? As for your Allegation, that these great Lords are bred from their Infancy to Ambition and Care, as we are to Labour and Fatigue; I must say, 'tis a fine Comparison for a Man that can Read and Write. Tell me, prithee, if the repose of the Mind and the exercise of the Body are not the necessary Instruments of Health, if the tossing of the Mind and the rest of the Body are not the means to destroy it? What have we

in the World that's dearer to us than our Lives, and ought not we to take the best measures to preserve 'em? The *French* murder their Health by a thousand different means, and we preserve ours till our Bodies are worn out, our Souls being so far free from Passions, that they can't alter or disturb our Bodies. And after all, you insinuate that the *French* hasten the Moment of their Death by lawful means: A very pretty conclusion indeed, and such as deserves to be took notice of. Believe me, my dear Brother, 'tis thy Interest to turn *Huron*, in order to prolong thy life. Thou shalt drink, eat, sleep, and Hunt with all the ease that can be; thou shalt be free'd from the Passions that Tyrannise over the *French*; thou shalt have no occasion for Gold or Silver to make thee happy; thou shalt not fear Robbers, Assassins or False Witnesses; and if thou hast a mind to be King of all the World, why, thou shalt have nothing to do but to think that thou art so.

Taboutan. You cannot expect I should comply with your demand, without thinking that I have been guilty of such Crimes in *France*, that I can't return without running the risque of being Burnt: For after all, I can't imagine a more unaccountable *Metamorphosis*, than that of a *French* Man into a *Huron*. How d'ye think I could undergo the Fatigues we talk'd of but now? D'ye think I could have the patience to hear the Childish Proposals of your Ancient and your Young Men, without taking them up? Is it feasible that I could live upon Broth, Bread, *Indian* Corn, Roast Meat and Boil'd, without either Pepper or Salt? Could I brook the Larding of my Face like a Fool, with twenty sorts of Colours? What Spirit must I be of, if I drink nothing but Mapple-Water, and go stark Naked all the Sum-

mer, and eat out of nothing but Wooden Dishes? Your Meals would never go down with me, since two or three hundred Persons must Dance for two or three hours before and after. I can't live with an uncivilis'd sort of People, who know no other Compliment than, *I honour you.* No, no; my dear *Adario*, 'tis impossible for a *French-Man* to turn *Huron*, but a *Huron* may easily become a *French-Man*.

Adario. At that rate you prefer Slavery to Liberty. But 'tis no Surprisal to me, after what I have heard you maintain: Tho after all, if you happen'd to enter into your own Breast, and to throw off your prepossession with regard to the Customs and Humours of the *French* Nation; I cannot see that the Objections you've now Started, are of such Moment as to keep you from falling into our way of living. What a mighty difficulty you meet with in bringing your self to approve of our old Men's Counsel, and our young Men's Projects! Are not you equally gravell'd, when the Jesuits and your Superiours make impertinent demands? Why would not you choose to live upon the Broth of all sorts of good and substantial Meat? Our Partridges, Turkeys, Hares, Ducks, and Roe-Bucks; do not they eat well when they're Roasted or Boil'd? What signifies your Pepper, your Salt, and a thousand other Spices, unless it be to murder your Health? Try our way of living but one fort-night, and then you'll long for no such doings. What harm can you fear from the Painting of your Face with Colours? You dawb your Hair with Powder and Essence, and even your Cloaths are sprinkled with the same: Nay, I have seen *French* Men that had Mustaches like Cats, cover'd o'er with Wax. As for the Mapple-Water, 'tis sweet, healthy, well-tasted, and friendly to the Stomach:

And

And I've ſeen you drink of it oftner than once or twice: Whereas Wine and Brandy deſtroy the natural Heat, pall the Stomach, inflame the Blood, Intoxicate, and create a thouſand Diſorders. And pray what harm would it do ye, to go Naked in warm Weather? Beſides, we are not ſo ſtark Naked. but that we are cover'd behind and before. 'Tis better to go Naked, than to toil under an everlaſting Sweat, and under a load of Cloaths heap'd up one above another. Where's the uneaſyneſs of Eating, Singing, and Dancing in good Company? Had not you better do ſo than ſit at Table moping by your ſelf, or in the Company of thoſe that you never ſaw or knew before? All the hardſhip then, that you can complain of, lies in converſing with an unciviliz'd People, and being robb'd of the Pageantry of Compliments. This you take to be a ſad Affliction, tho' at the bottom 'tis far from being ſuch. Tell me, prithee; do's not Civility conſiſt in Decency and an affable Carriage? And what is Decency? Is it not an everlaſting Rack, and a tyreſome Affectation diſplay'd in Words, Cloaths and Countenance? And why would you Court a Quality that gives you ſo much trouble? As for Affability; I preſume it lyes in giving People to know our readyneſs to ſerve 'em, by Careſſes and other outward Marks; As when you ſay every turn, Sir, *I'm your humble Servant, you may diſpoſe of me as you pleaſe.* Now, let's but conſider to what purpoſe all theſe Words are ſpoke; for what end muſt we lie upon all occaſions, and ſpeak otherwiſe than we think? Had not you better ſpeak after this faſhion; *Ho! art thou there, thou'rt welcome, for I honour thee?* Is not it an ugly ſhow, to bend one's Body half a ſcore times, to lower one's hand to the ground, and to ſay every moment, *I ask your Pardon?* Be

it known to thee, my dear Brother, that this Submission alone would be enough to unhinge me quite, as to your way of living. You've asserted that a *Huron* may easily turn *French*; but believe me, he'll meet with other difficulties in the way of his Conversion than those you speak of. For supposing I were to turn *French* out of hand, I must begin with a complyance to Christianity, which is a Point that you and I talk'd enough of three days ago. In order to the same end, I must get my self Shav'd every three days, for in all appearance I should no sooner profess Gallicism, than I should become rough and hairy like a Beast: And this inconvenience shocks me extreamly: Sure 'tis much better to be Beardless and Hairless; and I'm equally sure you never saw a rough Savage. How d'ye think it would agree with me to spend two hours in Dressing or Shifting my self, to put on a Blue Sute and Red Stockins, with a Black Hat and a White Feather, besides colour'd Ribbands? Such Rigging would make me look upon my self as a Fool. How could I condescend to Sing in the Streets, to Dance before a Looking-Glass, to toss my Wigg sometimes before and sometimes behind me? I could not stoop so as to make my Honours, and fall down before a parcel of Sawcy Fools, that are intitled to no other Merit than that of their Birth and Fortune. D'ye think that I could see the Indigent languish and pine away, without giving 'em all I had? How could I wear a Sword without attacking a Company of Profligate Men who throw into the Gallys an infinity of poor Strangers, (*) that never injur'd any Body, and are carried, in a woful Condition, out of their Native Country, to Curse in the midst

(*) *The Algerines, Tripolins, Moors, Turks, &c. whom are taken in the Mediterranean, and are sent to Marseilles in the Gallys.*

midſt of their Chains, their Fathers and Mothers, their Birth, and even the Great Spirit. Thus 'tis that the *Iroqueſe* languiſh, who were ſent to *France* ſome two years ago. Can you imagine, that I would ſpeak ill of my Friends, careſs my Enemies, contemn the Miſerable, honour the Wicked, and enter into Dealings with 'em; that I would triumph o'er my Neighbour's Miſfortunes, and praiſe a naughty Man; that I would act the part of the Envious, the Traitours, the Flatterers, the Inconſtant, the Liars, the Proud, the Avaricious, the Selfiſh, the Taletellers, and all your double Minded Folks? D'ye think it poſſible for me to be ſo indiſcreet as to boaſt at once of what I have done, and what I have not done; to be ſo mean as to crawl like an Adder at the feet of a Lord, that orders his Servants to deny him; and to take a Refuſal tamely? No, my dear Brother, no; I can't brook the Character of a *French* Man; I had rather continue what I am than paſs my Life in theſe Chains. Is it poſſible that our Liberty do's not Charm you? Can you live an eaſier life than what you may have in our way? When thou comeſt to viſit me in my Hutt, do not my Wife and my Daughters withdraw and leave thee alone with me, that our Converſation may ſuffer no Interruption? In like manner, when thou meanſt to pay a Viſit to my Wife or my Daughters, are not thou left alone with the party that thou comeſt to See? Are not you welcome to Command any Hutt in the Village, and to call for any thing of Eatables that you like beſt? Did ever a *Huron* refuſe another, either the whole or part of what he had catch'd at Hunting or Fiſhing? Do not we make dividends of our Beaver-Skins, in order to ſupply thoſe who have not enough to purchaſe ſuch Commodities as they have occaſion for?

Do

Do not we obſerve the ſame Method in the diſtribution of our Corn, to ſuch as have not ſufficient Crops upon their Fields for the maintenance of their Families? If any one of us have a mind to Build a Canow or a Hutt, we all ſend our Slaves to forward the Work, without being ask'd. This is a quite different way of living from that of the *Europeans*, who would Sue their neareſt Relations for an Ox or a Horſe. If the *European* Father asks Mony of his Son, or the Son of the Father, he replys he has none. If of two *French* Men who have liv'd twenty years together, and eat and drink at one Table every day; if of theſe two *French* Men, I ſay, one ſhould ask the other for Mony, the anſwer is, there's none to be had. If a poor Wretch that goes naked in the Streets, and is ready to dye with Hunger and Hardſhips: does but ask a rich Man for a Farthing, his anſwer is, *'Tis not for him.* Now ſince all this is true, how can you have the preſumption to claim a free acceſs to the Country of the Great Spirit? Sure, there's not a Man upon Earth that does not know, that Evil is contrary to Nature, and that he was not Created to do Miſchief. What hopes then can a Chriſtian have at his Death, that never did a good Action in his Life time. He either muſt believe that the Soul dies with the Body (tho' there's none of you that owns that Opinion) or elſe ſuppoſing the Immortality of the Soul, and ſuppoſing your Tenents of Hell, and of the Sins that waſt Sinners to that Region, to be juſt and true, your Souls will have a hot time of it.

Labontan. D'ye hear, *Adario?* I find 'tis needleſs for us to Reaſon longer upon theſe Heads; for all the Arguments you offer have nothing of Solidity in 'em. I have told thee a hundred times, that the inſtance of a handful of wicked Men

Men concludes nothing upon the whole: You fancy that every *European* has his particular Vice, whether known or unknown; and I may preach the contrary to you till to Morrow Morning and not Convince you when I have done. You make no difference between a Scoundrel and a Man of Honour; and so I may talk to you ten Years together and not unhinge you of the bad opinion you have of our Religion, our Laws, and our Customs. I would give a hundred Beaver Skins that you could Read and Write like a *Frenchman*. Had you that Qualification, you would not so shamefully contemn the happy Condition of the *Europeans*. We have had in *France* some *Chinese* and *Siamese* who came from the remotest parts of the World, and were in every respect more averse to our Customs than the *Hurons*, and yet could not but admire our way of Living. For my part, I protest I can't conceive the ground of your Obstinacy.

Adario, All these People have as crooked Minds as they have deform'd Bodies. I have seen some of the Ambassadors from the Nations you speak of, and the Jesuits at *Paris* gave me some account of their Country. They observe a division of Property as well as the *French*; and soraſmuch as they are more bruitish and more wedded to their Interest than the *French*, we must not think it strange that they approv'd of the Customs and Manners of a People who treated 'em with all the measures of Friendship, and made 'em Presents. You must not think that the *Hurons* will take their Measures from them. You ought not to take Exceptions at any thing that I have prov'd; for I do not despise the *Europeans*, tho' indeed I can't but pity 'em. You say well in alledging that I place no difference between a Rogue and what you call a Man of Honour.

Dog both Men and Wild Beasts by their Foot-steps, whether in Woods or in open Fields, in Summer or in Winter; that we live upon Roots when we lye before the Gates of the *Iroquese*, that we run like Hares, that we know how to use both the Axe and the Knife, and to make a great many useful things. Now since we are capable of such things, what should hinder you to do the same, when Interest is laid aside? Are not your Bodies as large, strong and brawny as ours? Are not your Artisans imploy'd in harder and more difficult Work than ours? If you liv'd after our manner, all of you would be equally Masters; your Riches would be of the same Stamp with ours, and consist in the purchasing of Glory by military Actions, and the taking of Slaves; for the more you took of them the less occasion you would have to Work: In a word, you would live as happily as we do.

Lahontan. Do you place a happy Life, in being oblig'd to lye under a pittiful Hutt of Bark, to Sleep under four sorry Coverlets of Beaver Skins, to Eat nothing but what you Boil and Roast, to be Cloath'd with Skins, to go a Beaver Hunting in the harshest Season of the Year, to run a hundred Leagues on Foot in pursuit of the *Iroquese*, thro' Marshes and thick Woods, the Trees of which are cut down so as to render 'em inaccessible! Do you think your selves happy when you venture out in little Canows, and run the risque of being drown'd every foot in your Voyages upon the Great Lakes; when you lye upon the ground with the Heavens for your Canopy, upon approaching to the Villages of your Enemies; when you run with full Speed, both days and nights without eating or drinking, as being pursued by your Enemies; when you are sure of being reduc'd to the last extremity, if the

the *Coureurs de Bois* did not out of Friendſhip, Charity and Commiſeration, ſupply you with Fire-Arms, Powder, Lead, Thread for Nets, Axes, Knives, Needles, Awls, Fiſhing-Hooks, Kettles, and ſeveral other Commodities?

Adario. Very fine, come, don't let's go ſo faſt; the day is long, and we may talk one after the other at our own leiſure. It ſeems you take all theſe things to be great hardſhips; and indeed I own they would be ſuch to the *French*, who like Beaſts, love only to eat and to drink, and have been brought up to Softneſs and Effeminacy. Prithee, tell me what difference there is between lying in a good Hutt, and lying in a Palace; between Sleeping under a Cover of Beaver-Skins, and Sleeping under a Quilt between two Sheets; between Eating Boil'd and Roaſt Meat, and feeding upon dirty Pies, Ragou's, *&c.* dreſs'd by your greaſy Scullions? Are we liable to more Diſorders and Sickneſſes than the *French*, who are accommodated with theſe Palaces, Beds and Cooks? But after all, how many are there in *France* that lye upon Straw in Garrets where the Rain comes in on all hands, and that are hard put to't to find Victuals and Drink? I have been in *France*, and ſpeak from what I have ſeen with my Eyes. You rally without reaſon, upon our Cloaths made of Skins, for they are warmer, and keep out the Rain better than your Cloth; beſides, they are not ſo ridiculouſly made as your Garments, which have more Stuff in their Pockets and Skirts, than in the Body of the Garment. As for our Beaver-Hunting, you take it to be a terrible thing; while it affords us all manner of pleaſure and diverſion; and at the ſame time, procures us all ſorts of Commodities in exchange for the Skins. Beſides, our Slaves take all the Drudgery off our hands, (if ſo be

that

that you will have it to be drudgery.) You know very well that Hunting is the moſt agreeable Diverſion we have; but the Beaver-Hunting being ſo very pleaſant, we prefer it to all the other ſorts. You ſay, we have a troubleſome and tedious way of waging War; and indeed I muſt own that a *French* Man would not be able to bear it, upon the account that you are not accuſtom'd to ſuch long Voyages on Foot; but theſe Excurſions do not fatigue us in the leaſt, and 'twere to be wiſh'd for the good of *Canada*, that you were poſſeſs'd of the ſame Talent; for if you were, the *Iroqueſe* would not Cut your Throats in the midſt of your own Habitations, as they do now every day. You inſiſt likewiſe on the riſque we run in our little Canows, as an inſtance of our Miſery; and with reference to that Point, 'tis true that ſometimes we cannot diſpenſe with the uſe of Canows, becauſe we are Strangers to the Art of Building larger Veſſels; but after all, your great Veſſels are liable to be caſt away as well as our Canows. 'Tis likewiſe true, that we lye flat upon the open ground when we approach to the Villages of our Enemies; but 'tis equally true that the Soldiers in *France* are not ſo well accommodated as your Men are here, and that they are oftentimes forc'd to lye in Marſhes and Ditches, where they are expos'd to the Rain and Wind. You object farther, that we betake our ſelves to a ſpeedy Flight; and pray what can be more natural than to flye when the number of our Enemies is triple to ours. The Fatigue indeed of running night and day without Eating and Drinking, is terrible; but we had better undergo it than become Slaves. I am apt to believe that ſuch extremities are matter of Horrour to the *Europeans*, but we look upon 'em as in a manner, nothing.

You

You conclude, in pretending that the *French* prevent our Misery by taking pity of us. But pray consider how our Ancestors liv'd an hundred years ago: They liv'd as well without your Commodities as we do with 'em; for instead of your Fire-Locks, Powder and Shot, they made use of Bows and Arrows, as we do to this day: They made Nets of the Thread of the Barks of Trees, Axes of Stone; Knives, Needles and Awls of Stag or Elk-Bones; and supply'd the room of Kettles with Earthen Pots. Now, since our Ancestors liv'd without these Commodities for so many Ages; I am of the Opinion, we could dispense with 'em easyer than the *French* could with our Beaver Skins; for which, by a mighty piece of Friendship, they give us in exchange Fusees, that burst and Lame many of our Warriors, Axes that break in the cutting of a Shrub, Knives that turn Blunt, and lose their Edge in the cutting of a Citron; Thread which is half Rotten, and so very bad that our Nets are worn out as soon as they are made; and Kettles so thin and slight, that the very weight of Water makes the Bottoms fall out. This, my dear Brother, is the answer I had to give to your Reflexions upon the Misery of the *Hurons*.

Labontan. 'Tis well; I find you would have me to believe that the *Hurons* are insensible of their Fatigue and Labour; and being bred up to Poverty and Hardships, have another notion of 'em than we have. This may do with those who have never stir'd out of their own Country, and consequently have no Idea of a better Life than their own; who having never visited our Cities and Towns, fancy that we live just as they do. But as for thee, who hast seen *France*, *Quebec* and *New-England*, methinks thy judgment and relish of things are too much of the Savage

mity of the Nation, and have frequently experienc'd the truth of the Prophecy. A one-ey'd Creature is equally deſtitute of Senſe and of an upright Heart; he is Malicious, Goatiſh and Sloathful to the laſt degree; he is more cowardly than a Hare, and never goes a Hunting for fear of running his one Eye againſt the Branch of a Tree. As for our Diſeaſes, we know no ſuch thing as your *Dropſies*, *Aſthmas*, *Palſy's*, *Gout* and *Pox*. The *Leproſy*, the *Lethargy*, *External Swellings*, the *Suppreſſion of Urine*, the *Stone* and the *Gravel*, are Diſtempers that we are not acquainted with; to the great Aſtoniſhment of the *French*, who are ſo liable to 'em. *Fevers* indeed reign among us, eſpecially upon our return from any Warlike Expedition, and proceed from our lying in the open Air, our croſſing of Marſhes, wading over Rivers, our faſting two or three Days at a time, eating cold Victuals, *&c.* Sometimes *Pleuriſies* prove mortal to us, when we heat our ſelves with running, whether in Military or Hunting Adventures, and then drink ſuch Water as we are unacquainted with: And *Colicks* attack us now and then upon the ſame occaſion. We are ſubject to the *Meazles* and the *Small-Pox*, and that we owe to one of two Reaſons. Either we eat ſo much Fiſh, that the Blood it produces is of a different temper from that proceeding from Meat, and thereupon boils in the Veſſels with greater Violence, and throws out its thick and coarſe Particles upon the inſenſible Pores of the Skin. Or elſe the bad Air pen'd up in our Villages for want of Windows to our Huts, makes ſo much Fire and Smoak, that the diſproportion between the Particles of the confin'd Air and thoſe of our Blood and Humours, gives riſe to ſuch Infirmities. Now theſe are the only Diſtempers that viſit us.

Labontan.

Lahontan. This, my dear *Adario*, is the first time I have heard thee reason justly since the Commencement of our Conferences. I acknowledge, you are exempted from an infinity of Evils that lie heavy upon us, and the reason of this Happiness may be gather'd from what you offer'd t'other Day, namely, *That the repose of one's Mind is the greatest Ingredient of Health.* The *Hurons* being confin'd to the bare knowledge of Hunting, do not fatigue their Spirits, and impair their Healths, in the pursuit of an infinity of fine Sciences, in watching unseasonably, breaking their rest and toiling hard at the studious Anvil. With us, a Man bred to the Sword makes it his business to read and know the History of the Wars that have happen'd in the World, and to make himself acquainted with the Art of Fortifying, Attacking and Defending Places: This ingrosses his whole time, which after all is too little to procure him the Accomplishments he desires. A Man that takes to the Church plyes the Study of *Theology* Night and Day, for the good and interest of Religion; he writes Books to instruct People in the concerns of their Salvation, and Dedicating to God the Hours, the Days, the Months, and the Years of his Life, receives after this Life an Eternal Inheritance by way of Recompence. Our Judges apply themselves to the knowledge of the Laws Night and Day, they examin Bills and Processes; they give continual Audience to an infinity of Plaintiffs that teaze 'em without Intermission; in fine they can scarce spare leisure to Eat or Drink. Our Physicians pursue the Science of rendring Men Immortal, they run about from Patient to Patient, from Hospital to Hospital, in order to learn the Nature and the Cause of different Distempers: They rack

their Brains in unlocking the Qualities of Drugs Herbs and Simples, by a thousand uncommon and curious Experiments. The *Cosmographers* and *Astronomers* bend all their thoughts upon the discovery of the Figure, Magnitude and Composition of Heaven and Earth. The former can trace the least Star in the Firmament, they measure its course, its distance from the Ecliptick, its ascension and declination: The latter know how to distinguish Climates, and the various Positions of the Globe of the Earth; they are acquainted with the Seas, Lakes, Rivers, Isles Gulfs; they compute the distances of one Country from another; and in fine, all the Nations of the World are known to them, as well as their Religions, their Laws, their Languages, their Customs, and their various Forms of Government. To wind up all into one Word, all the Professors of Sciences are very sensible that they pursue their Studies with too much Application, and thereby murder their Health. For the animal Spirits are not strain'd out in the Brain, but in proportion to the supplies of fine Blood that it receives from the Heart; and the Heart being a Muscle can't squirt out the Blood into all the parts of the Body without the Influence of the animal Spirits. Now, when the Soul is Serene and all Tranquility as thine is, the Brain supplies all the parts of the Body with as much as they have occasion for in order to perform the Offices allotted 'em by Nature: Whereas in the case of a profound Application to Sciences, the Soul being toss'd and perplex'd with a croud of Thoughts, the Spirits are much exhausted and dispers'd, both by long watchings and by the racking of the Imagination. In this case all the Spirits that the Brain can form are scarce sufficient to recruit the parts employ'd by the Soul in

in the precipitant Motions it calls for; and there being but a small Stock of Spirits in the Nerves, which convey 'em to the parts that minister to the Digestion of what we eat, their Fibres have a languid drooping motion: And thus it comes to pass that the Actions of the Body are lamely perform'd, the Digestion is imperfect, the Serum flies off from the Blood, and by falling upon the Head, the Limbs, the Nerves, the Breast and other parts, gives rise to the Dropsy, Gout, and Palsy; and to all the other Diseases you took notice of but now.

Adario. At that rate, my dear Brother, it must be only the Learned Men that fall into such Disorders: And upon that foot, I hope you'll own that one had better be a *Huron* than a *Science-Hunter*, considering that Health is the most valuable of all good things. But at the same time, I know very well that these Distempers have no respect of Persons, but fall upon the Ignorant as well as those of a greater Character. Not that I deny what thou sayest, for I am fully convinc'd that *Brain-Work* infeebles the Body extreamly; and I have often wonder'd how your Constitution comes to be so strong, as to keep up against the violent Shocks of Discontent and Fret, that you feel when things go cross with you. I have seen some *French* Men tear their Hair, others cry and weep bitterly like Women Burning at a Stake, others again abstain from eating or drinking for two days, and suffer such violent Sallies of Passion as to dash every thing in pieces that came in their way: And when all came to all, their Health did not appear to be affected. Questionless, their Nature must be different from ours; for there's never a *Huron* in the World that would not die in a days time upon incountring the hundredth part of such Transports. Ay, most cer-

tainly, you are of a different Mould from us; for your Wines, your Brandy, and your Spices, make us Sick unto death; whereas you can't live forsooth without such Drugs: Besides, your Blood is Salt and ours is not; you have got Beards, and we have none. Nay farther; I have observ'd that before you pass the Age of thirty five or forty, you are Stronger and more Robust than we; for we can't carry such heavy Loads as you do till that Age; but after that your Strength dwindles and visibly declines, whereas ours keeps to its wonted pitch till we count fifty five or sixty years of Age. This is a truth that our young Women can vouch for. They tell you that when a young *French-man* obliges 'em six times a night, a young *Huron* do's not rise to above half the number; and with the same Breath they declare, that the *French* are older in that Trade at thirty five, than the *Hurons* are at fifty years of Age. This intelligence given in by our good Girles, who are better pleas'd with your young Men's over-doing, than with the Moderation of our Youths; This intelligence, I say, led me to think that your Gout, Dropsy, Phthisick, Palsy, Stone, and Gravel, and the other Distempers above mention'd, are certainly occasion'd, not only by the immoderateness of these Pleasures, but by the unseasonableness of the time, and the inconveniency of the way in which you pursue 'em; for when you have but just done eating, or are newly come off a fatiguing bout, you lie with your Women as often as ever you can, and that either upon Chairs, or in a Standing Posture, without considering the Damage that accrues from such indiscretion: Witness the common practice of these young Sparks in the Village of *Dossenra*, who make their Table serve for a Bed. For the purpose; you are subject to two Diseases more, that

that we are free from. The firſt is that call'd by the *Illineſe*, *the hot Diſtemper*, for that People are liable to it as well as thoſe who live upon the *Miſſiſipi*. This Malady goes by the Name of the *Venereal Diſtemper* in your Country. The other is that you call the *Scurvy*, which we Style, the *cold evil*, with regard to the Symptoms and Cauſes of that Diſtemper, that we have obſerv'd ſince the Arrival of the *French* in *Canada*. You ſee therefore that you are liable to a great many Diſeaſes, and thoſe ſuch as are not eaſily Cur'd. Inſtead of retrieving your Health, your Phyſicians murder you, by exhibiting Remedies calculated for their own Intereſt, which ſpin out the Diſtemper and kill you at laſt. A Phyſician would be ſtill Poor if he cur'd his Patients ſpeedily. The men of that Profeſſion are cautious of approving of our way of Sweating; for they know the conſequence of it too well, and when their Advice is ask'd upon the matter, their Anſwer is to this purpoſe. *None but fools are capable of imitating fools; the Savages have not the name of Savages for nothing; and their Remedies are as Savage as themſelves. If 'tis true that after Sweating, they throw themſelves into cold Water or into Snow, without preſent death; their good luck is owing to the Air of the Climate, and to their way of Feeding, which differs from ours. But notwithſtanding this favourable Circumſtance, ſuch and ſuch a Savage, that would otherwiſe have outliv'd a hundred years of age, was cut off at eighty by the uſe of that terrible Remedy.* Such is the Language of your Phyſicians, by which they mean to ſcare the *Europeans* from the uſe of our Remedies: Tho' at the ſame time, 'tis certain that if you had a mind to Sweat after our way now and then, you might do it with the greateſt eaſe and ſafety in the World, and by that means all the evil Humours ingendred in

your Blood by your Wine, your Spices, your intemperate Venery, your Unſeaſonable Watching and your other Fatigues, would be evacuated by the Pores of the Skin. Were this Method follow'd, you might bid an eternal Adieu to Phyſick, and all its Poiſonous Ingredients. This, my dear Brother, is as manifeſt as the Sun-Shine; tho' 'twill not go down with the Ignorant, who talk of nothing but Pleuriſies and Rheumatiſms, as the Conſequents of this Cure. 'Tis ſtrange, methinks, they will not give Ear to the Anſwer we make to the Objection Started by your Phyſicians againſt our way of Sweating. 'Tis an undiſputed Truth that Nature is a good kind Mother, which deſires to eterniſe our Lives; and yet we plague and torment her ſo violently, that ſometimes ſhe's brought to a low and weak condition, and is ſcarce able to Succour us. Our Debauches and Fatigues create deprav'd Humours, which Nature would throw out of the Body, if She had but Strength enough to open the Gates, *viz.* the Pores of the Skin. 'Tis true ſhe expells as much as ſhe can, by Urine and Stool, by the Mouth, Noſe, and inſenſible Tranſpiration: But ſometimes the quantity of the Seroſities is ſo over-bearing that they overflow all the parts of the Body between the Skin and the Fleſh: And in that caſe 'tis our buſineſs to procure their egreſs the ſpeedyeſt and ſhorteſt way, for fear their longer ſtay ſhould give riſe to this Gout, Rheumatiſm, Dropſy, Palſy, and all the other Diſtempers that ſink a healthy State. Now, to compaſs this end, we muſt unlock the Pores by the means of Sweating; and withal take care to ſhut 'em ſoon after, leſt the nutritive juice ſhould glide out by the ſame paſſage; which can be no otherwiſe prevented than by throwing our ſelves into cold Water, as we uſually do.

'Tis

'Tis the ſame caſe as if Wolves were got into your Sheep Folds; for then you would open the Doors that the miſchievous Animals might turn out; but after they're once out of Doors, you would not fail to ſhut 'em again for fear your Sheep ſhould run after 'em. I own indeed that your Phyſicians ſay well, when they plead that a Man who has over-heated himſelf by Hunting or any violent Exerciſe, indangers his Life by throwing himſelf immediately into cold Water. That I take to be an uncontеſted truth; for the Blood which in that Caſe is agitated and boils as it were in the Veins, would certainly congeal; juſt as boiling Water congeals ſooner than cold Water, when expos'd to the Froſt or put into a cold Fountain. This is the Sum of my Thoughts upon that Head. As to what remains, I grant we are liable to Diſeaſes, that equally invade both us and the *French*; namely, the Small-Pox, Fevers, Pleuriſies, and ſometimes to what you call the Hypochondriac Illneſs: For we have ſome Fools among us who fancy they are poſſeſs'd by a little *Manitou* or Spirit of the bigneſs of one's Fiſt; which in our Language we call *Acuitaerobi*; and affirm that this Spirit is lodg'd in their Body, and particularly in a certain Member that ails never ſo little. This imaginary Diſtemper proceeds from their Simplicity and weakneſs of Mind: For in ſhort, we are not without ignorant fooliſh Fellows among us, no more than you. You may ſee every day ſome *Hurons*, above fifty years of Age, who have leſs Senſe and Diſcretion than a young Girl; ſome who are as Superſtitious as your ſelves, in believing that the Spirit of Dreams is the Ambaſſadour and Meſſenger whom the Great Spirit imploys to acquaint Men with their Duty. As for our Jugglers, they are Mountebanks and Cheats of the ſame form with your Phyſicians;

Honour. My Apprehension indeed is flat enough, but for a long time I have Convers'd with the *French* on purpose to know what they meant by their Man of Honour. To be sure the Word can't be apply'd to a *Huron*, who is a Stranger to Silver, since a moneyless Man is no Man of Honour in your way. 'Twere an easie matter to make my Slave a Man of Honour, by carrying him to *Paris*, and furnishing him with a hundred Packs of Beaver Skins, to answer the charge of a Coach and ten or twelve Footmen. As soon as he appears in an Embroider'd Suit with such a Retinue, he'l be Saluted by every one, and Introduc'd to the greatest Treats, and the highest Company: And if he does but regale the Gentlemen, and make Presents to the Ladies, he passes in course for a Man of Sense and Merit: He'l be call'd the King of the *Hurons*, and every one will give out, that his Country is full of Gold Mines, that himself is the most Puissant Prince in *America*, that he is a Man of Sense and talks most agreeably in Company; that he is redoubted by all his Neighbours; in fine, he'l be such a Man of Honour as most of your *Ench* Footmen come to be after they have m[illegible]e shift, by infamous and detestable means, to pick up as much Money as will fetch that pompous Equipage. Ha! my dear Brother, if I could but read, I could find out a great many fine things that now I do not know. You should not then get off for hearing me mention the few Disorders that I observ'd among the *Europeans*; for I would then muster you up a great many more, whether in Wholesale or Retail. I do not believe that there's any one Vocation or Rank of Men that would not be found liable to just Censure, if examin'd by one that can Read and Write. And in my Opinion

'twere

'twere better for the *French* that they were Strangers to Reading and Writing: Every Day gives us fresh Instances of an infinity of Disputes among the *Coureurs de Bois* upon the account of *Writings*, which tend to nothing but Litigiousness and Law Suits. One bit of Paper is enough to ruin a whole Family. With a slip of a Letter a Woman betrays her Husband, and concerts ways to have her turn serv'd; a Mother sells her Daughter, and a Forger of Writings cheats whom he pleases. In your Books which are publish'd every Day, you write Lies and impertinent Stories; and yet you would fain have me to Read and Write like the *French*. No, my dear Brother, I had rather live without Knowledge, than to Read and Write such things as the *Hurons* abhor. We can do all our Business with reference to our Hunting and our Military Adventures, by the help of our Hieroglyphicks. You know very well that the Characters which we draw upon the peel'd Trees in our Passages, comprehend all the Particulars of a Hunting or Warlike Expedition, and that all who see these Marks know what they signifie. Now, pray, what occasion have we for more? The Communion of Goods among the *Hurons* supersedes the use of Writing. We have no Posts nor no Horses in our Forrests for Couriers to ride upon to *Quebec*. We make Peace and War without Writing, and employ only Ambassadors that carry the Faith and Promise of the Nation. Our Boundaries are adjusted without Writing: And as for the Sciences that you study, they would be of no use to us; for, to instance in *Geography*, we have no mind to puzzle our Brains in the reading of Books of Voyages that contradict one another; and are not in the humour to abdicate our Country, which you know we are

so

ſo minutely acquainted with, that the leaſt Brook does not eſcape our Calculation. *Aſtronomy* would be equally uſeleſs; for we reckon the Years by the Moons, and ſo many Winters ſtand for an equal number of Years. *Navigation* would be yet leſs ſerviceable, for we have no Ships: And *Fortification* can bring us no Advantage, in regard that a Fort of ſingle Paliſſadoes is to us a ſufficient guard from the Arrows and the Surpriſes of our Enemies, who are Strangers to Artillery. In a Word, conſidering our way of living, Writing can do us no good. All that I value in the whole Circle of your Sciences, is *Arithmetick*: I can't but own that that Science pleaſes me infinitely well, tho' at the ſame time I am ſenſible that thoſe who are vers'd in it are not free from great Errors. There is no Trade or Profeſſion among the *French* that I like, excepting that which runs in the way of *Commerce*; that indeed I look upon as a Lawful Calling, and that which is moſt neceſſary for our Welfare. The Merchants are welcome to us; ſometimes they bring us good Commodities, and ſome of 'em being Men of Juſtice and Probity are ſatisfied with a moderate Gain: They run great hazards, they advance beforehand, they lend, they ſtay for their due; in fine, I know many Dealers that have a juſt and reaſonable Soul, and have oblig'd our Nation very much. But at the ſame time there are others who act with no other view than to make an exorbitant Profit upon Goods that have a good ſhew and are worth but little, particularly Axes, Kettles, Powder, Guns, *&c.* which we are not qualified to know. This makes it to appear, that in all the Ranks and Degrees of the *Europeans* there's ſomething that ought to be diſlik'd. This is a certain truth, that if a Merchant has not an upright Heart, and a

ſufficient

sufficient stock of Vertue to withstand the various Temptations to which his Business lays him open, he violates every foot the measures of Justice, Equity, Charity, Sincerity, and true Faith. Are not they chargeable with flaming Wickedness, when they give us sorry Commodites in exchange for our Beaver Skins, which a blind Man may deal in without being cheated? I have done, my dear Brother, I must now return to the Village, where I'll stay for you to Morrow after Dinner.

Lahontan. I am come, *Adario*, to thy Apartment, to pay my Respects to thy Grandfather, who I hear lies very ill. 'Tis to be fear'd that the good old Gentleman may be long afflicted with the uneasiness he now complains of; one would think that a Man of his Age, who reckons upon Seventy Years, might refrain the shooting of Turtle-Doves. I've observ'd for a long time, that your old Folks are always in Motion and Action, which is the ready way to exhaust speedily the little Strength that's left 'em. I'll tell thee, *Adario*, thou must send one of thy Slaves for my Surgeon, who understands Physick well enough; for I'm morally assur'd that he'l give him ease in a Minute: This Feaver is so inconsiderable that it can't reach his Life, unless it reaches to a greater height.

Adario. Thou knowest very well, my dear Brother, that I have been a mortal Enemy to your Physicians, ever since I saw ten or twelve Persons die in their Hands, through the tyranny of their Remedies. My Grandfather that you take to be Seventy Years old is full Ninety eight. He Marry'd at Thirty Years of Age; my Father was Marry'd at Thirty two, and I am now Thirty five Years old. 'Tis true he is of a strong

ſtrong Conſtitution, and that this Age could not be attain'd in *Europe*, where People die earlier. One of theſe Days I'll ſhew you fourteen or fifteen old Men that are turn'd of a Hundred, nay one of 'em a Hundred and twenty four. I knew another that dy'd ſix Years ago at the Age of a Hundred and forty. As for the reſtleſs Life that that you find fault with in our old Men, I can aſſure you on the contrary, that if they lay loytering upon their Mats in the Huts, and did nothing but Eat, Drink and Sleep, they would become heavy and dull and unfit for Action; and for as much as their continuall reſt would hinder the inſenſible Tranſpiration, the Humours then recoyling would rejoin the Blood, and thus by a natural effect their Limbs and Kidneys would be ſo infeebled and waſted, that a mortal Phthiſick would enſue. This is an Obſervation of long ſtanding, that proves true in all the Nations of *Canada*. The Jugglers are to be here preſently to try their Skill, and to find out what Meat or Fiſh is requiſite for the cure of this Diſtemper. My Slaves are now ready to go either a Hunting or Fiſhing, and if you'l tarry an Hour or two with me, you ſhall ſee the apiſh tricks of theſe Mountebanks, whom we know to be ſuch when we are well, and yet ſend for 'em with great impatience when any dangerous Diſtemper ſeizes us.

Labontan. You muſt conſider, my dear *Adario*, that in ſuch caſes our Mind is ſick as well as the Body. We in *Europe* do the ſame thing by our Phyſicians. When a Man enjoys his Health he hates and avoids the Phyſicians; but when he apprehends himſelf out of order, notwithſtanding that he knows the uncertainty of their Art, he calls a Conſultation of a Dozen: Some who have no other Illneſs than what Fancy ſuggeſts,

do

do melt down their Bodies by such Remedies as would kill a Horse. I own, indeed, that you have no such Fools among you; but to make the Parallel even, you take no care of your Health; for you run at the Hunting stark naked from Morning to Night; you dance three or four Hours an end till you sweat again, and the playing at the Ball in a Company of six or seven Hundred Persons on a side, to toss it half a League one way or t'other, is an infinite Fatigue to your Bodies; it infeebles the Parts, disperses the Spirits, sowers the mass of Blood and Humours, and breaks the union of their Principles. At this rate a Man that might otherwise have liv'd a Hundred Years is sweep'd off at Eighty.

Adario, Supposing all you say to be true, what signifies it for a Man to live so long, since Life is a sort of Death after that Age? Perhaps your Reasons may bear as to the *French*, the generality of whom being lazy and slothful, have an aversion to all manner of violent Exercises. They are of the same temper with our superannuated Persons, that live in such a stupid insensible way, that they never stir out of their Huts but when they take Fire. Our Temperaments and Complexions are as widely different from yours as Night from Day; And that remarkable difference that I observe between the *Europeans* and the People of *Canada*, upon all things in general, is to me an Argument that we are not descended of your pretended *Adam*. Among us you shan't hear in an Age, of one that is Hunch-back'd, or Lame, or Dwarfish, or Deaf, or Dumb, or Blind from their Infancy, and far less any that is One-ey'd; for when a one-ey'd Creature comes into the World among us, we look upon it as a Presage of the ensuing Cala-

only they content themſelves with the having of good Chear at their Patient's coſt, without ſending 'em to the other World in acknowledgment of their Feaſts and Preſents.

Labontan. My deareſt *Adario*, I honour thee beyond all expreſſion, for now thou argueſt juſtly. You never ſpoke more to the purpoſe in your life time. Every word you have ſaid of Sweating is abſolutely true; and I know it to be ſo by experience, inſomuch that while I live, I will never uſe any other Remedy than your way of Sweating. But at the ſame time, I would not have you run down Bleeding, ſo much as you did t'other day, when you endeavour'd by a multiplicity of Arguments to make out the neceſſity of ſaving our Blood, as being the Treaſure of Life. I do not diſpute its being the Treaſure of Life; but I muſt needs ſay that your Remedies againſt Pleureſies and Inflamations, take effect only by chance, for out of twenty Sick People commonly fifteen die; whereas Bleeding in ſuch a caſe might Cure 'em all. I own that this method of Cure ſhortens their lives, and that a man that has Bled often can't hold out ſo long as another that has done it but ſeldom; but a Man lying on a Sick Bed, wants to be cur'd at any rate, and thinks of nothing elſe but the preſent recovery of his Health; tho' it ſhould coſt him the Subſtraction of ſome years from his life, together with the loſs of his Blood. In fine, all the Remarks I have made on the Subject in hand, center in this; that the People of *Canada* have a better Complexion than the *Europeans*, that they are more Indefatigable and Robuſt, more inur'd to Watching, Faſting and other hardſhips, more inſenſible of Cold and Heat; inſomuch that they are not only exempted from the Paſſions that tumble and diſturb *our* Souls, but likewiſe ſhelter'd from the Infirmities that *we* groan under. You are

poor

poor and miſerable, but at the ſame time you have the benefit of perfect health: But we who enjoy the Conveniences of Life and the Inſtruments of Eaſe, are forc'd either thro' Complaiſance or by the occaſional Adventures of life, to Murder our ſelves by an infinity of Debauches, to which you are never expos'd.

Adario. My Brother, I come to Viſit thee, and am accompany'd by my Daughter, who is about to Marry, againſt my Will, a young Man that's as good a Warriour as he's a ſorry Huntſman. She has a mind to't; and that is enough in our Country: But 'tis not ſo in *France*, where the Parents muſt conſent to the Marrying of their Children. I am oblig'd to comply with my Daughter's demands: For if I pretend to Marry her again, ſhe'd quickly return upon me; *What do you think Father! Am I your Slave? Shall not I enjoy my Liberty? Muſt I for your fancy, Marry a Man I do not care for? How can I endure a Husband that buys my Corps of my Father, and what value ſhall I have for ſuch a Father as makes Brokerage of his Daughter to a Brute? And how can I have an affection for the Children of a Man I cannot love? If I ſhould Marry him in obedience to you, and go from him in fifteen days time, as the Priviledges and natural Liberties of the Nation would allow; you'll tell me 'tis not well done; and 'twould trouble you, all the World would laugh at it, and perhaps I might prove with Child.* Thus, dear Brother, would my Girl anſwer me, and it may be a great deal worſe, as it happened ſome years ago to one of our old Men, who pretended to Marry his Daughter to a Man ſhe did not love, for in my Preſence ſhe ſaid a great many harſh things by way of Reproach: Inſinuating that a Man of Spirit ought not to expoſe himſelf, in offering to adviſe a Perſon from whom he may receive

receive such affronts; neither ought he to require such respects from his Children as he knows to be impracticable. She added then, *'twas true she was his Daughter, and he might be satisfied, He got her upon a Woman he loved as much as she hated the Husband her Father had provided for her.* You must know, we never have a Marriage contracted between Relations, let the degree be never so remote. Our Women never Marry again after they're forty years of Age, because the Children they have after that Age are generally of a weakly Constitution. Not that they are the more Continent for this: On the contrary, you'll find them more passionately inclin'd than a Girl of twenty. And 'tis for this reason that they entertain the *French* so kindly; nay, and sometimes give themselves the trouble to follow them. However you know that our Women are not so Fruitful as the *French*, tho' they admit of more frequent Embraces; which to me is very strange, for 'tis quite contrary to what might be expected.

Labontan. 'Tis for the same reason, my poor *Adario*, that they Conceive not so easily as ours. If they did not indulge themselves too much in the frequency of Embraces, and receive 'em with an over-bearing Keenness, the Matter calculated for the production of Children, would have time to assume the necessary qualities for the business of Generation. It's the same case with a Field that is Sowed continually without being suffered to ly Fallow, for at last it will produce nothing (as Experience plainly shews;) on the other side, if you forbear the Ground, the Earth regains its force, the Serene Air, the Rain and the Sun give it a new Sap, which makes the Seed to Sprout. But prithee, my dear Friend, suffer me to ask thee one Question. What is the reason that the Women-Savages, being so rarely Fruit-

Fruitful, have the Increaſe of their Nation ſo little in view, that a Woman ſhall make her ſelf Miſcarry when the Father of the Child dies, or is kill'd, before ſhe is brought to Bed? You'll tell me, ſhe do's it to ſave her Reputation; becauſe, without that Precaution ſhe would never have another Husband. But it would ſeem the Intereſt of the Nation, which lies in its Increaſe and Multiplication, is but little regarded by your Women. Now, it is not ſo with ours, for, as you ſaid t'other day, our *Coureurs de Bois* and many others, find very often new Children in their Houſes, at their return from their Journeys: But they are not much diſſatisfied, upon the conſideration, that this adds ſo many Bodys for the Nation, and ſo many Souls for Heaven: Tho' after all, their Women undergo as much diſgrace upon ſuch occaſions as yours do, and ſometimes are Impriſoned for Life, while yours are allow'd to entertain as many Gallants as they pleaſe afterwards. 'Tis a moſt abominable piece of Cruelty for a Woman to make away with her Child: A Crime which the Author of Life will never pardon; And this is one of the greateſt Abuſes to be reformed among you. You ought to diſcountenance Nakedneſs too; for the liberty which your Boys have of going Naked, makes a terrible Hurricane in the Minds of your young Girls; as they are not made of Braſs, ſo the view of thoſe parts which decency forbids me to name, can't but call up the Amorous Fire, eſpecially when the young Wantons ſhew that Nature is neither dead nor untrue to the Adventures of Love.

Adario. I take it, you account for the Barrenneſs of our Women admirably; for I perceive how that may come to paſs: And as for the Criminal Practice of our young Women in taking

Potions

Potions to make themſelves Miſcarry; I find your Reflections upon it are very juſt. But what you ſay of Nakedneſs do's not ſtand to Reaſon. I allow that in a Nation where diſtinctions of Property are acknowledg'd, you are very much in the right of it, to cover not only ſuch parts as ought not to be nam'd, but even all the parts of the Body. What uſe would the *French* make of their Gold and their Silver, if they did not imploy it in providing themſelves with fine Cloaths? Since in your Country Men are valued according to their Dreſs, is it not a great advantage to be able to cover any Defect in Nature with a handſome Habit? In earneſt, Nakedneſs ought not to offend any but ſuch as allow Property. A deform'd or decrepit Man among you has found the Secret of appearing Handſome or well Dreſs'd, in a Beau Perriwig and fine Cloaths; under which 'tis impoſſible to diſtinguiſh Artificial Shapes from ſuch as are Natural. Beſides, 'twould be a great inconvenience for the *Europeans* to go Naked; for thoſe who are well provided would then find ſo much Imployment, and earn ſo much Mony for good Services, that they would not dream of Marrying as long as they liv'd; not to mention that the promiſing Aſpect would tempt the Married Women to violate their Conjugal Vows. Now, theſe reaſons can have no place among us, where every thing muſt fit, whether great or little, for the young Women taking a view of the Naked parts, make their choice by the Eye: And for as much as Nature has obſerv'd the meaſures of Proportion in both Sexes, any Woman may be well aſſur'd what ſhe has to expect from a Husband. Our Women are as Fickle as yours, and

for

for that reaſon the moſt deſpicable Man here never deſpairs of having a Wife; for as every thing appears naked and open to ſight, ſo every Girl chooſes according to her Fancy, without regarding the meaſures of Proportion. Some love a well ſhaped Man let a certain matter about him be never ſo little. Others make choice of an ill ſhap'd ſorry like Fellow, by reaſon of the goodly ſize of I know not what; and others again pick out a Man of Spirit and Vigour tho' he be neither well ſhap'd nor well provided in nameleſs Quarter.

This, my dear Brother, is all the Anſwer I have to give to your Charge upon the ſcore of Nudity; which you know lies only againſt the Youths; for our married Men and Widows cover themſelves both before and behind with a great deal of Nicety. And, beſides, to make ſome Compenſation for the Nudity of our Boys, our Girls are Modeſter than yours, for they expoſe nothing to open view but the Calf of their Leg, whereas yours lay their Breaſts open in ſuch a Faſhion that our young Men run their Noſes into 'em when they bargain about the Beaver Skins with your handſom She-merchants. Is not this a Grievance among the *French* that wants to be Redreſs'd? For I have it from very good Hands, that ſcarce any *French* Woman can reſiſt the temptation of an object that's mov'd by her naked Breaſts. A due reformation of this indecent Cuſtom would be a means to preſerve their Husbands from the Chimerical Diſtemper of Horns, which you plant upon their Foreheads without ever touching or ſeeing them, and that by a Miracle I can't fathom; For if I plant an Apple-tree in a Garden it does not grow upon the top of a Rock; and in like manner one would think your inviſible Horns ſhould take root only

in

in the place where their Seed is sown, and appear in the Foreheads of the Women, as being a just representation of the Husbands and the Spark's Tools. In fine, this whim of the Horns is a horrid piece of Indiscretion; for why should you affront the Husband because his Wife takes her Pleasure? If in Marriage a Man marries a Woman's Vices, then the *French* way of Marriage is an Oath that runs counter to right Reason, or else a Man must keep his Wife under Lock and Key to avoid the dishonour of her Vices. The Husbands that retain to the horned List must needs be very numerous; for I can't imagine that a Woman can brook the severity of an eternal Chain, without having recourse to some good Friend to soften her Affliction. It should pardon the *French* if they made the Marriage to stand only upon certain Conditions, that is upon the *Proviso* that the Woman have Children, and that both she and her Husband keep their Health, so as to be able to discharge the Marriage Duties as they ought to do. This is all the Regulation that can be made in a Nation that stands to *Meum* and *Tuum*. ——— You *Christians* have another impertinent Custom, which I can't but take notice of. Your Men glory in the Debauching of Women, as if yielding to the Temptations of Love were not equally Criminal in either Sex. Your young Sparks use their utmost Efforts to tempt the Maids and married Women; they set all means at work to compass their end; and when Masters of their Wishes talk publickly of the Adventure; upon which every body Censures the Lady, and cries up the Cavalier, whereas the former merits a Pardon, and the latter deserves to be Punish'd. How d'ye think your Women should be Faithful to you, if you are Faithless to them? If the married

married Men keep their Cracks, will not their Wives keep Company with other Lovers? And if a Husband prefers Gaming and Drinking to his Wive's Company, will not his Wife Solace her self in the Company of a Friend? Would you have your Wives to be Wise and Discreet, and like ours, you must Love 'em as your selves, and take care not to sell 'em; for I know some Husbands among you, that consent as shamefully to the Debauching of their Wives, as some Mothers do to the Prostituting of their Daughters, and in such cases Necessity obliges 'em to it. From hence it appears, that 'tis a great Happiness for the *Hurons* that they are not reduc'd to the practice of such mean Actions, as Misery occasions among those who are not inur'd to it. We are at all times neither rich nor poor, and our Happiness upon this score goes far beyond all your Riches; for we are not forc'd to expose our Wives and Daughters to sale, in order to live upon their Drudgery in the way of Love. You'l say our Wives and Daughters are foolish and simple; and indeed I grant the Allegation, for they can't write *Billet doux's* to their Acquaintances as yours do; nay, if they could write they have not the sense to single out by the Rules of Physiognomy a faithful old Woman that shall carry their Love-letters, and observe a profound Silence. O! that cursed Writing; that pernicious Invention of the *Europeans* who tremble at the sight of their own *Chimera's*, which they draw themselves, by the ranking and disposal of three and twenty small Figures, that are Calculated, not for the Instruction but for the Perplexing of Men's Minds. According to your Notions of things, the *Hurons* are likewise foolish in not minding the loss of a Maidenhead in the Girls they take in Marriage, and in

condescending to marry the very Women that their own Companions have turn'd off: But prithee tell me, Brother, are the *French* the wiser for fancying that a Girl is a Maid because she cries and swears 'tis so? Nay, supposing her to be a true Maid, is the Conquest the greater? No, sure, on the contrary the Husband is oblig'd to teach her a Trade that she'll practise with others at a time when he is not in a condition to continue the daily Exercise. As for our marrying Women separated from former Husbands, is not that the same thing as marrying a Widow, with this difference only, that our Women have all reason to be perswaded that we Love 'em, whereas your Widows have reason to believe that you marry their Riches rather than their Persons. How many Families are reduc'd to disorder or Ruin by such Marriages with Widows? But after all you do not pretend to redress such disorders, because the evil is incurable as long as the Conjugal Tye lasts for Life. Once more, I'll take the liberty to mention another piece of Madness practis'd among you, which indeed is down right Cruelty to my Mind. Your Marriages are indissolvable, and yet a Youth and a Girl that burn in the mutual flames of Love, can't marry without the consent of their Parents. Both the one and the other must marry who their Fathers please, in opposition to their own Inclination, tho' their Aversion to the Person propos'd be so great, that they hate him mortally. The inequality of Age, Estate and Birth is the source of all these Inconveniences; they overrule the mutual Love of the two Parties that like one another. What Cruelty! What Tyranny! and that practis'd by a Father upon his own Children. Do you meet with such things among the *Hurons*? Among them

every

every one's as Rich and as Noble as his Neighbour; the Women are entitled to the same Liberty with the Men, and the Children enjoy the same Privileges with their Fathers. A young *Huron* may marry one of his Mother's Slaves, and neither Father nor Mother are impower'd to hinder him. This Slave by so doing becomes a free Woman; and since her Beauty pleases, why should not the Youth prefer her to the great General's Daughter that is not so handsome? To continue the faults of your Constitution: Is it not a piece of Injustice among you who abhor a community of Goods, that a Nobleman or Gentleman should give his eldest Son almost all that he has, and force the other Brethren and Sisters to rest satisfied with a Trifle, tho' perhaps that eldest Son is not a Lawful Child, and all the rest are? The Consequence of this is, that they throw their Daughters into perpetual Prisons, with a sort of Barbarity which is not suitable to the Christian Charity that the Jesuits preach up. As for the other Sons, they are forc'd to turn Priests and Monks, in order to live by the fine Trade of praying to God against their will, of preaching what they do not practise, and of perswading others into the belief of what they disbelieve themselves. If any of 'em take up a Military Profession, they design the pillaging the Nation more than the guarding off her Enemies. The *French* do not fight for the Interest of their Country as we do; 'tis their own Interest and preferment to higher Posts that they have in view. The Love of their Country and of their Fellow-Citizens does not prevail so much with them as Vanity, Ambition and Riches. In fine, my dear Brother, I conclude this Discourse in assuring thee, That the Christians Self-love is a piece of Folly that

the *Hurons* will ever condemn; and that Folly which tinctures all your Actions is remarkable in a diſtinguiſhing manner in the way of your Amours and Marriages; which, I muſt ſay, is as unaccountable as the People are who ſuffer themſelves to be catch'd in that Nooſe.

Lahontan. Adario, you remember I ſet forth before, that the Actions of Rogues are no Standard for thoſe of honourable Men. I own the Juſtneſs of your Cenſure as to ſome Actions which we alſo diſallow of. I acknowledge that the diſtinction of Property is the ſource of an infinity of Paſſions, of which you are clear'd. But if you take things by the right handle, eſpecially our way of making Love and Marrying, the good order of our Families, and the Education of our Children, you'l find a wonderful Conduct in all our Conſtitutions. That Liberty which the *Hurons* preach up occaſions diſmal Diſorders. In their way the Children are Maſters as well as the Fathers; and Wives who ought naturally to be ſubject to their Husbands are inveſted with an equal Authority. The Daughters ſcorn the Advice of their Mothers when there's a Lover in the caſe. In a Word, all this ſcene of Liberty reduces the way of Life to a continued courſe of Debauchery, by granting to Nature, in Imitation of the Brutes, an unlimited ſatisfaction to all its Demands. Your ſingle Women place their Wiſdom in concerting and concealing their lewd Adventures. To run with a Match in your Villages, is the ſame thing as ſtrolling after a Whore in ours. All your young Men roll from Hut to Hut upon ſuch Adventures while the Night laſts. The Doors of every Girls Chambers are open to all Gueſts,

i. e. to view into A Woman's Apartment in the Night time with a Light.

and

and if a young Man comes that ſhe does not like ſhe pulls the covering over her Head, the meaning of which is, that ſhe is Proof againſt his Temptation: But if another comes, perhaps ſhe ſuffers him to ſit down on the Foot of her Bed, in order to a dry Converſation, without going farther; that is to ſay, ſhe has a mind to make a fetter of this poor Fellow, that ſhe may have ſeveral Strings to her Bow. In comes a third, whom ſhe ſifts with more refined Politicks, and allows to lye near her upon the Coverings of the Bed. But when this Spark is gone, in comes a fourth, to whoſe Embraces ſhe readily grants her Bed, and her ſpreading Arms, for two or three Hours together; and tho' he is far from triffling away the time in empty Words, yet the World takes it to be ſo. Behold, my dear *Adario*, the Lewdneſs of the *Hurons*, diſguis'd with a Pretext of honeſt Converſation, and that ſo much the more that how indiſcreet ſo ever any of their Gallants may be to their Miſtreſſes (which rarely happens) the World is ſo far from giving Credit to 'em, that they brand 'em with Jealouſie, which amongſt you is a defamatory Affront. This being premis'd, 'tis no wonder that the *Americans* won't hear any thing of Amours in the Day time, upon the Plea that the Night was made for that purpoſe. In *France* this way of Intreguing is term'd *Cacher adroitment Son jeu*, dexterouſly to conceal ones Deſigns. If there's any thing of Wantonneſs and Debauchery amongſt our Wenches, there is at leaſt this difference, that the Rule is not General, as it is amongſt yours; and beſides they don't go ſo brutiſhly to work with it. The Amours of the *European* Women are Charming, they are Conſtant and Faithful to Death, and when they are ſo weak as to yield to a Lover the laſt Favours, they have a greater

regard to their inward Merit than to an outward Apperance; and 'tis not the gratifying of their own Paſſion that they have ſo much in view, as the deſire of giving their Lovers ſenſible Proofs of their Affection. The *French* Gallants ſeek to pleaſe their Miſtreſſes by Methods that are altogether agreeable, as by Reſpect, Attendance, and Complaiſance; they are Patient, Paſſionate, and always ready to Sacrifice their Lives and Fortunes for 'em. They lye ſighing a long time before they dare to attempt any thing, for they are reſolv'd to merit the laſt Favour by long Services; they are ſeen upon their Knees at their Miſtreſſes Feet, to beg the priviledge of kiſſing the Hand; and as a Dog follows his Maſter, watching over him when he Sleeps, ſo 'mongſt us, a true Lover ne'er quits his Miſtreſs, nor ſhuts his Eyes, but that he may dream of her in his Sleep. If any one is found ſo hot upon't as bluntly to Embrace his Miſtreſs upon the very firſt occaſion, without any regard to her Weakneſs, he paſſes with us under the Character of a *Savage*, that is to ſay, a meer *Clown*, that begins where others leave off.

Adario. Ho, ho, my dear Brother; are the *French* e're a whit the wiſer for calling this ſort of People *Savage?* In truth, I did not believe that Word ſignify'd with you, a Prudent thinking Man. I'm glad with all my Heart at this piece of News, not doubting but one Day you may give the name of *Savage* to all the *French*, who will be wiſe enough to follow exactly the true Rules of Juſtice and Reaſon. Now the Myſtery is unriddled that prompts the cunning *French* Women to have ſuch a Love for Savage Creatures; they're not ſo much to blame for't; for in my mind, Time is too precious to loſe, and Youth too ſhort not to make the beſt of the Advantages

tages it throws in our Laps. If your Wenches are Conſtant in a continual change of Lovers, that may bear ſome reſemblance to the Humour of our Girls; but when they faithfully yield themſelves to be Careſs'd by three or four at a time, that's altogether different from the Temper of the *Hurons*. May the *French* Gallants ſpend their Lives in the Fooleries you ſpoke of but now, to conquer their Miſtreſſes; may they ſpend their time and their Eſtates in purchaſing a ſmall Pleaſure, uſher'd in by a thouſand Troubles and Cares. I ſhan't offer to blame them, becauſe I have play'd the fool my ſelf, in running the riſque of Traverſing, in ſuch fooliſh Veſſels, the rough Seas that ſeparate *France* from this Continent, to have the pleaſure of ſeeing the Country of the *French*. This obliges me to hold my Peace; but reaſonable People will ſay, That your Amorous Crew are as fooliſh as I, but with this difference, that their Love paſſes blindly from one Miſtreſs to another, and expoſes 'em to the repetition of the ſame Torments; whereas I ſhall never take another Trip from *America* to *France*.

AN

APPENDIX.

Containing Some New

VOYAGES TO *Portugal* and *Denmark.*

LETTER I.

Dated at *Lisbon*, *April* 20. 1694.

Containg a Deſcription of *Viana*, *Porto a Porto*, *Aveiro*, *Coimbra*, *Lisbon*; together with a View of the Court of *Portugal*; and an Account of the Government, Laws, Cuſtoms, Commerce and Humours of the *Portugueſe*.

SIR,

I Begin my Letter with that ancient ſaying; *Una ſalus victis nullam ſperare ſalutem*; my meaning is, that after the receipt of ſome bad News relating to my buſineſs, I find I have Spirit enough to brave all the Jolts of Fortune. The Univerſe which Swallows and Jeſu-

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its take for their Country, muſt likewiſe be mine; till ſuch time as it pleaſes God to ſend to the other World, ſome Perſons that do him very little Service here.

I am glad my Memoirs of *Canada* pleaſe you, and that my Savage Style did not turn your Affection: Tho' after all, *you* have no reaſon to criticiſe upon my Jargon, for both you and I are of a Country, where no body can ſpeak *French* but when they are not able to open their Mouths: Beſides, 'twas not poſſible for me who went ſo young to *America*, to find out in that Country, the Myſtery of Writing Politely. That's a Science that is not to be learn'd among the Savages, whoſe Clowniſh Society is enough to faſten a brutiſh twang upon the Politeſt Man in the World. Since you preſs me to continue my Accounts of what new things I meet with, I willingly comply with your deſire; but you muſt not expect thoſe nice Deſcriptions you ſpeak of, for if I pretended to any ſuch thing, I ſhould expoſe my ſelf to the Deriſion of thoſe to whom you may ſhew my Letters. I am not ſufficiently qualify'd to outdo the curious Remarks that an infinity of Travellers have publiſh'd. 'Tis enough for me if I furniſh you with ſome private Memoirs of ſome things that other Travellers have Wav'd, as being beneath their regard: And for as much as theſe Memoirs treat of ſuch Subjects as were never yet handled in Print, you will meet with ſome Satisfaction upon the ſcore of their Novelty. With this View, I ſhall be very punctual in Writing to you from time to time, from whatever corner of the World my Misfortunes may lead me to; but upon this condition, that you ſhall take an exact care to let me have your Anſwers. In the mean time, I muſt acquaint you that I can't undertake to Frenchify the

the Foreign Names; and therefore ſhall Write 'em as the People of the Country do, leaving it to you to pronounce 'em as you pleaſe.

You remember I Writ to you about ten Weeks ago, that upon laying down three hundred Piſtoles to the Captain of the Ship that brought me from *Placentia* to *Viana*, I had the good luck to get a Shoar there; and ſo I ſhall reſume the thread of my Journal, from that place where I laſt took leave of it. I had no ſooner jump'd out of the Sloop, than a *French* Gentleman, who has ſerv'd the King of *Portugal* theſe four and thirty years † in the quality of a Captain of Horſe, came and offer'd me the uſe of his Houſe, for in that place there's no publick Houſes but ſuch as are Calculated for common Seamen. The next day this old Officer adviſ'd me to go and wait upon *Don John of Souza*, Governour General of the Province between the *Douro* and the *Minho*. He acquainted me farther, that every body gave him the Title of *L' Excellentia*; and that he gave the Title of *Senoria* only to the Gentlemen of the firſt Rank, and * *Merced* to all the reſt. When I heard this, I choſe inſtead of ſpeaking *Spaniſh* to him, to make uſe of an Interpreter, who Metamorphos'd all the *You*'s of my Compliment into a *Portugueſe Excellentia*.

† *Since Monſieur de* Schomberg's *time.*

* *A Title ſomewhat higher than* You.

Viana lies five Leagues to the Weſtward of *Braga*, and is incloſ'd in a Right-Angle made by the Sea and the River *Lima*. Here I ſaw two Monaſteries of *Benedictine Nuns*, which were ſo ill provided that they would Starve for Hunger, if their Relations and ‖ Devoto's did not aſſiſt 'em. Upon the Sea Side there ſtands a very good Caſtle, Fortified after Count *Pagan*'s way: 'Tis covered

‖ i. e. *thoſe who have a reſpect for the* Nuns.

with

with ſeveral large Culverines, which guard off the Sallymen from Attacking the Veſſels that lye at Anchor in the Road. In this Road, the Ships are Shelter'd from the fourteen Points of the Wind, that lye between North and South, in by Eaſt. The River is a *havre de barre*, or * *Bar-Haven*, which no Ship ventures upon without calling out Pilots, by a Signal of a Gun or a Flag twiſted round. The Ships come all in at High Water, and when the Tide runs out are left dry, unleſs they Ride upon the Pit, which has always eight or ten Fathom at low Water.

* i. e. *A Port that a Ship can't enter but at full Sea; for fear of touching the Sands or Flats. Bayonne, Bilbao, Sivona, Viana, Porto, Aveiro, Mondego, and Lisbon, are all* Havres de Barre.

Febr. 4. I hir'd two Mules, one for my ſelf and another for my Man, at the rate of three *Spaniſh* Piaſters or Cobs; and put on ſo briskly that I arriv'd that Night at *Porto a Porto*, which was twelve Leagues off. Theſe Creatures Amble both faſt and ſmoothly, without Stumbling or tyring the Rider. Your Cavaliers have the conveniency of reſting themſelves when they will upon the Portmantles which are faſten'd to two Iron Rings at the Pummel of the Saddle. The Saddles of that Country are too hard for ſuch a Lean Man as me. The Road between *Viana* and *Porto a Porto* is Stony, but pretty good; the Ground lies upon a Level, the Proſpect is pleaſant, and the Sea Side is adorn'd with ſeveral large Villages, the chief of which are *Expoſende*, *Founs*, and *Villa de Conde*. When I arriv'd at *Porto*, my Guide carry'd me to an *Engliſh* Inn, the only one that was fit to entertain Gentlemen. This City is cramm'd with *French*, *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Merchants, who

who croud thither upon the account of the Commerce; tho' the latter have ſuffer'd by't ſufficiently, ſince the beginning of the War, by vertue of the Civility of our Privateers, who make no ſcruple to take their Ships. *Porto* ſtands upon the declivity of a Steep Hill, the Foot of which is Waſh'd by the River *Douro*, that falls into the Sea a League lower upon a † *Barr*. This Bar which lies in the Mouth of the *Douro*, is ſo ſuſpected by Sailors, that they never approach to it, but when the Weather is good, and when they have ſome of the Pilots of the Country on Board; for upon the Sand of the Bar there are Rocks, ſome hidden and ſome ſeen, which render it inacceſſible to Strangers. A Ship of four hundred Tun may come over exactly at high Water; which is punctually the time that any Ship ought to make this River. Here we ſee a fine Key reaching from one end of the Town to the other, upon which every Veſſel is Laſh'd over againſt the owners Doors. In this River, I had the opportunity of viewing the *Braſil* Fleet, conſiſting of thirty two *Portugueſe* Merchantmen, the leaſt of which carry'd two and twenty Guns. I ſaw likewiſe ſeveral Foreign Ships, and particularly five or ſix *French* Privateers, that put in there to Buy Proviſions and Ammunition.

Porto is a Stately fine City, and well Pav'd; but its Scituation upon a Mountain is inconveni-

ent,

† *A* Bar, *properly ſpeaking, is a Bank of Sand, which commonly runs acroſs the Mouth of the Rivers that have not a ſufficient Rapidity to throw back into the Sea the Sands that are caſt in upon 'em, when the Winds blow hard from the Main. All* Bars *may be call'd* Banks of Sand; *for I never heard of a* Bar *conſiſting of a ridge of Rocks. How this Sand riſes nearer to the Surface of the Water, like a little Hill in a Plain, ſo that Ships can't get over it but at high Water.*

ent, in regard that it obliges one to be always upon the Aſcent or Deſcent. The Gallery of the Regular Canons of St. *Auſtin*'s is as curious a piece of Architecture for its uncommon length, as their Church is with reſpect to the roundneſs of its Figure, and the Riches of the inſide. In this City they have a Parliament, a Biſhoprick, Academies for the Exerciſes of young Gentlemen, and an Arſenal for the fitting out of the Men of War, that are Built every year near the Mouth of the River. I wonder that this Town is not better Fortified, eſpecially conſidering 'tis the Second City in *Portugal*. Its Walls are ſix Foot thick, and at certain diſtances ſhew us the Ruines of old Towers that time has levell'd with the Ground. They were built by the *Moors*, and are the moſt irregular piece of Work that thoſe times produc'd: So that you may eaſily gueſs whether 'twould be any hard matter to take this Town at the firſt Attack.

'Tis well for the *Portugueſe* that this Province, which is one of the beſt in *Portugal*, is almoſt inacceſſible to their Enemies whether by Sea or Land; the Sea Side being guarded by Barrs, and the Land by impracticable Mountains. 'Tis very Populous, and all its Valleys which are full of Towns and Villages, afford great quantities of Wine and Olives, and feed numerous Flocks of Cattel, the Wool of which is pretty fine. This I Write upon the Information of ſome *French* Merchants, who are perfectly well acquainted with this Province. I am told that 'tis impoſſible to make the *Douro* Navigable, by reaſon of the Water-Falls and Currents that run between the prodigious Rocks. This, Sir, is all I know of the matter; ſo I hope you'll content your ſelf with it.

The

The 10*th* I ſet out for *Lisbon* in a Sedan, which I Hir'd for eighteen thouſand ſix hundred *Reys*, a number of pieces that are enough to frighten thoſe who do not know that they are but *Deniers*. Since the *Portugueſe* State all their Accounts in this faſhion; I muſt acquaint you that a *Rey* is nothing elſe but a *Denier*, or the 12*th* part of a Penny; and that this numerous quantity of Pieces amounts to no more than twenty five *Piaſtres*. My Litter-Man ingag'd for this Fare to ſet me down at *Lisbon*, on the ninth day of *March*; tho' at the ſame time, he was oblig'd to go two or three Leagues out of his way, to ſatisfie the Curioſity I had to paſs by the way of *Aveiro*, where I arriv'd the next day.

Aveiro is a paltry little Town Seated on the Sea Side, and upon the Banks of a little River, Guarded by a Bar, which the Ships that draw under nine or ten foot Water, croſs at High Water by the direction of the Coaſting Pilots. 'Tis Fortified after the *Mooriſh* way, as well as *Porto*. In this place, there's as much Salt made as will ſerve two or three Provinces. 'Tis adorn'd with a pretty Monaſtrey of Nuns, who give proof of their ancient Nobility and Origin from the † *Chriſtiaon Velho*. The Country gives a moſt pleaſant Proſpect for three Leagues to the Eaſtward; that is, to the great *Lisbon* Road, which is Hemm'd in by a ridge of Mountains from *Porto* to *Coimbra*.

† i. e. Ancient Chriſtians, *a great Title of Honour in that Country, by reaſon of its being uncommon.*

The 14*th* I arriv'd at *Coimbra*; and when I talk'd of Seeing the Univerſity, my Sedan-Man told me that this piece of Curioſity would ſtop me for a whole day: So that I can only tell you that this Univerſity you find mention'd in ſome Travels, is render'd Famous by the King of *Portugal*'s

tugal's Efforts, ever ſince his Acceſſion to the Throne, to make all Sciences flouriſh within its Walls. The Town affords nothing that's very remarkable, unleſs it be a double Stone Bridge, one above another, between which one may croſs the River without being ſeen; and two fine Convents, one for Monks, and another for Nuns, lying at the diſtance of fourty or fifty Paces from one another. *Coimbra* bears the Title of a Dutchy, and is Intitled to ſeveral conſiderable Prerogatives. It ſtands ſix Leagues off the Sea, at the Foot of a Steep Hill, upon which you may ſee the Churches and Monaſtries, and two or three fine Houſes. The Biſhoprick of this place which is Suffragran to *Braga*, is one of the beſt Biſhopricks in *Portugal*. The Road from *Coimbra* to *Lisbon* is Pleaſant, and affords a pretty Proſpect; the Country is pretty well Peopled.

I arriv'd at *Lisbon* the *Metropolis* of this Country on the 18*th*, and was not near ſo tyr'd as I was uneaſy in making uſe of that ſlow way of Travelling which can ſuit none but Ladies and old Fellows. I had better have hir'd Mules, for then I might have gone through in five days time, and that for a very ſmall Charge; *viz.* thirteen *Piaſters* for me and my Servant. In the mean time, give me leave to tell you by the bye, that your tender Sparks would never be able to bear the inconveniency of the *Poſada's* (or Inns) upon the Road: They have ſuch ſorry pitiful Accommodation, that the very Deſcription of 'em would be enough to ſeare you from going to *Lisbon*, tho' you had never ſo much buſineſs there. However I was as well ſatisfied, as if they had been the beſt Inns in *France*; for having ſpent the whole courſe of my Life in Scouring the Sea, the Lakes, and the Rivers of *Canada*, and having liv'd for the moſt part upon Roots and Water,

with

with a Bark Tent for my Canopy; I eat heartily of all that they ſet before me. You muſt know, Sir, the Landlord conducts the Paſſengers to a bye-place that looks more like a Dungeon than a Chamber; and there you muſt ſtay with a great deal of patience, till he ſends you ſome Ragou's Seaſon'd with Garlick, Pepper, Chibbols, and a hundred Medicinal Herbs, the ſmell of which would turn an *Iroqueſe*'s Stomach. To compleat the nicety of your Entertainment, you muſt lye down upon Quilts or Mattreſſes ſpread out on Planks, without either Straw or Coverlets; and theſe Mattreſſes are no thicker than this Letter, ſo that 'twould require two or three hundred of 'em to make your Bed ſofter than Stones. 'Tis true, the Landlord finds you as many Quilts as you pleaſe for a Penny a piece, and takes the pains to ſhake 'em down, and beat off the Flea's, Bugs, *&c.* But thank God, I had no occaſion to make uſe of 'em, for I ſtill kept my Hammock, which was eaſily hung up in any place I came to, by two large Iron Hooks. But after all, the account I now give you of the *Portugueſe* Inns, is all a Jeſt in compariſon with the *Spaniſh*, if we may credit Men of Reputation: And *that* I take to be the reaſon that Travellers pay little or nothing for their Fare either in the one or the other.

The next day after my Arrival at *Lisbon*, I waited upon the Abbot *d'Eſtrees*; whom the K. of *Portugal* has a great reſpect for, and who is ſo much eſteem'd by every body, that they juſtly give him the Title of *O Mais Perfeito dos Perfeitos Cavalheiros*, i. e. *The moſt Accompliſh'd of the moſt Accompliſh'd Gentlemen.* His Equipage is Magnificent enough, tho' he has not yet made his publick Entry. His Family is kept in excellent Order; his Houſe is very well Furniſh'd, and his

Table is nice and well ſerv'd. Oftentimes he entertains the Perſons of Note, who would not viſit him, if he did not give 'em the Precedency. This piece of deference would have ſeem'd ridiculous, if the King his Maſter had not order'd it to be ſo in Mr. *D' Opede's* * time: For it looks very odd to ſee the meaneſt Enſign in the Army take the Right hand of an Ambaſſadour, who denys that Precedency to all the Miniſters of the Second Rate. The *Portugueſe* Noblemen and Gentlemen are Men of Honour and Honeſty, but they are ſo full of themſelves that they fancy themſelves the Pureſt and Ancienteſt Stock of Nobility and Gentry in the World. Thoſe of diſtinguiſhing Titles expect your *Excellency* for their Compellation; and they are ſo tender of their Dignity, that they never viſit any one that lodges in a publick Houſe. None but Perſons of an Illuſtrious Birth are dignify'd with the Title of † *Don*; for the moſt honourable Poſts can't Intitle 'em to that Venerable Character; inſomuch that the Secretary of State, who is poſſeſs'd of one of the greateſt Poſts in the Kingdom, do's not pretend to aſſume it.

* *He was formerly Ambaſſadour at this Court.*

† *The Word is exactly of the ſame Importance with* Meſſire, *and with the* Spaniſh, Sire *or* Sieur, *which the* Coblers, *&c. claim as their due.*

The King of *Portugal* is of a large Stature, and well Made; he has a very good Meen, tho' his Complexion is ſomewhat Brown. 'Tis ſaid, he is as conſtant in his Reſolutions, as in his Friendſhip. He is perfectly well acquainted with the State of his Country. He is ſo Liberal and full of Bounty, that he can ſcarce refuſe his Subjects the Favours they ask. The Duke of *Cadaval* his firſt Miniſter and Favourite has potent Enemies; upon

upon the account that he appears more Zealous for his Maſter than the other Courtiers; and at the ſame time, more hearty for the *French* Intereſt.

The Situation and various Proſpects of *Lisbon* would Entitle it to the Character of one of the fineſt Cities in *Europe*, if it were not ſo very naſty. It ſtands upon ſeven Mountains, from whence you have a View of the fineſt Land-Skip in the World, as well as of the Sea, the River *Taio*, and the Forts that guard the Mouth of the River. This Mountainous City puts the People to a great inconvenience, that are forced to walk on foot; but this inconvenience affects Strangers and Travellers moſt, whoſe Curioſity is in ſome meaſure thwarted by the trouble of rambling ſtill upon aſcents and deſcents; for you can't have the accommodation of Hackny-Coaches, that are common elſewhere. Here we meet with Stately and Magnificent Churches; the moſt conſiderable of which are *La Ceu*, *Nostre Dame de Loreto*, *San Vicente*, *San Roch*, *San Pablo*, and *Santo Domingo*. The *Benedictin* Monaſtery of St. *Bento* is the fineſt and beſt Indow'd Monaſtery that the Town affords; But laſt Month part of its fine Fabrick was Burnt down by an unfortunate Fire; and upon that occaſion I ſaw more Silver Plate carried out of it than ſix great Mules could carry.

If the King's Palace were finiſh'd, 'twould be one of the nobleſt Edifices in *Europe*; but the compleating of it would coſt at leaſt two Millions of Crowns. Strangers lodge for the moſt part in the Houſes that Front the *Taio*. I know ſeveral *French* Merchants, ſome Popiſh and ſome Proteſtants, who are very conſiderable Traders in this Country. The Popiſh *French* Merchants are protected by *France*, and the Proteſtants take Shelter under the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*. Here we

reckon almoſt Fifty *Engliſh* Families, and as ma
ny *Dutch*, beſides ſome other Forreigners, wh
do all of 'em get Eſtates in a very little time
by the great vent of the Commodities of th
Country. The *Engliſh Baetas*, or the *Colcheſte*
light Stuffs ſell admirably well in this Place; an
there's great Profit got upon the *French* Linnen
the *Tours* and *Lions* Silk Stuffs, *French* Ribbands
Lace and Iron Ware; which are ballanc'd b
Sugar, Tobacco, Indigo, Cacao Nuts, *&c.*

The *Alfandigua* or Duty of Sugar and Tobacc
is one of the beſt Branches of the Royal Reve
nue, as well as that on Silk, Linnen and Woolle
Cloath, which the Merchants are oblig'd to ge
Stamp'd upon the payment of a certain Duty
proportionable to the value and quality of the
Effects. Your dry'd Cod pays almoſt Thirty
per Cent Cuſtom; ſo that there's ſcarce any thing
got by Importing of them, unleſs it be when
the firſt Ships come in from *Newfoundland*. To-
bacco, whether in Snuſh or in Rolls, is ſold by
Retail at the ſame price as in *France*; for Snuſh
is worth two Crowns a Pound, and the other
Tobacco is ſold for about Fifty Pence. 'Tis
eaſie to evade the Cuſtoms, if one has a right
underſtanding with the Guards, who are a par-
cel of Knaves that the ſound of a Piſtole will
make as flexible as you can wiſh. No Portman-
teau or Cloakbag can be carried into the City
without being ſearch'd by theſe doughty Gen-
tlemen. Galloons, Fringes, Brocado's, and Gold
or Silver Ribbands are Confiſcated as Contre-
band Goods; for no Perſon, of what Station
ſoever, is allow'd to have Silver or Gold Thread
either in his Cloaths or the Furniture of his
Houſe.

All Books, in what Language ſoever, are im-
mediately laid before the Inquiſition, and burnt

if they do not pleaſe the Inquiſitors. This Tribunal, of which a *French* Phyſician gives us a Pathetick Deſcription, from the ſad experiences of the Evils he underwent at *Goa*; this Tribunal, I ſay, which belches out more Fire and Flames than *Mount Gibel*, is ſo hot upon the Point that if this Letter came before 'em, both it and the Author would be in equal danger of being burn'd; and 'tis upon this Conſideration that I take care to hold my Peace, eſpecially ſince the very Grandees of the Kingdom are affraid to ſpeak of this Sanctified Office. Some Days ago I had an Interview with a ſenſible wiſe *Portugueſe*, who after informing me of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the People of *Angola* and *Braſil*, where he had liv'd ſeveral Years, took pleaſure to hear me recount the Faſhions and Humours of the Savages of *Canada*; but when I came to the broiling of the Priſoners of War that fall into the Hands of the *Iroqueſe*, he cry'd out with a furious Accent, That the *Iroqueſe* of *Portugal* were yet more cruel than thoſe of *America*, in burning without Mercy their Relations and Friends, whereas the latter inflicted that Puniſhment only upon the cruel Enemies of their Nation.

In former Times the *Portugueſe* had ſuch a Veneration for the Monks, that they ſcrupl'd to enter into their Wives Chambers, at a time when the good Fathers were exhorting them to ſomething elſe than Repentance; but now a days they are not allow'd ſo much Liberty: And indeed I muſt own, that the greateſt part of 'em live ſuch lewd and irregular Lives, that their extravagant Debauches have ſhock'd me a hundred times. They have Indulgences from the Pope's Nuncio to follow all manner of Libertiniſm; for that Papal Miniſter, whoſe Power is unlimited as to Eccleſiaſticks, gives 'em leave,

notwithſtanding the Remonſtrances of their Superiors, to wear a Hat in the City, (*i. e.* to go about without a Companion) to lie out of the Convent, and even to take a Country Journey now and then. Perhaps they would be wiſer, and their number would be ſmaller, if they were not oblig'd (as well as the Nuns) to make their Vows at 14 Years of Age.

Moſt of the *Portugueſe* Coaches are Chariots Imported from *France*. None but the King and Ambaſſadors are drawn by ſix Horſes or Mules within the City Walls; out of the City, indeed, your Perſons of Quality may have a hundred if they will; but within the Walls they dare not have more than four. The Ladies and the old Gentlemen are carried in Sedans or Chairs, ſo that Chariots are only made uſe of by the younger Noblemen; none are allow'd to make uſe of Coaches and Sedans but the Nobility, Envoys, Reſidents, Conſuls, and Eccleſiaſticks; ſo that the richeſt Citizens and Merchants muſt content themſelves with a ſort of Calaſh with two Wheels, drawn by one H[illegible]ſe, and driven by themſelves. The Mules that carry the Litters or Sedans are larger, finer and not ſo broad Cheſted as thoſe of *Auvergne*. A Brace of 'em, generally ſpeaking, is worth Eight hundred Crowns; nay ſome of 'em will fetch Twelve hundred, eſpecially if they come from the Country of the famous *Don Quixot*, which lies at a great diſtance from *Lisbon*. The Coach Mules come from *Eſtremadura*, and are worth about a hundred Piſtoles a Pair. The Saddle and Carriage Mules, and the *Spaniſh* Horſes, are *Cent per Cent* dearer than in *Caſtile*. When 'tis fair Weather the young Sparks ride up and down the City on Horſe-back, on purpoſe to ſhew themſelves to the Ladies, who like Birds in a Cage have

have no other Privilege than that of viewing through the * Chinks of Jealouſie the Creatures whoſe Company they wiſh for in their Priſons. The Monks who are provided for by Indowments make no Viſits on Foot, for their Convent keeps a certain number of Saddle Mules, which they make uſe of by turns: And 'tis wonderful Comical to ſee the good Fathers patrol and wheel about the Streets with great long crown'd Hats like Sugar-loafs, aud Spectacles that cover three fourths of their Face.

* *Windows with Grates, the Intervals of which are no larger than one's little Finger.*

Tho' *Lisbon* is a very large City, and a place of great Trade, yet there's but two good *French* Inns or Ordinaries in the whole Town, where one may eat tolerably well for five and thirty *Sous* a Meal. Queſtionleſs the number of good Ordinaries would be enlarg'd in courſe, if the *Portugueſe* took pleaſure in Eating and Drinking; for then they would not contemn thoſe who are ſollicitous to find out good Cheer. They are not contented with diſdaining the Trade of an Innkeeper; but the very name of a Publick Houſe is ſo odious to them, that they ſcorn to viſit any Gentleman that Lodges in thoſe charming Quarters. For this reaſon, Sir, you would do well to adviſe any Friend of yours, that has the Curioſity to Travel into *Portugal*, and means to make any ſtay in this Town, to go into a Penſion at ſome *French* Merchants Houſe. One may feed very well in this Town, only 'tis ſomewhat dear. The *Alemteio* Poultry, the St. *Ubal* Hares and Partridges, and the *Algarva* Butchers Meat eat admirably well. The *Lamego* Bacon and Hams are nicer Food than thoſe of *Mayence* and *Bayonne*; and yet that ſort of Meat ſits ſo uneaſie upon the Stomach of a *Portugueſe*, that,

if 'twere not for the Conſumption in the Monks and Inquiſitors Houſe, there would ſcarce be any Hogs in all *Portugal*. The *Portugueſe* Wines are ſtrong and have a good Body, eſpecially the Red Wines which run very near to a Black Colour. The *Aleguete* and *Barra a Barra* Wines are the fineſt and thoſe of the thineſt Body.

The King never taſts Wine, and the Perſons of Quality drink of it but very ſeldom, no more than the Women. To fathom the reaſon of this Abſtinence we muſt conſider that *Venus* has ſuch an Intereſt in *Portugal*, that the Face of her Charms hath always kept *Bacchus* from any Footing in this Country. Here that Goddeſs cauſes ſo much Idolatry, that ſhe ſeems to diſpute with the true God for a right to the Worſhip and Adoration of the *Portugueſe*, and that in the moſt Sacred Places; for the Churches and Proceſſions make the common *Randezvous* where the Amorous Aſſignments are made. 'Tis there that the * *Bandarro's*, the Ladies of Pleaſure and the Women of Intrigue, take their Poſts; for they never fail to aſſiſt at the Feſtivals that are Celebrated at leaſt three or four times a Week, ſometimes in one Church and ſometimes in another. The ſwaggering Adventurers have a wonderful Talent of diſcovering their Amorous Deſires with one glance of the Eye to the Ladies who return 'em an Anſwer by the ſame Signal; and this they call *Correſponding*. This done, they have nothing to do but to find out their Houſes, by following 'em Foot for Foot from the Church Door to their reſpective Apartments. The concluſion of the Intrigue lies in marching ſtraight on to the corner of the Street without looking about for

* *A ſort of Braggadocio Bully's, of Don Quixot's Temper, who have no other Employment than that of hunting after Adventures.*

for fear the Husband or Rivals ſhould ſmell a Rat. At the end of the Street they have ſo much occaſion for a large ſtock of Patience that they muſt ſtand there two or three hours till a Servant Maid comes, whom they muſt follow till ſhe finds a handſome opportunity of delivering her † *Recado* ſafely. The Adventurers muſt truſt theſe goodly Confidents, and ſometimes run the riſque of their Lives upon their Word and Directions; for they are as cunning as they are true to their Miſtreſſes, from whom they receive Preſents as well as from the Suitors, and ſometimes from the Husbands.

† i. e. *A Meſſage or a watch Word in order to an Interview.*

In former times the *Portugueſe* Women cover'd their Faces with their ‖ *Manto's*, and expos'd nothing to view but one Eye, as the *Spaniſh* Women do to this Day; but as ſoon as they perceiv'd that the Sea Towns were repleniſh'd with as fair Children as any are in *France* or *England*, the poor *Manto's* were diſcarded, and forbid to approach the Face of a Lady. The *Portugueſe* have ſuch an Antipathy and Horror for *Acteon's* Arms, that they had rather cut their own Fingers than take Tobacco out of an Horn-Box; tho' after all the Horn Commodity begins to take here, notwithſtanding the repeated Diſcouragements of Poyſon and the Sword. Almoſt every Month brings us freſh Inſtances of ſome Tragical Adventure of that Nature, eſpecially when the *Angola* or *Braſil* Fleets are juſt come in; for the greateſt part of the Seamen that go upon theſe Voyages are ſo unfortunate, that when they return home they find their Wives lock'd up in

‖ *Veils of Taffita which cover'd both the Face and the Body, and at the ſame time cloak'd their Intrigues.*

Monaſteries

Monaſteries inſtead of their own Houſes. The reaſon of their voluntary Confinement is this; that they chooſe thus to expiate and attone for the Sins they committed in their Husbands abſence, rather than be ſtabb'd at their return. Upon this ſcore we ought not to Cenſure thoſe who repreſented the Ocean with a Bull's Horns, for in good earneſt almoſt all that expoſe themſelves to the brunts of the Sea make much ſuch another Figure. In fine, Gallantry in the way of Amours is too tickliſh a Trade in this Place, for it runs a Man in danger of his Life. Here we find plenty of Whores, whoſe Company ought by all means to be avoided; for beſides the danger of ruining one's Health, a Man runs the riſque of being knock'd on the Head if he frequents their Company. The handſomeſt Whores are commonly *Amezada'd* or hir'd by the Month by ſome *kind Keepers*, that have a watchful Eye over 'em; but notwithſtanding all the Keepers Precaution, they enjoy the Diverſion of ſome wiſe Companions at the expence of ſuch Fools. The Fools I now ſpeak of lye under an indiſpenſible Neceſſity of keeping up and feeding with Preſents the pretended Love and Fidelity of the ſaid *Lais's*, the Enjoyment of whom is unconceivably Chargeable. The Nuns receive frequent Viſits from their *Devoto's*, who have a warmer Paſſion for them than for the Women of this World, as it appears from the Jealouſies, Quarrels, and a Thouſand other Diſorders that ariſe among the Rivals upon the ſcore of Intrigue. Formerly the Parlours of the Monaſteries were guarded only with a ſingle Grate, but ſince my Lord *Graſton* and ſome of the Captains of his Squadron had the Curioſity to touch the Hands, *&c.* of the Nuns of *Odiveta*; the King ordered all the Convents in the Kingdom to have

have double Grates upon their Parlours. At the same time he almost stiffled the Pretention of the *Devoto's*, by prohibiting any one to approach to a Convent without a lawful Occasion, tho' to frame an occasion is easie to one that has the folly to be in Love with these poor Girls.

The *Portuguese* are a People of a quick Apprehension; they think freely, and their Expressions come up to the justness of their Thoughts: They have able Physicians and learned Casuists among 'em. The Celebrated *Camoens* was without dispute one of the most Illustrious Citizens of *Parnassus*. The teeming variety of his excellent Thoughts, his choice of Words, and the politeness and easie freedom of his Stile, charm'd all who were sufficiently acquainted with the *Portuguese* Language. 'Tis true he had the Misfortune of being rally'd upon by *Moreri*, and by some *Spanish* Authors; who, when they could not avoid owning, that 'tis impossible to surpass the Genius of this unfortunate Poet, blacken'd his Character with the imputation of Infidelity and Profanity. A *Catalan* Monk falls foul upon a hundred Places of his *Luziadas Endechas Estrivillas*. &c. and brands him for an Impious Rattle-brain'd Fellow. To quote two Places that he Censures; the first is the Cadence of a Sonnet entituled *Soneto Nuo Impresso*; where after some Reflections the Poet says, *Mais O Melhor de tudo e crer en Christo*; i. e. *After all, the surest way is to believe in Christ.* The Second is the Conclusion of a *Gloza*, viz. *Si Dens se Busca no Mundo nesses ollos se achara.* That is to say, in speaking to a Lady, *If we look for God in this World we'll find him in your Eyes.*

The *Portuguese* Pulpit-men cry up their Saints almost above God himself; and to exaggerate their Sufferings lodge 'em in Stables rather than

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in Paradiſe. They conclude their Sermons with ſuch Pathetick Cries and Exclamations, that the Women ſigh and cry as if they were in deſpair. In this Country the Title of a Heretick is accounted highly infamous; and indeed it bears a very odious Signification. The Prieſts and Friars hate *Calvin* for Curtailing the buſineſs of Confeſſion, as much as the Nuns eſteem *Shuter* for his Monaſtical Marriage. In the City they make Proceſſions from one end of the Town to the other, every *Friday* in *Lent*. I have ſeen above a hundred diſcipline themſelves in the Streets, in an odd manner. They were clad in White, with their Face cover'd and their Back naked; which they laſh ſo handſomely, that the Blood ſpurts in the Face of the Women who are ſet upon the ſides of the Streets, on purpoſe to ridicule and vilify the leaſt Bloody. Theſe were follow'd by others in Masks, who carried Croſſes, Chains, and bundles of Swords of an incredible weight.

The Foreigners of this place are almoſt as Jealous as the *Portugueſe*; inſomuch that their Wives are afraid to ſhew themſelves to their Husband's beſt Friends. They affect the *Portugueſe* Severity with ſo much exactneſs, that theſe poor Captives dare not lift up their Eyes in the Preſence of a Man. But notwithſtanding all their precaution, they ſometimes meet with the Miſchief that they take ſuch care to avoid. The City is Peopled with perſons of all Colours, ſome Black, ſome Mulatto's, ſome Swarthy, and ſome of an Olive Complexion: But the Greateſt part are *Trigenho*'s, i. e. of the Colour of Corn. The medley of ſo many different hues, do's ſo mingle the Blood of the Nation, that the true Whites make but a very ſcanty number; and 'tis for this reaſon, that if one were to ſay in *Portugueſe*, *I am a Man* (*or*

a

a Woman) *of Honour*; the nobleſt expreſſion he can find, is, *Eu ſou Branco*, or *Branca*, i. e. *I am a White.*

You may walk up and down *Lisbon* night and day without fearing Pickpockets. Till three or four a Clock in the Morning, you have Muſicians that play in the Streets on *Guitars*, and joyn to the Sweetneſs of that Inſtrument, the moſt moanful Songs that can be imagin'd. The way of Dancing among the ordinary ſort of People is very indecent, by reaſon of the impertinent Motions of their Head and Belly. The Inſtrumental Muſick of the *Portugueſe* is diſagreeable at firſt to the Ears of a Foreigner; but at the bottom it has ſomewhat in it that's ſweet, and pleaſes, when one is accuſtom'd to it. Their Vocal Muſick is ſo coarſe, and its diſcordant Notes are ſo unhappily link'd together; that the chattering of a Crow is more Melodious. Their Church Muſical Compoſures are all in the *Caſtilian* Language, as well as their Paſtorals and moſt of their Songs. They endeavour to imitate the *Spaniſh* Cuſtoms as much as poſſible; nay, they are ſo nice in obſerving the Ceremonies of the *Spaniſh* Court, that the *Portugueſe* Miniſters would be very much diſoblig'd if the leaſt Formality were lop'd off. The King and the Grandees wear much ſuch another Habit as our Financiers or Receivers of the Royal Revenue. They have a cloſe Coat with a Cloak of the ſame colour; a great Band of *Venice* Point, with a long Perriwig, a Sword, and a Dagger. They give the Title of *Excellentia* to Ambaſſadours, and that of *Senboria* to Envoys and Reſidents.

The Port of *Lisbon* is large, ſafe and convenient; tho' the Entry is very difficult. The Ships Ride at Anchor between the City and the Caſtle of *Almada*, at eighteen Fathom Water on a good

ſtrong

ſtrong Ground. The *Lisbon* River is call'd by the *Portugueſe*, *O Rey dos Rios*, i. e. *The King of Rivers*. 'Tis almoſt a League broad where the Ships Ride; at which place the Tide riſes twelve foot perpendicular, and runs above ten Leagues farther up towards its ſource. All Captains of Ships, whether Men of War or Merchant Men, Foreigners or Natives, are expreſsly prohibited to Salute the City with a Diſcharge of Cannon, or fire a Ship Gun before it, upon any pretence whatſoever. The Conſuls of *France*, *England* and *Holland*, have five or ſix thouſand Livres a piece allow'd 'em yearly; beſides which, they make a ſhift to get as much more by Trading.

This, Sir, is all the account I can give you at preſent of this charming Country; which to my mind would be a Paradiſe upon Earth, if 'twere Inhabited by Peaſants that had leſs of the Gentleman in their Conduct. The Climate is admirably ſweet and agreeable; the Air is clear and ſerene, the Water of the Country is wonderful good, and the Winter is ſo mild that I have felt no cold as yet. In this Country, the People may live for an Age without any inconveniency from advancing Years. The old Perſons are not loaded with the Infirmities that plague thoſe of other Countries; their Appetite do's not fail 'em, and their Blood is not ſo deſpirited, but that their Wives can vouch for their perfect health. Ardent Fevers make a terrible Havock in *Portugal*, and the Venereal Diſorders are ſo civil, that no body troubles his head for a cure. The *Pox*, which is very frequent in the Country, gives ſo little uneaſyneſs, that the very Phyſicians who have it, are loth to carry it off, for fear of going to the charge of repeated Cures. The Juſtices and Peace-Officers are ſawcy and unſufferably ar-

arrogant, as being authoris'd by a King that obſerves the Laws with the utmoſt Severity; for this incourages 'em to pick quarrels with the People, from whom they frequently receive very cruel Reprimands. Some time ago, the *Count de Prado* Son in Law to the Mareſhal *de Villeroy*, took the pains to ſend into the other World an inſolent * *Corrigidor*, that would willingly have diſpenſed with the Voyaye. While that Gentleman was Riding in Coach with his Couſin, at the corner of a Street he met the *Corrigidor*, who was Mounted like a St. *George*, and to his Misfortune ſo proud of his Office, that he did not daign to give the two Gentlemen a Salute. I've acquainted you already that the *Portugueſe* Gentlemen are the vaineſt Men in the World; and upon that ſcore, you will not think it ſtrange that theſe two Gentlemen alighted from the Coach, and made the *Corrigidor* ſpring from his Horſe and Jump into the other World. A *French Man* will be ready to ſay that the Intendant's Indiſcretion did not deſerve ſuch rude uſage; but the *Portugueſe* Perſons of Quality that cover their Heads in the preſence of their King, will be of another mind. However, the two Chavalier's took Shelter in the Houſe of the Abbot *d' Eſtrees*, who ſent 'em to *France* in a *Breſt* Frigot.

* i. e. *An Intendant and Civil Judge.*

It now remains to give you a Liſt of the King of *Portugal*'s Standing Forces. He has eighteen thouſand Foot, eight thouſand Horſe, and twenty two Men of War; namely,

4 Ships from 60 to 70 Guns.
6 Ships from 50 to 60 Guns.
6 Ships from 40 to 50 Guns.
6 Frigats from 30 to 40 Guns.

You muſt know that the King's Ships are light Timber'd, well Built and handſomely Model'd; their Caulking, Iron Work and Roundings is all very neat. Their Arſenals and Naval Stores are in great diſorder, and good Sailors are as ſcarce in *Portugal* as good Sea Officers; for the Government has neglected the Forming of Marine Nurſeries and Navigation Schools, and a thouſand other neceſſary things; the diſcuſſion of which would lead me too far out of my way. The *Portugueſe* are charg'd with being ſomewhat dull and ſlow in Working their Ships, and leſs brave by Sea than by Land.

The Captains of the King's Ships have commonly twenty two *Patacas* a Month; and a free Table while they are at Sea; beſides ſome Perquiſites.

A Lieutenant's Pay is ſixteen *Patacas* a Month.

An Enſign of Marines has ten *Patacas* a Month.

An Able Sailor has four *Patacas* a Month.

A Captain of a Company of Foot has about five and twenty *Patacas* a Month, in Pay and Perquiſites both in Peace and War.

The *Aluſieres*, who are a ſort of Lieutenants, have eight *Patacas*.

A Common Soldier's Pay is about two pence half-penny a day of our Mony.

A Captain of Horſe has in Pay and Perquiſites, in time of Peace, about a hundred *Pataca's* a Month.

A Lieutenant of Horſe has near thirty *Pataca's* a Month.

A Quartermaſter fifteen *Pataca's* a Month.

A Trooper four *Sous* a day, and his Forrage.

As for the General Land and Sea Officers, 'tis hard to tell exactly what their Incomes amount to: For the King grants Penſions to ſome, and Commandries to others, as he ſees occaſion. The

Collo-

Collonels, Lieutenant-Collonels and Majors of Foot, as well as the Maitres de Camp and the Commiſſarys, have no fix'd Allowance: For ſome have more and ſome leſs, in proportion to the advantage of the Place where their Troops are Quarter'd, and the number of their Men.

The *Portugueſe* Troops are ill Diſciplin'd. Neither Horſe nor Foot are Cloath'd after the ſame manner; for ſome have a Brown Livery, ſome Red, ſome Black, ſome Blew, ſome Green, *&c.* Their Arms are very good; and the Officers do not mind their brightneſs, provided they are in a good Condition. One would ſcarce believe that theſe are the Troops that did ſuch mighty Feats againſt the *Spaniards* in the laſt Wars. In all appearance they were better Diſciplin'd in thoſe days than they are now, and were not ſo much taken up with their *Guitars*.

To ſhew you the Species and Value of the Mony that's Current in this Country:

A *Spaniſh Piaſtre* or piece of Eight, which the *Portugueſe* call a *Pataca*, is worth a *French* Crown; and contains 750 *Reys*.

The half pieces and quarter pieces are of a proportionable Value.

A *Rey* is a *Denier*, as I intimated above.

The loweſt Silver Coin they have is a *Vintain* or twenty penny piece, being 20 *Reys*.

A *Teſtoon* is worth 5 *Vintaines*.

A *Demi-Teſtoon* goes in a half proportion.

An old *Cruzada* is near 4 *Teſtoons*.

The *Mæda d' ouro*, a Gold Coin, is worth 6 *Pataca*'s and 3 *Teſtoons*.

The half and quarter *Mæda's* have a proportionable Value.

A *Lewis d'or*, whether Old or New, goes for four *Piaſtres* wanting two *Teſtoons*.

The half and quarter *Piſtoles* go upon the ſame proportion.

A *Spaniſh Piſtole*, full Weight, goes at the ſame rate for 4 *Piaſtres*, wanting two *Teſtoons*; ſo that there's Mony got by ſending 'em to *Spain*, where they're worth 4 *Piaſtres* neat.

No Species of Mony bears the King of *Portugal*'s Effigies; and there's no diſtinction made in *Portugal*, between the *Seville Piaſtres* and thoſe of *Mexico*, or of *Peru*, as they do elſewhere.

No *French* Coin paſſes in this Country, excepting Crowns, half Crowns and quarter Crowns.

The *Portugueſe* 128 *pound* is equal to the *Paris* 100 Weight. Their *Calido* is a Meaſure that exceeds the *Paris* half Ell by three inches and a line; ſo that its juſt extent is two *French* foot, one inch and one line. Their *Bara* is another Meaſure, ſix of which makes ten *Calido's*. The *Portugueſe* League is 4200 Geometrical Paces, allowing five Foot to every Pace.

As for the Intereſt of the *Portugueſe* Court, I wave it on purpoſe becauſe I have no mind to enter into Politicks. Beſides, I have already acquainted you that I pretend to Write nothing elſe but ſuch trifles as have not been yet took notice of in Print. If it were not that I had laid my ſelf under that Reſtriction, I could ſend you a circumſtantial account of their different Tribunals or Courts of Juſtice, and ſome Scraps of their Laws: I could give you to underſtand that the Parliament and Arch-Biſhoprick of *Lisbon*, make one of the greateſt Ornaments of this *Metropolis*; that the Eccleſiaſtical Benefices are extream large; that there are no Commendatory Abbeys in the Country, that the Friars are neither ſo well indow'd nor ſo well entertain'd as one might expect. I could inform you that the King's Royal Order is call'd *L'habito de Criſto*. If

Madam

Madam *d'Aunoy* had not taught you so much in Describing the admirable Institution of that Order; and therefore shall content my self in adding that the number of the Knights Companions of this Order runs far beyond that of its Commandries, which are worth very little. Here I must make a halt and take leave of this Royal City, which 'tis possible I may see once more hereafter. I set out immediately for the Northern Kingdoms of *Europe*; waiting patiently till it pleases God that Monsieur *Ponchartrain* should either remove to Paradise, or do Justice to him who shall always be yours more than his own.

Your Humble, &c.

LETTER II.

Dated at *Travemunde*, 1694.

Containing an Account of the Author's Voyage from *Lisbon* to *Garnsey*; his Adventure with an *English* Man of War and a Privateer: A Description of *Rotterdam* and *Amsterdam*; the Author's Voyage to *Hamburg*; the Dimensions of a *Flemish* Sloop; a Description of the City of *Hamburg*; the Author's Journy from thence to *Lubeck*; and a Description of that City.

I Set out from *Lisbon* on the 4*th* of *April*, having bargain'd with a Master of a Ship to Land me at *Amsterdam* for thirty *Piastres*. At the same

ſame time, I had the precaution of taking a Paſs from the *Dutch* Reſident, for fear of being ſtop'd in that Country. I went in a Boat to a place call'd *Belin*, which lies about two Leagues below *Lisbon*. At this little Town all the Merchant Ships that go and come, are oblig'd to ſhew their Cockets, *Invoice*, and Bills of Lading, and to pay the Duty for their Cargo. The 6*th* we got out of the *Taio*, and follow'd the Rake of a Fleet Bound for the *Baltick* Sea, and Convoy'd by a *Swediſh* Man of War of 60 Guns, Commanded by a *Lubecker* whoſe Name was *Crenger*; and whom the King of *Sweden* had preſer'd to a Noble Dignity, notwithſtanding that Originally he had been a Common Sailor. We croſs'd the *Barr* by the way of the Great Channel or Paſs, between Fort *Bougio*, and the *Cachopas*; the laſt being a great Bank of Sand and Rocks, extending to three quarters of a League in length, and half a League in breadth, which Ships are apt to fall foul of in a Calm, by reaſon of the Tides that bear that way. You muſt know that if we had had Pilots that knew the Coaſt, we would have paſs'd between that Bank and the Fort of St. *Julian*, which lies to the North or the *Lisbon* ſide, oppoſite to *Bougio*; but we had no occaſion to employ 'em, ſince our *Portugueſe* Captain took the opportunity of following the run of the *Baltick* Fleet. As ſoon as we came into the Main, and fell into the middle of that North Country Fleet, the Britiſh *Commodore* made down upon us with all Sails aloft, and fir'd a Cannon with Ball in Head of our Ship; after which he ſent out his Lieutenant to acquaint our poor Maſter, that it behov'd him to pay two *Piſtoles* immediately for the Shot, and to Sheer off from his Fleet, unleſs he had a mind to pay a hundred *Piaſtres* for his Convoy, which the Maſter of our Veſſel refus'd very Gracefully.

But

But to drop this Subject; I muſt acquaint you that the *Barr* of *Lisbon* is inacceſſible while the Wind blows hard from the Weſt and South-Weſt; which commonly happens in Winter. Add to this, that for eight Months of the Year the North and North-Eaſt Winds prevail, and that moderately: By which means it came about, that our Paſſage from the Mouth of the *Taio* to Cape *Finiſterre* was longer than an ordinary Voyage from the Iſle of *Newfound-Land* to *France*. I never ſaw ſuch conſtant Winds as theſe; however we got clear of 'em, by Traverſing and Sweeping along the Coaſt, which our *Portugueſe* Captain durſt not leave for fear of the Sally-Rovers, whom they dread more than Hell it ſelf. At laſt, after 18 or 20 days Sailing, we Weather'd Cape *Finiſterre*; and then the Wind Veering to the South-Weſt, we made ſuch way that in ten or twelve days we came in ſight of the Iſle of *Guernſey*. I muſt ſay, that if it had not been for a *French* Pilot that conn'd the Ship, we had frequently fallen Foul on the Coaſt of the *Britiſh* Channel: For you muſt know, the *Portugueſe* have but little acquaintance with the Northern Seas, and the Lands that jut out into 'em; and for that reaſon are oblig'd to make uſe of Foreign Pilots when they are Bound for *England* or *Holland*. The ſame day that we deſcry'd *Guernſey*, two great *Engliſh* Ships gave us Chaſe with full Sail, and in three or four hours came up with us: One of 'em was a King's Ship of ſixty Guns; and the other was a Privateer of fourty Guns, Commanded by one *Cowper*, who was naturally very well calculated for a Pickpocket, as you'll ſee in the Sequel. As ſoon as they came up with us, we were forc'd to ſtrike and put out our Long Boat, into which I went in order to ſhew the Captain, whoſe name was *Townſend*, the Paſs I had receiv'd from the

Dutch Reſident at *Lisbon*. This Captain treated me with all poſſible Civility, in ſo much that he aſſur'd me all my Baggage ſhould be ſecur'd from the Rapine of Captain *Cowper*, who purſuant to the Principles of his profeſſion, pretended to Pillage me with as little Scruple as Mercy. However, our Ship could not be Search'd till we got into *Guernſey* Road, and for that reaſon we were carry'd thither the ſame day; and after dropping Anchor the two *Engliſh* Captains went a Shoar, and ſent two Searchers on Board of us, to try if they could prove that the Wine and Brandy with which our Ship was Fraughted, was of the growth of *France* or Exported by Commiſſion from *French* Merchants; which they could not poſſibly make out, notwithſtanding that they ſpent fifteen days in ſearching and rummaging, as I heard afterwards at *Lubec*. This troubleſome Accident oblig'd me in five or ſix days after, to Imbarque in a *Dutch* Frigat of * *Cirezee*; having firſt preſented Captain *Townſend* with ſome Casks of *Allegrete* Wine, a Cheſt of Oranges, and ſome Diſhes Carv'd at † *Eſtremos*; and that in acknowledgment of the kind Uſage and good Entertainment that he gave me both a Shoar, and on Board of his Ship.

* *A Place in* Holland.

† *A* Portugueſe City *that ſtands almoſt on the Frontiers towards* Extremadura.

My Second Voyage prov'd more favourable than the former; for in three days Sailing I arriv'd at *Cirezee*; at which place I went on Board of a Paſſage Smack, which ſteer'd between the Iſlands, and by vertue of the Winds and Tydes waſted me to *Rotterdam*.

Rotterdam is a very large fine City, and a place of very great Trade. Here I had the Pleaſure of viewing in two days time, the *Maes* College, the Arſe-

Arſenal for Naval Stores, and the great Tower, which by the induſtry of a Carpenter was Reinſtated in its perpendicular Poſture, at a time when it bended and ſhelv'd in ſuch a monſtrous manner, as to threaten the City with the Load of its Ruines. I had likewiſe the Satisfaction of ſeeing the Houſe of the Famous *Eraſmus*, as well as the Beauty of the Port or the *Maes*, the Mouth of which is very dangerous, by reaſon of ſome Shelves and Banks of Sand that ſhoot out a pretty way into the Sea. The Trade of *Rotterdam* is very conſiderable, and the Merchants of that place enjoy the conveniency of bringing their Ships up to the Doors of their Ware-Houſes, by the help of the Canals or Ditches, that interſect this great City. Two days after my Arrival, I Imbarqu'd at five a Clock in the Morning in a Travelling Boat or *Tract Scuyt* for *Amſterdam*. This ſort of Boats is cover'd with Ribs, being flat, long and broad; and has a Bench or Form on each ſide, that reaches from the Prow to the Poop. In this Conveniency, which one Horſe will draw, we travel a League an hour, for three *Sous* and a half *per* League. In all the Principal Cities of *Holland* the *Scuyts* ſet out every hour, whether full or empty: But you muſt know that you frequently ſhift Boats, and for that end muſt walk on foot thro' ſeveral Cities. In this ſmall Voyage I walk'd thro' *Delft*, *Leyden* and *Harlem*, which appear'd to be large, neat and fine Cities. After I had Travel'd in theſe Boats twelve Leagues upon Ditches lin'd with Trees, Meads, Gardens, and moſt pleaſant Houſes, I arriv'd at *Amſterdam* in the Evening.

When I came to my Inn, my Landlord order'd me a Guide, who in ſeven or eight days time ſhew'd me all the Curioſities of this Flouriſhing City; but I could have done it in three

or four days, if the City had afforded the Conveniency of Hackney-Coaches, ſuch as they have at *Paris* and other Places. The City is large, neat and fine; moſt of its Canals or *Graft* are deck'd with very pretty Houſes: But the Water Stagnating in theſe large Ciſterns ſmells very ſtrong in Hot Weather. The Edifices are for the moſt part Uniform, and the Streets are drawn as if 'twere by a Line. The *Guild-Hall* or *Stadt-Houſe* ſtands upon Wooden Piles or Stakes; tho' that vaſt Maſs of Stone is extream heavy. This Noble Edifice is inrich'd with ſeveral fine Pieces of Sculpture and Painting, and adorn'd with rich Tapeſtry. Here you may ſee the fineſt Marble, Jaſper and Porphyry that can be: But this is nothing in Compariſon with the Mouldy Crowns that are hoarded up under the Vaults of this monſtrous Edifice. The Admiralty-Houſe is likewiſe very fine, as well as the Arſenal. The Port which is little leſs than a large quarter of a League in Front, was covered all over with Ships, in ſo much that one might eaſily Jump from one to another.

In this City I ſaw ſome neat Churches, not to ſpeak of a Synagogue of the true Jews, who out of regard to their Antiquity are allow'd the publick Exerciſe of their Venerable Religion. The *Roman Catholicks*, *Lutherans*, &c. are tolerated to Worſhip God in their way, without laying the Doors of their Meeting-Houſes open, or ringing Bells or Chimes. I was likewiſe entertain'd with a Sight of the Houſes for Widows and Orphans, and their Bridewells whether for the Puniſhment of Rogues, or of Female Sinners, who are forc'd to Work very hard to expiate their Peccadillo's. The Exchange is a piece of Architecture, large enough to contain eight thouſand Men: But the Stateliеſt thing I ſaw was

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ten or twelve *Muſick-Houſes*, ſo call'd from certain Muſical Inſtruments ſorrily Scrap'd upon, by the Sound of which a Gang of naſty Punks inſnare ſuch as have the courage to look upon 'em without Spitting in their Faces. This gracious Tribe aſſembles in the *Seraglio* as ſoon as Night approaches. In ſome of theſe *Muſick-Houſes* you are entertain'd with the Sound of an *Organ*; in others with a *Harpſicord* or ſome other lame Inſtrument. You enter into a large Room where the frightful Veſtal Ladies ſit, rigg'd with all ſorts of Colours and Stuffs, by the kind aſſiſtance of the Jews who let out the Head-Dreſſes and Suits of Cloaths, that have been kept for that uſe, from Father to Son, ever ſince the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. In theſe *Seraglio's* every body's Welcome for the Spending of ten or twelve *Stivers*, which he muſt lay down at his firſt entry, for a Glaſs of Wine that's enough to Poiſon an Elephant. Here you'll ſee a Swinging Raw-Bon'd Sailor pop in with his Pipe in his Jaws, his Hair all glittering with Sweat, and his Tar Breeches Glew'd to his Thighs; in which Pickle he makes SS's till he falls flat at his Miſtriſſes Feet. Next comes a Foot-Man half Muddled, that Sings and Dances, and Swills down Brandy to make himſelf Sober. After him the Stage is Trod by a Soldier that Swaggers and Storms, and makes the whole Palace tremble; or elſe by a Company of Adventurers muffled up in their Cloaks, who come to play the Devil with three or four Rogues, and get themſelves knock'd on the Head by fifty that out-do Aſſes in Brutiſhneſs. In fine, Sir, the whole *Chorus* is a Collection of naſty Miſcreants, who in ſpite of the unſufferable Funk of Tobacco and Smell of naſty Feet, continue in that Common Shore of Ordure and Nuſance till two a Clock in the Morning, without ever diſobliging their Stomachs.

machs. This Sir, is the whole of what I know in the matter.

As I pass'd thro' this famous City, I met with some *French* Merchants of the *Catholick Religion*, the most considerable of which are the Sieurs *d' Moracin*, and *d' Arreche*; both *Bayonne* Men, and persons of Merit and Probity, who have already purchas'd a great Estate, and a very reputable Character. I was inform'd that there were a great many *French* Refugees in this City, who have set up Manufactures that inrich'd some and ruin'd others. This is to me a convincing Proof that the Refugee Trade has been favourable to some and fatal to others; nay, 'tis really true, that some Refugees who brought Mony into *Holland* are now in want, and others who had not a Groat in *France*, are become *Cræsus*'s in that Republick.

There's no Country in the World in which good Inns are so chargeable, as they are in *Holland*. There you must pay for Bed and Fire, in proportion to your Meals, which cost you half a *Ducatoon*, or two and nine pence a time: So that a Gentleman and his Servant must lie at the Charge of eight *French Livres* a day, for Supper, Dinner, Bed and Fire.

As for the *Dutch* Mony, the Value of it is as follows.

A *Ducatoon* is worth three *Guelders*, three *Stuivers*.

A *Rix Dollar* passes for fifty *Stuivers*.

A *Crown* for 40 *Stuivers*.

A *Dollar* for 30 *Stuivers*.

An eight and twenty *Stuck* or Piece, 28 *Stuivers*.

A *Guelder* piece 20 *Stuivers*.

A Stamp'd *Schelling* 6 *Stuivers*.

An Unstamp'd *Schelling*, 5 *Stuivers* 4 *Doits*.

A

A *Dubbelkie* 2 *Stuivers.*

A *Stuiver* 8 *Doits*; which makes a *French Sol* and a *Liard*; for five *French Sous* make but four *Dutch Stuivers*; and a *French* Crown of 60 *Sous* value is no more than 48 *Stuivers.*

A Gold *Ducat* is worth 5 *Guelders* 5 *Stuivers.*

A *Lowis D'or* paſſes for 9 *Guelders* 9 *Stuivers.*

As for the Meaſures of *Holland*, I can tell you with reference to ſome, that a League is near 3800 Geometrical Paces.

An Ell is a *French* Foot ten Inches and a Line.

A Pound is equal to our *Paris* Pound.

A Pint holds much the ſame quantity of Liquor with a *Paris* Chopine.

This is all the account I can give you of *Holland.*

When I ſet out from *Amſterdam* to *Hamburg*, I choſe the eaſyeſt and cheapeſt way of Travelling, (I mean by Water.) I had reſolv'd indeed to Travel by Poſt Waggons or Coaches; but that reſolution was preſently drop'd, when I was adviſ'd that in Travelling by Land, I might run the riſque of being ſtop'd in the Territories of ſome of the *German* Princes, who require Paſſports of all Travellers. This wholeſome Advice ſpar'd both my Corps and my Purſe: For to have gone Poſt, it would have coſt me for my ſelf and my Servant fourty Crowns, whereas it coſt me but five by Water. There goes two *Dutch* Sloops from *Amſterdam* to *Hamburg* every Week, on purpoſe to carry Paſſengers, who may hire little ſeperate Cabins, ſuch being made in the Ship for the Accommodation of thoſe who have a mind to be private. Theſe Sloops would be admirably well Calculated for Sailing up the South ſide of the River of St. *Laurence*, from its Mouth to *Quebec*; and above all, from *Quebec* to *Monreal.* They are preferable to our Barques for that Ser-

vice;

vice; which I'll make out by five or six Reasons. In the first place, they do not draw half so much Water as our Barks of the same Burden. In the next place, they'll tack to the four Quarters of the Wind; they require less Rigging and a smaller compliment of Hands than our Barques, and are Work'd with less Charge; they'll turn their Head where their Stern was before in the twinkling of an Eye, whereas our Barques can't get about under five or six Minutes, and sometimes will not tack atall; they may rub upon Sand or Gravel without danger, as being Built of half flat Ribs, whereas our Barks being round, would split in pieces upon the least touch. Such, Sir, are the Advantages of these *Flemish* Vessels beyond ours; and so you may safely Write to the *Rochel* Merchants who Trade to *Canada*, that they would find 'em very serviceable in that Country; At the same time, you may oblige 'em with the following dimensions of that sort of Shipping, which I took from the Vessel I was on Board of, that was one of the least Size. It was fourty two Foot long from the Stern-post to the Head; the Hold was about eight Foot broad and about five Foot deep: The Cabin in the Fore-Castle was six Foot long, and had a Chimney with a Funnel and Vent at the bottom of the Cape-Stane. The Cabin Abast was of the same length, and its Deck was rais'd three Foot higher than the Fore-Castle. The Helm of the frightful Rudder run along the Roof of the last Cabin. The Ribs of this little Vessel, were, in good earnest, as flat as the Boats in the *Seine*. The Side was about a Foot and a half high; the Mast was 16 Inches diameter, and 30 Foot high; the Sail resembled a Rectangle Triangle in its Form. The Vessel was provided with lee-boards, or a sort of Wings which the Carpenters know

know very well how to uſe. In fine, to inform your ſelf more particularly of the matter, you may Write to *Holland* for a Model of that ſort of Shipping in Wood; for a *French* Carpenter will never make any thing of the beſt Verbal Deſcription I can give. The caſe is the ſame as with ſome *Mathematical* Inſtruments, of which the acuteſt men can never form a juſt Idea without ſeeing 'em.

In Sailing from *Amſterdam* to *Hamburg*, we Steer thro' the *Wat*, that is, between the Continent and a ſtring of Iſlands that lye about two or three hours off the *Terra Firma*; and round which the Tide ebbs and flows, as in other places. Between the Continent and theſe Iſlands there are certain Channels, which are deeper than the other places on the right and left, for theſe are dry every Tide. Theſe Channels are eaſily diſtinguiſh'd by the help of ſome Buoys and Maſts Planted upon the Flats. At half Flood you may weigh Anchor and Steer along the Channels, which make ſtrange Windings and Elbows; and if the Wind be contrary, you may eaſily Board along by the help of the Current, till it is low Water, at which time you run a Ground upon the Sand, and are left quite dry. I ſaw above three hundred of theſe *Flemiſh* Veſſels during the courſe of this Navigation, which I take to be as ſafe as that of a River, abating for ten Leagues Sailing when we croſs over from the laſt Iſland to the Mouth of the *Elbe*. The Tide riſes three Fathom perpendicular from the Mouth of this River to *Aurenbourg*, which lies ten or twelve Leagues above *Hamburg*; ſo that great Ships and Men of War may eaſily Sail up to *Hamburg*.

The Paſſage from *Amſterdam* to *Hamburg* is commonly accompliſh'd in ſeven or eight days; for in thoſe Seas the Weſterly Winds prevail for

three

three Quarters of the Year. But we were not above six days in our Passage, notwithstanding that the Master of our Ship was oblig'd to lose a Tide in producing his Invoys and Bills of Lading at the Town of *Stade*, which lies a League off the *Elbe*, and where all Ships are oblig'd to pay Toll to the King of *Sweden*, excepting the *Danes*, who might have an equal Right to claim such a Toll, if they made use of the opportunity of Commanding the Passage of this River with the Cannon of *Gluestat*.

The *Elbe* is a large League over at its Mouth, and at Spring-Tides it has Water enough in the Channel for Ships of fifty or sixty Guns. The Entry of the River is very difficult and dangerous, by reason of an infinity of moving Sands, which render it almost inaccessible in a Fogg, as well as in the Night time; notwithstanding the precaution of Light Houses Built pretty far out at Sea.

Hamburg is a large City, Fortified irregularly with Ramparts of Earth. I pass over in Silence the Democratical Government of this *Hans* Town and its Dependancies, presuming you are not ignorant of such things, since the *Geographers* have given ample Descriptions of 'em: And shall content my self with informing you that the Trade of *Hamburg* makes it a considerable place; and considering the advantage of its Situation, one might readily guess so much. It supplies almost all *Germany* with all sorts of Foreign Commodities, by the conveniency of the *Elbe*, which carries flat bottom'd Vessels of two hundred Tun above *Dresden*: And one may justly say that this City is very Serviceable to the Elector of *Brandenburg*, in regard that these Vessels go up to the *Aspree*, and some other Rivers in his Territories. The *Hamburg* Merchants Trade to all parts of the World,

World, bating *America*. They ſend but few Ships to the *Eaſt-Indies*, or the upper end of the *Mediterranean*; but they fit out an infinity of Ships for *Africa*, *Muſcovy*, *Spain*, *France*, *Portugal*, *Holland* and *England*; and two Fleets every Year for *Archangel*, where they arrive at the latter end of *June*, and the latter end of *September*.

This little Republick keeps four Men of War of fifty Guns, and ſome light Frigats that ſerve for Convoys to their Merchantmen, Bound for the *Streights*, or for the Coaſt of *Portugal* or *Spain*; where the Sally-Rovers would be ſure to pick 'em up if they went without Convoys. The City is neither pretty nor ugly; but moſt of the Streets are ſo narrow, that the Coaches muſt ſtop or put back every foot. It affords good Diverſion enough; for commonly you have Plays Acted by *French* or *Italian* Actors, and a *German* Opera; which for *Houſe*, *Theatre* and *Scenes*, may vye with the beſt in *Europe*. 'Tis true, the Habits of the Actours are as irregular as their Air and Mein; but then you muſt conſider that theſe two Suit one another. The Neighbourhood of *Hamburg* is truly very pretty in the Summer time, by reaſon of an infinity of Country Houſes, adorn'd with excellent Gardens, and great numbers of Fruit-Trees, which by the aſſiſtance of Art produce pretty good Fruit. But now that I am ſpeaking of the Country round *Hamburg*, I can't diſmiſs the Subject without acquainting you with one thing that is uncommon. In the Neighbourhood of *Hamburg* there are Fields of Battel, retaining to the Territories of *Denmark* and *Lubeck*; in which private Quarrels are adjuſted before an infinite number of Spectators, notice being given by the Sound of a Trumpet ſome days before the Champions enter the Liſts. One remarkable Circumſtance

ſtance is, that the Combatants, whether on Foot or on Horſe-Back, implore the Mediation of two Seconds, only in order to be Judges of the thruſts, and to part 'em when four drops of Blood are ſpilt; ſo that the Adventurers retire upon the leaſt ſcratch. If one of 'em falls upon the Ground, the Conqueror returns to the Territories of *Hamburg*, and makes a Triumphal Proceſſion to that City, while the Air rings with acclamations of Joy from the Spectators. Theſe Tragedies are not unfrequent; for *Hamburg* being reſorted to by an infinite number of Foreigners and Strangers, ſome diſorder or other always happens, which is redreſs'd that way. In former times, the *Danes*, *Swedes* and *Germans*, us'd to repair to the above mention'd Fields to adjuſt the Quarrels they had in their own Countries, where Duelling was prohibited under ſevere Penalties. But the Soveraigns of thoſe Countries have ſince Stifled ſuch Practices, by declaring that upon their return they ſhould be as ſeverely puniſh'd, as if the Action had been in their own Territories.

After ſtaying five or ſix days at *Hamburg*, I took leave of that City and ſet out for *Lubec* in a Poſt Waggon, that goes thither every day. Each place in the Coach is a Crown and a half. We arriv'd that ſame day at *Lubec*, and when we came to the Gates, were ask'd who we were; upon which every one gave a true account of their Country and Profeſſion; but the fear of being ſtop'd diſſuaded me from being ſo ſincere. To be free with you, Sir, I plaid the Jeſuit a little; for having guarded my Conſcience with a good meaning, I roundly told 'em I was a *Portugueſe* Merchant, and ſo got clear by ſuffering the affront of being hooted at for a *Jew*. In fine, we were all ſuffer'd to paſs without opening our Portmanteau's.

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The City of *Lubec* is neither ſo great nor ſo populous as *Hamburg*; but its Streets are broader and ſtraighter, and its Houſes are much finer. The Ships that arrive in this Port are rang'd all in a row, upon a very pretty Key that extends from one end of the Town to the other; and that in a River, that in my Opinion is deeper than 'tis broad. The greateſt Commerce of this Place retains to the *Baltick* Sea, which is not above two Leagues diſtant. The place from whence I now Write, is Seated exactly at the Mouth of this little River; which your great Ships can't enter, by reaſon of a *Bar* that has not above fourteen or fifteen Foot Water; even when the Wind Springing from the Main ſwells this River after the ſame manner as the Tides of the Ocean. To morrow I think to Imbarque in a Frigat that carries Paſſengers from hence to *Copenhagen*, provided the Southerly Winds continue. I have taken the great Cabin for two *Ducatoons*, which is not above four *French* Crowns. *Ducats* are the moſt current and convenient Coin in all the Northern Countries; for they paſs in *Holland*, *Denmark* and *Sweden*, and in all the Principalities of *Germany*: But a Traveller muſt take care that they are full Weight, for otherwiſe the People will ſcruple to take 'em, or at leaſt cut off ſome *Sous* in the Change.

To conclude; I have met with good Inns hitherto in all the Towns I paſs'd thro'; and drank good *Bourdeaux* Wine both in *Hamburg* and *Lubec*. The People of the Country drink likewiſe *Rheniſh* and *Moſelle* Wines; but to my mind they are better to Boil Carp in than for any thing elſe. Adieu, Sir, I am now call'd upon to pack up my Baggage: I hope to ſee *Copenhagen* the day after to morrow, if ſo be that this Southerly Wind ſtands our Friend, as much as I am, *Sir, Yours*, &c.

LETTER III.

Dated at Copenhagen, *Sep.* 12 1694.

Containing a Deſcription of the Port *and* City *of* Copenhagen, *a View of the* Daniſh Court; *and of the* Humours, Cuſtoms, Commerce, Forces, &c. *of the* Danes.

SIR,

THE South-Eaſt Wind that blew when I Wrote laſt, waſted me into the Port of this good City of *Copenhagen*; after which it took leave of us, and purſued its courſe to the Northern Countries of *Sweden*, where its thawing influence had been expected for ſome days. This little Voyage, which was over in eight and fourty hours, afforded me diverſion enough; for I had the pleaſure of viewing to the Lar Board, or on the left hand, ſome *Daniſh* Iſles, which ſeem'd to be pretty Populous, if we may judge of that from the great number of Villages that I deſcry'd upon 'em, when we Sweep'd along their Coaſt in clear Weather with a freſh Gale. I take it, the croſſing of this Sea muſt be ſomewhat dangerous in Winter, by reaſon of the Banks of Sand that are met with in ſome places: For the Nights being long, and the Winds high in that Seaſon, no Precaution whatſoever would rid me of the fears of running upon the Sands, till I arriv'd at this City.

As ſoon as I ſet my foot on Shoar, the Waiters came and view'd my Portmanteau's, in which they found more Sheets of Paper than Piſtoles. The

The next day after my Arrival, I waited upon Monſieur *de Bonrepaux*, who was then in the Country for the recovery of his Health: And for want of whom the Navy of *France* has ſuſtain'd an irreparable loſs. This done, I return'd to this City, which may juſtly be liſted in the number of thoſe that we in *Europe* call great and pretty. 'Tis well and regularly Fortified, and 'tis pity 'tis not Wall'd with Stone, which is likewiſe a defect in the Cittadel that commands the Mouth of the Harbour. *Copenhagen* has one of the beſt Harbours in the World, for both Nature and Art have conſpir'd to ſhelter it from all Inſults. The City ſtands upon a ſmooth level Ground, the Streets are broad, and almoſt all the Houſes are three Story high, and built of Brick. Here you may ſee three very fine places; and amongſt the reſt, the King's Market, ſo call'd from his Statue on Horſe-Back, which is there erected. This Place is ſurrounded with ſome fine Houſes, and Monſieur *de Bonrepaux* Lodges in one of 'em, which is very large; and indeed that Ambaſſadour has occaſion for ſo great a Houſe, conſidering the numerouſneſs of his Retinue. The Magnificence of his Table is ſuitable to the Grandeur of his Equipage: And every body pays him the honours and eſteem that his Character merits. But I'll inſiſt no longer upon that Head.

The City of *Copenhagen* is very advantageouſly Seated, as you may ſee in the Map of the Iſle of *Zealand*; and lies very conveniently for Merchantmen which come without any difficulty up to the Canals or Ditches that are cut thro' it. It contains very fine Edifices; particularly the Churches of *Notredame* and St. *Nicholas*, which are both great and fine. The round Tower paſſes for an admirable piece of Architecture, and has

a Stair-Case upon which a Coach may drive up to the top. The Library which ſtands in the middle of the round Tower is well Stock'd with Books and valuable Manuſcripts. The Exchange is an admirable Fabrick, in regard both to its length, and its Situation in the pleaſanteſt part of the Town. As for the Royal Palace, its Antiquity recommends it as much to me, as if it had been Built after the Modern way: For in the Maſſy Fabrick of a Caſtle, 'tis enough if the due Symmetry of Proportion be obſerv'd. The Furniture and Pictures in this Caſtle are admirably fine; and the Royal Cloſet it fill'd with an infinity of very curious Rarities. In the King's Stables there is now but a hundred Coach-Horſes, that is, thirteen or fourteen Set of different ſorts and ſizes; and a hundred and fifty Saddle-Horſes: But both the one and the other are equally fine. *Chriſtians-Fawe*, the Second City, is ſever'd from *Copenhagen* by a great Canal of running Water. The Royal Palace of *Rozemburg*, which ſtands at one end of the City, is adorn'd with a charming Garden.

I come now to give you the Characters of the Princes and Princeſſes at the Court of *Denmark*. 'Tis needleſs to take notice of the Valour and Vigilancy of the King, for the two chief Qualities of that Monarch are ſufficiently known to all the World. I ſhall therefore only acquaint you that he is a Perſon of great Judgment and Capacity, and intirely Wrap'd up in the Intereſts of his Subjects, who look upon him as their Father and Deliverer. He has all the Qualities of a good General, and is affable and generous to the laſt degree. He ſpeaks with equal facility, the *Daniſh*, *Swediſh*, *Latin*, *German*, *Engliſh* and *French* Languages. The Queen is the moſt Accompliſh'd Princeſs in the World; and ſo I have ſaid

ſaid all in all. The Royal Prince is a Son worthy of ſo great a King for his Father, and ſuch a good and vertuous Queen for his Mother; as you have heard it proclaim'd by as many Tongues as there are Heads in *France*. He is a Maſter of Learning, and has a quick Apprehenſion joyn'd to a ſweet Temper. His Manners are as Royal as his Perſon, and all that ſee him wiſh him that Proſperity and Happineſs that his Phyſiognomy promiſes. Prince *Chriſtian* is a ſweet lovely Prince, as well as Prince *Charles* his younger Brother: A certain Air of Affability ſits upon their Foreheads and charms Mankind. Prince *William* the youngeſt Brother is a very pretty Child. Princeſs *Sophia*, who is commonly call'd the Royal Princeſs, has truly a Royal Air: She is Handſome, Young, well Shap'd and Witty as an Angel: Which is enough to entitle her to a Preference before all the Princeſſes upon Earth, not to mention a thouſand other good qualities, the Relation of which would prove too bulky for a *Miſſive*. Let's therefore call another Subject.

One may live in this Country for almoſt nothing, notwithſtanding that good Fiſh is ſomewhat dear: In the beſt Ordinaries about Town you pay but fifteen or ſixteen *Sous* a Meal. The Butchers Meat of this place is neither ſo juicy nor ſo nouriſhing as that in *France*; but their Poultry, their freſh Water-Fowl, their Hares and their Partridges are exceeding good. The beſt Claret coſts but fifteen *Sous* a Bottle. A Hackney-Coach may be hir'd for a Crown a day, and ſixty *Livres* a Month. The Water of this place is muddy and heavy, and for that reaſon we have recourſe to the Beer, which is clear and wholeſome, and very cheap. The *French* Refugees in *Copenhagen* are allow'd the free exerciſe of their Religion, under the direction of Monſieur

de la Placette a Miniſter of *Bearn*, who has a very good Penſion from the Queen, for Preaching in a publick Church, of which her Self is Protectreſs.

Commonly the King paſſes the Summer at his Country Seats, ſometimes at *Tegresburg*, ſometimes at *Fredericsburg*, and ſometimes at *Cronenburg*: There's ſcarce any Prince in the World that has better Accommodation for Deer-Hunting, than the King of *Denmark*: For all his Parks are full of broad Roads for purſuing the Chace; beſides that, the *Daniſh* Horſe have a long ſtretch of a Gallop, which is very convenient for Hunters; and the Dogs of that Country are ſcarce ever faulty. The King's Table is as nobly Served up, as you can well imagine: So that when he returns from Hunting he finds a freſh Pleaſure in feeding on Angelical Fare. He is frequently imploy'd in reviewing his Troops, and viſiting his Forts, Magazines and Arſenals; and ſometimes he goes a Fowling with his Courtiers. About two Months ago I ſaw him Shoot about a quarter of a League out of Town: Upon which occaſion a Wood Fowl as big as a Cock was plac'd upon the top of a Maſt, and the King Shot at it firſt and took away a piece of its Neck with his Ball; after which his Courtiers Shot ſo dexterouſly that there was nothing left but a little bit of the Fowl, which the King hit at laſt, after a great many Sports-Men had attempted it in vain.

Moſt of the People in this place underſtand *French*; and perhaps the Gentlemen of the Royal Academy are not better Skill'd in the Purity and Delicacy of that Language, than the Counteſs of *Frizeland*; who by her Wit, Birth and Beauty is juſtly accounted the Pearl and Ornament of the Court. The *Danes* are a proper ſort of People; they are civil, honourable, brave and active. They have ſomewhat that's very in-

gaging

gaging in their Carriage, and bears an Air of affability and complaiſance. I take 'em to be a ſenſible thinking ſort of People, and free of that unſufferable affectiation and vanity that gives a diſreliſh to the Actions of other Nations: At leaſt 'tis apparent that a diſengag'd genteel Air ſhines thro' all their Actions. The *Daniſh* Ladies are very handſome and lively; generally they are very witty and brisk, and a ſparkling gayety hangs very agreeably about 'em, notwithſtanding that the nature of their Climate do's not promiſe it. The *Daniſh* Men complain that they are too haughty and nice in their *Conduct*; and indeed they have reaſon to charge 'em with a ſcrupulous nicety; but as for their Pride I know nothing of it. They receive almoſt no viſits, and 'tis alleg'd that the reaſon of this reſerv'dneſs proceeds not ſo much from the deſign of avoiding the occaſion of Temptation, as from the fear of being Scandaliſ'd; for Slander reigns in this Country as much as elſewhere. In fine, they have more Vertue and Wiſdom than they ſhould have, in bearing the Sighs of Lovers without being mov'd. One may ſee 'em often enough at the Houſe of Mr. *de Guldenlew*, the King's natural Brother and Viceroy of *Norway*. That Gentleman, who indeed is one of the Stateſieſt Men in *Europe*, takes pleaſure in keeping a Table every day for eighteen perſons, and regaling the Ladies and Perſons of Quality. After Dinner the Gentlemen make Matches to Game or Walk out with the Ladies. The ſame Entertainment, and the ſame ſort of Company is to be met with at the Count *de Revenclaw's*, who is look'd upon as one of the moſt Zealous and Capable Miniſters that the King has. Theſe Dinners or Entertainments are ſomewhat too long for me, who am accuſtom'd to Dine Poſt, I mean, to fill my Belly in five or ſix

Minutes; for commonly they laſt above two hours. The excellent Meſſes which are then Serv'd up in great plenty, Feaſt at once the taſte, the ſight and the ſmell. For; in fine, there's no difference between thoſe Tables and the beſt about the *French* Court, unleſs it be that the former have great pieces of Salt Beef ſet upon 'em; and I truly think the *Danes* would be Guilty of an indiſcreet Action in eating of it ſo heartily, if they did not take care to waſh the Salt out of their Throat with good Liquor.

Among the different ſorts of Wine that are commonly drank at *Copenhagen*, the *Cabers* and the *Pontac* are the only Wines that ſuit a *French Man*'s Palate. It ſeems to be an inviolable Cuſtom in all the Northern Countries, to ſwill down two or three good Draughts of Beer, before they turn to Wine, which they value too much to ſpoil it with Water. I am told that in former times they us'd to ſit four or five hours at Meals, and drink briskly all the while, in ſpite of the threats of the Gout. But now adays that cuſtom is in diſuſe; beſides, the Glaſſes are ſo ſmall and the number of the Healths ſo moderate, that they riſe from Table in very good order: Not but that ſometimes upon extraordinary Solemnities, the Gueſts lye under an indiſpenſible Obligation to drink huge Bumpers in certain *Wellcomes*; which in ancient times were in uſe among the *Grecians* under the name of ὑγιὰ δὶς μέρος. I tremble when I call to mind theſe Bumpers, ever ſince a fatal accident befell me about two Months ago in Mr. *de Guldenlew*'s Houſe: That Gentleman regal'd ſome eighteen or twenty Perſons of both Sexes, in Solemniſing the Birth of his Children; and Fate would have it ſo that I had the honour to be one of the Male Gueſts, who were all oblig'd, excepting Mr. *de Bonrepos*, to drink two dozen of Bumpers to the Health of the preſent and abſent Chil-

Children. I proteſt, I was very much out of Countenance, and would have almoſt choſe to drink up the River of St. *Laurence*, rather than theſe Fountains of Wine; for there was no poſſibility of baulking a Glaſs. 'Twas then too late to reflect upon the ſtrange Poſture I was in; for as the Proverb goes, the Wine was drawn, and I was oblig'd to drink it; I mean, I was oblig'd to do as the reſt did. However, towards the concluſion of Dinner they put round a great *Wellcome* that held two Bottles; and all the Gentlemen were oblig'd to drink it brim-ful, as a Health to the Royal Family; God knows, the deſpairing Mariner never trembled more gracefully upon the diſmal Proſpect of a Ship-Wrack, than I did upon the approach of the Bumper. In fine, I confeſs to you, I drank it, but for the latter part of the Story I beg your Pardon; for I have no mind to glory in the Heroick Action that I did in imitation of three or four more, who diſcharg'd their Conſcience juſt under the Table as gracefully as I. After that fatal blow, I was ſo mortified that I durſt not appear; nay, I had a ſtrong fancy to leave the Country out of hand, and would certainly have done it, if my Pot Companions and thoſe who ſhar'd the diſgrace, had not diſſuaded me by an infinity of *German* Proverbs that ſeem'd to applaud the generous Exploit; among which the following had the greateſt influence, *viz. If we are aſham'd in taking too much, we ought to place our Glory in giving it up again.*

The *Daniſh* Gentry live very handſomely upon their Land-Rents, and the Peaſants want for nothing, no more than ours, unleſs it be for Mony. They have a ſufficient Stock of Grain and Cattel, which ſerves to maintain 'em in a groſs way, and to pay the Landlord's Rents. Is not it enough that they are well clad and well fed?

I would fain know what advantage the *Dutch* Boors reap from their Crowns, while they feed upon nothing but Cheese and Butter-spread upon * *Pompernick*. If their Crowns and Dollars serve only to pay the Taxes of the Republick, they must be very Blind in hugging a Shadow of Liberty, which they purchase at the expence of the Substance that maintains both Life and Health:

* Pompernick *is a sort of Bread, as black as a Chimney, as heavy as Lead, and as hard as Horn.*

The best thing the *Danes* ever did, was that of setting their Kings upon the same Foot as they now are. The Prince that sways the Scepter at present, exercises an Arbitrary Power with as much Equity as his Predecessor. Before their Government was reduc'd to this happy lay, the Kingdom was overrun with factious Clubs and Civil Wars; the State and Society it self was all in disorder; the Grandees crush'd the inferiour Subjects, and even the Kings themselves were oblig'd to stoop (if I may so speak) to the Laws of their Subjects. In a word, their Eyes being dazled with that Phantasm of Liberty, which by a treacherous lustre impose's upon several other Nations; they were thereby render'd Slaves to so many petty Kings, who acted like absolute Soveraigns without fearing the limited Power of their Monarchs.

At present, the King of *Denmark*'s Revenue amounts to five Millions of Crowns. This I know to be a just and true State of his Treasury: He maintains near thirty thousand Men of regular Troops, in good order, well disciplin'd and well pay'd; besides the Militia who are always ready to March upon a call. Nay farther, he may raise fourty thousand Men more, upon occasion, without dispeopling his Country. His Offi-

Officers are provided for at a reaſonable rate, eſpecially the Marine Officers who are not allotted, (as ours are in *France*,) any greater Pay than what bears a juſt proportion to the poor Captains of Foot and Horſe, who are oblig'd to pinch hard to anſwer the Charges that the Sea Captains are exempted from. 'Tis ſaid, the King of *Denmark* finds his account in letting out his Troops to his Allies, not with regard to the Mony pay'd on that account, but in regard that by this means he keeps his Troops in exerciſe, inures 'em to the hardſhips of War, and makes 'em compleat Maſters of the Military Art; in order to make uſe of 'em upon occaſion. You muſt know, Sir, his *Daniſh* Majeſty is above that ridiculous Scruple that moſt other Princes make to imploy Foreigners or thoſe of another Religion in their Service. The *Meſſieurs de Cormaillon, Dumeni, L' Abat*, and ſeveral others have conſiderable Poſts in his Army, notwithſtanding that they are *French Men* and *Papiſts*. From hence it appears that this Monarch is convinc'd that Men of Honour will rather diſſerve their Religion than act counter to the Fidelity due to their Maſter: And to be plain with you, I believe the King is in the right of it: For ſince the Foundation of all Religion conſiſts in the Fidelity we owe to God, to our Friend and to our Benefactor; nothing will be able to unhinge a Man of Honour, or to tempt him to act contrary to his Duty. I will not pretend to meaſure the actions of others by my own Standard; but for my own part, I aſſure you if I had liſted my ſelf in the Service of the *Turks*, with the liberty of continuing Popiſh; and if Orders were iſſued forth for laying *Rome* in Aſhes, I would be the firſt Man to ſet fire to it, in obedience to the *Grand Seignior's* Orders. But we have enough of that.

The

The *Danish* Laws, contain'd in the *Latin* Book I now send you, will appear to you so clear, so distinct, and so wisely Concerted, that they'll seem to have proceeded from the Mouth of St. *Paul*: You'll find by them that this Country do's not countenance Sollicitors, Barristers, and the rest of the litigious Tribe. I own indeed that the Law relating to Man-Slaughter is unreasonable; for you'll find that by the Penalty therein enacted, a Man that kills his Enemy runs much the same risque as if he had suffer'd himself to be kill'd.

The Court of *Denmark* makes as good a Figure in proportion to its Greatness, as any other Court in *Europe*. The Lords and Courtiers have very magnificent Equipages; and which is singular, none but those of the Royal Family are allow'd to give a Red Livery. The time of appearing at Court is from Noon to half an hour after one, or thereabouts; during which time the King appears in a Hall fill'd with very fine Gentlemen. Here you'll see nothing but Imbroidery and Lace after the newest Fashion. The Foreign Ministers make their appearance at the same time, for the King do's 'em the honour of hearing them Talk with a great deal of Pleasure. There are but few Knights of the Order of the *Elephant* to be seen at Court, by reason that the Dignity is bestow'd only upon Persons of the first Rank. This Order may justly be call'd the noblest in *Europe*, and less degenerate than the rest; insomuch, that of thirty four Knights Companions, which make up the Compliment of the Order, three fourths are Soveraign Princes. The Order of * *Danebrouk* is more common, and consequently less considerable; tho' after all, the Knights invested with that Collar, are

* Danebrouk *signifies the White Order.*

are intitled to several great Prerogatives and marks of Preheminence.

The natural Sons of the Kings of *Denmark*, bear the Title of † *Guldenlew* and *High Excellence*, * and their Ladies are distinguish'd by the Compellation of *High Grace*. The present King has two natural Sons, whose Merit leaves all Expression far behind it. The eldest Serves in *France* with all imaginable Applause. The Second who is but fifteen years of Age and continues here, is a very promising Youth: He has a wonderful deal of Sense and Wit; his Person is Handsome and well Shap'd; he is possess'd of all the Qualities that ingage the tender Sex; his Meen is perfectly charming; in a word, he is one of the compleateſt young Gentlemen I ever saw. He is nominated High Admiral of *Denmark*; and, which is very surprising, he is better vers'd in the *Mathematicks* and the Art of Building Ships, than the ablest Masters. In the King of *Denmark*'s Dominions there are two Popish Churches publickly Tolerated; one at *Glucstat* and the other at *Altena*.

† Guldenlew *signifies a Golden Lion.*

* *Which is equivalent to the* German *Highness.*

The Air of this Country is very wholsome for those who live soberly; but it has a contrary effect upon discontented Persons. The only Disease they complain of is the *Scurvy*; which the Physicians impute to a foul nasty Air loaded with an infinity of thick and condensated Vapours, which joyn their Forces upon the Surface of the Earth, and insinuate themselves into the Lungs along with the Air: They plead that their Air thus polluted, joyns in with the Blood, and retards its Motion in so much that it congeals, and so gives rise to the *Scurvy*. But with the leave of the

the good Doctors, I'll take the liberty to Vindicate the Air of this agreeable City, and beg 'em to consider that the impressions of the Air upon the Mass of Blood are less forcible than those of the Aliment. If the *Scurvy* took its rise from the unfavourable Qualities of the Air; by consequence every body would be equally liable to it; but this we find to be false, for that three quarters of the *Danish* Nation are clear of that Distemper. The Argument I now offer is grounded on the Observations I made upon all the Soldiers that dy'd of that Disease at the Forts of *Frontenac* and *Niagara* in the year 1687 (which I imparted to you in my * Letters Dated the next year.) In those Forts we have the purest and wholsomest Air in the World; and for that reason it stands more to reason to attribute the Invasion of the *Scurvy* (which then reign'd) to the nature of the Aliment; I mean, to the Salt Meat, Butter and Cheese, as well as to immoderate Sleep and want of Exercise. This account of the matter will be back'd by all who have made long Voyages, when they consider the terrible havock that the *Scurvy* makes upon the Ship's Crews. I conclude therefore that the frequency of the *Scurvy* is owing to bad Victuals, pursuant to the Opinion of a very sensible Gentleman whom I credit very much. This Gentleman represented one day, that such acid Food increases the acidity of the Blood; and so it comes to pass that the Blood of Scorbutick Persons is destitute of Spirits; or at least, its Spirits are so thin and scanty that they are easily absorbed and invelop'd by the prevailing acids, and by that means put under an impossibility of exciting Fermentations. As for the influence of immoderate Sleep and long

* *See my Letters in the first* Volume, *dated in* 1688.

long Reſt, all the World knows that they have a great tendency to the obſtruction of the Inteſtines, and promote the Generation of Crude Juices, in cramping the Senſible and wonted Evacuations, partly by the ſlower Motion of the Spirits, and partly by the Inſenſible Tranſpiration of the Sublimer Particles. From theſe Remarks I conclude, that freſh Meat, good Porridge, regular Sleep, and moderate Exerciſe (*ad ruborem non ad ſudorem*) are Antidotes againſt the *Scurvy*, and the beſt Correctives of the Maſs of Blood, whether by Sea or Land.

If this digreſſion, Sir, ſeems too long; I would have you to impute it to my earneſt deſire, of directing you how to ward off that ugly Diſtemper, when you come to undertake any long Voyage. I would not have you think that I have thus interrupted the thread of my Diſcourſe, with intent to prove that the Air of this Iſland is better than that of *Portugal*: That's a thing I know nothing of; for whatever Air I breath in, I am ſtill equally well. 'Tis true, the inconſtancy of the Weather might affect me in ſome meaſure, if I were oblig'd to paſs the remainder of my life in *Copenhagen*; for here we have frequent inſtances of the Weather's changing three or four times a day, and ſhifting from cold to hot, from dry to wet, and from clear to cloudy.

I had the honour to pay my profound reſpects to the King of *Denmark* at his Caſtle of *Fredericksbourg*, upon the occaſion of his Inſtalling ſome *German* Princes by Proxy in the Order of the Elephant. That Ceremony which indeed was very pretty, drew thither a great confluence of perſons of a diſtinguiſhing Character; particularly all the Foreign Miniſters who were proud of aſſiſting at the Solemnity. Some days after that Prince went to take the Air at *Cronengbourg*, which

which ſtands directly upon the ſide of the ſtreight call'd the *Sund*. This Caſtle has a regular Fortification, being Wall'd with Brick, and cover'd with a great number of wide bore'd and long Culverines, which command the entry of the Streight, that I take to be the breadth of Three thouſand five hundred Geometrical Paces, that is to ſay, a large *French* League. Here you have the pleaſure of Seeing an infinity of Foreign Ships paſs to and again between the Ocean and the *Baltick-Sea*: And in regard that the Guns of *Cronengbourg* are the Keys of this Port, all Foreign Ships lye under an indiſpenſable neceſſity of coming to an Anchor at *Elſenor*, to pay the Toll before they go farther. You may allege, perhaps, that a Numerous Fleet of Men of War might force their Paſſage at the expence of a little Cannonading: and indeed I own the allegation to be juſt; but if the King of *Denmark's* Navy were at Anchor in the Streight, I am perſwaded they would be able to ſecure the Paſs: and for that reaſon you ought not to think it ſtrange that his *Daniſh* Majeſty exacts a moderate Toll from the Merchantmen of all Nations, except the *Swedes*: At leaſt I think he has a better Title to demand it, than the *Grandſignior* has in the *Dardanelles*. For moſt of the Ships that ſail to the *Baltick*, go to Trade with *Lubeck*, *Brandenbourg*, *Dantzick*, *Pruſſia*, *Courland*, *Livonia* and *Sweden*; whereas thoſe which paſs the *Dardanelles* are bound for the *Grandſignior's* Ports, and Trade with none but his own Subjects. I would fain know whether the King of *Spain* would not make the like pretenſions to a Toll upon the Streight of *Gibraltar*, if ſo be that *Europe* and *Africa* were ſo friendly as to ſit a little nearer together. Nay, put the impoſſible ſuppoſition out of the caſe, who knows but that Prince may make ſuch a demand,

demand, when he comes to have a Puiſſant Naval Force? This Queſtion is not ſo Problematick as you think for. However, a great many people are of the opinion that they might eaſily avoid the Toll of the *Sund*, if they did but ſteer obſtinately through one of the two *Belts*: But they are miſtaken. 'Tis true indeed, the thing might take, if the Sands in the Sea were as fixt as they are in the Charts; but that they are not; for the former ſhift in every Storm, whereas the latter ſtand for ever in the ſame Paper-ſtation. Beſides there's an infinity of cover'd Rocks, and irregular Currents, unknown to the experteſt Pilots, notwithſtanding the aſſiſtance of their Maps and * *Sea-Charts.*

* *Books of Hydrographical Charts.*

To call up another Subject; Suffer me to acquaint you that *Denmark* produces a great many Commodities which are ſold with great Advantage to the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*; particularly *Rye*, *Corn*, *Cyder*, *Mead*, *Apples*, *Oxen*, *Cows*, *Fat Hogs*, *Horſes*, *Iron*, *Copper*, and all ſorts of Timber, eſpecially Maſts from *Norway*, which affords ſome of one piece that are big enough for *Noah's Ark*. In *Norway* there are ſome Silver Mines, which, 'tis ſaid, the King might get by, if he would be at the charge of Digging. The *Norwegians* ſell likewiſe the Skins of *Bears*, *Foxes*, *Martins*, *Otters* and *Elks*; but they are not ſo fine as thoſe of *Canada*.

To come to the King of *Denmark's* Naval Force; his Fleet which is always kept in good order, as well as his Magazines and Arſenals, conſiſts of Twenty Eight Ships in the Line of Battle, Twenty Six Fregats and Four or Five Fireſhips; particularly

8 Ships from 80 to 100 Guns.
10 Ships from 60 to 80 Guns.
10 Ships from 50 to 60 Guns.

16 Fregats from 10 to 26 Guns.
3 Bomb Vessels.

He maintains 1800 Carpenters and 400 Gunners. The Sea Captains Pay is not always the same. Some have Three Hundred, some Four Hundred Crowns a Year. The Captain Commodores have five hundred, and the Commodores six hundred: Besides these, there are twelve Marine Volunteers, call'd Apprentices, who have a hundred Crowns a Year. But after all, you'll be pleas'd to consider that these Allowances are not so sorry as you may think for; for in *Denmark* a Man may live for thirty Crowns, better than for a hundred Crowns in *France*.

Besides the above mention'd Fleet, his Majesty may, upon occasion, call for twenty four Ships from 40 to 60 Guns, which his Subjects are oblig'd to fit out at his Pleasure, and which are otherwise imploy'd in Trading to *Portugal*, *Spain*, and the *Mediterranean*. 'Tis to be observ'd by the bye, that a *Danish* Ship of fifty Guns may safely venture a Broad Side with a *French* or *English* Ship of sixty, by reason that their Timber is very strong, and their Guns of a wide Bore. All the *Danish* Men of War are Built with half-flat Ribs, which occasions their heavy Sailing. Their Masts are very thick and short; Short that they may not bend under the Sails when they Weather Capes, Islands, Rocks and Banks in a Storm; and thick that they may bear the Sails tight, in doubling these Capes, Islands, *&c.* when the Boisterous Winds furrow the Surface of the *Baltick*. The King of *Denmark*'s Sea Men are well entertain'd, and well pay'd, and have twelve Crowns Bounty-Mony over and above their Wages, as soon as the Fleet is laid up. But at the same time, you must know that three thousand Sea Men are kept in constant Pay, and lodg'd in an

an uniform Row of Barracks in the Streets of this City.

I ſhall conclude this Letter with a View of the Coin and Current Mony of the Kingdom.

A *Bank* Rix Dollar is worth 50 *Lubec* Pence.
A *Daniſh* Rix Dollar goes for 48 *Lubec* Pence.
A *Shet Dal* is worth 32 *Lubec* Sous.
A Marc-lubs paſſes for 16 Stuivers of *Lubec*.
A Marc *Daniſh* is worth 8 *Lubec* Stuivers.
A half Mark *Daniſh* is worth 4 *Lubec* Pence.

One *Lubec* Penny is worth two *Daniſh* Pence, and two *Daniſh* Pence are of the ſame value with fourteen *French* Deniers, which is much the ſame with an *Engliſh* Penny; and by this Standard you may reduce all the above mention'd Denominations.

A Gold Ducat is worth two *Daniſh* Rix Dollars and fourteen Pence; ſometimes 'tis two Pence under or over. A Roſe-Noble is two Ducats. A Silver *Louis* or a *French* Crown paſſes in *Denmark* for a *Daniſh* Rix Dollar; and the half and quarter Crowns obſerve the ſame proportion, as well as the *Louis d' Ores*.

In the Iſland of *Zealand* the Leagues conſiſt of 4200 Geometrical Paces; the *Norway* Leagues are longer, and thoſe of *Holſtein* are of leſs extent. The *Copenhagen* Ell is an Inch and a half bigger than the *French* half Ell.

I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

LETTER IV.

Dated at *Paris*, *Dec.* 29. 1694.

Containing a Journal of the Author's Travels from Copenhagen *to* Paris.

SIR,

I Left *Copenhagen* three days after the Date of my laſt; being accommodated with Mr. *de Bonrepeau*'s Coaches, who to avoid the fatigue of paſſing between the two *Belts*, had gone before to Wait upon the King of *Denmark* at *Coldinck*. You muſt know, that Prince goes thither Poſt every Year, notwithſtanding that his Retinue amounts to a thouſand or twelve hundred Perſons. Upon that occaſion, the Boors of the Villages adjacent to the Road, are oblig'd to bring their Horſes to certain Places at an appointed hour, in order to draw the Coaches and Waggons that contain that numerous Retinue, with their Baggage. Tho' theſe Horſes are little, yet they are ſtrong, vigorous, tidy, inſenſible of cold, and ſo very light, that they'll go you a good Trott as faſt as a Gallop. The Stages for ſhifting the Horſes are two or three Leagues, as well as thoſe for the Horſe-Guards which conduct the King from place to place, and are reliev'd every Stage.

We ſet out from *Copenhagen Sept.* 15. and after three hours Travelling, arriv'd at *Roskild*, which makes ſix of thoſe Leagues of which twenty goe to a degree. We paſs'd ſo ſpeedily that we had only time to view the Tombs of the Kings of *Denmark*, while the Boors put freſh Horſes in the Coaches.

Coaches. Theſe *Marble Mauſoleums* are a finiſh'd piece of Architecture, and adorn'd with *Baſſe Releivo's* and *Latin Inſcriptions*. The fine Marble of which they are Built, is very well Poliſh'd, being that of *Paros*, and *Africa*, and that call'd *Brocatelle*, *Serpentine* and *Cipellino*. The Tombs are plac'd in the Chappel of an ancient Church, that belong'd to the *Benedictins* before *Luther*'s Remonſtrances. The ſame very day we came to take up our night's Lodging in a Village near the great *Belt*; having enjoy'd the pleaſure of viewing by the way, ſome admirable Land-Skips. Next day at eight a Clock in the Morning, we arriv'd at the Town of *Cortos*, which ſtands upon the Chops of the above mention'd Streight; and is Fortified with Earth.

As ſoon as we Imbarqu'd in the Yacht that lay ready for Mr. *de Bonrepau*, we ſet Sail; but in croſſing theſe four Leagues of Sea, the Wind was ſo low and the Sea ſo calm, that one might have drank Bumpers upon the Deck without ſpilling. We no ſooner landed at *Nibourg*, a little paltry place regularly Fortified, than we took Coach, and ſet out for *Odenzee*, the Capital City of *Fionia*, where we lay that Night. *Odenzee* ſtands in the middle of that Iſland, which is one of the moſt fertile Territories of *Denmark*. The Cathedral Church is as handſome as 'tis large. In former times this City was the Reſidence of the Kings of *Denmark*, and the Inhabitants were ſo Barbarous as to murder one of their Princes. The Nobility of the Iſland vye with thoſe of *Venice* for Antiquity; eſpecially the Family of *Trool*, which ſignifies *Sorcerer*, and which bears a Devil *Sable* upon a Field *Gules* for their Arms: From whence I conclude that this *Leo Rugiens* was more tractable and illuſtrious in the Primi-

tive times, than in those of the * Author of the *Seven Trumpets*, or else the Ancient Nobility would not have glory'd in placing him in their Coats of Arms.

* *An old Coward that advances a thousand idle Whims, which are enough to turn a Woman's Brains.*

The 18*th* we set out for *Midelford*, where we found a Barque that wafted us over from the farther side of the little *Belt*, after halting two or three hours in vain, for the coming up of the Waggons with Mr. *de Bonrepau*'s Domesticks and Provisions. As soon as we cross'd over, we receiv'd Advice that they had miss'd their way; but we were so pinch'd with Hunger that we were forc'd to go to a Farmer's House, and dress with our own Hands some Broil'd Meat and Pan-Cakes, that we eat without drinking; for our Landlords Beer was as Wretched as his Water. Some time after the Ambassadour's Equipage Arriv'd; but 'twas then so very late that we were forc'd to tarry all night in that House of Martyrdom. The next day we arriv'd at *Coldinck*, where the Magistrate took care to provide Lodgings for the Ambassador in one of the best Houses in Town. Three or four days after, the King arriv'd at the same place.

This little Town is Seated in the Country of *Jutland*, upon the Banks of a shallow Gulf that is Navigable only by Barques: But at the same time, 'tis very considerable upon the account of the Toll for Cattel that's pay'd at that place, and brings into the Royal Treasury near two hundred thousand Rix Dollars. The Castle is an ancient Pile of Stone, that contains a great many Rooms: But 'tis Situated to great advantage, for it stands on an Eminence that affords you a View of all the Country round. The *Danes* would have us believe upon their Word, that

that an Angel was ſent from Heaven to the great Hall of this Caſtle, to acquaint *Chriſtian* III. King of *Denmark*, that God was ready to receive him after three days. They add, that in order to perpetuate the Memory of this miraculous Viſion, the very place where this Heavenly Ambaſſadour had Audience of the Prince, was took notice of, and a great Poſt was fix'd in it, which I ſaw every time I went to Court; for 'twas in that very Hall that the King made his publick Appearance all the time he was at *Coldinck*.

We took leave of *Coldinck* on the 24*th*, and Arriv'd on the 25*th* at *Rensbourg*, after paſſing by ſeveral little Towns and Royal Seats, the Deſcription of which would be too tedious. I ſhall only tell you by the bye, we have a great deal more pleaſure than fatigue in Riding Poſt in this Country, whether in Coach or Waggon, by reaſon of the evenneſs of the Ground, which affords as few Stones as Mountains. As ſoon as the King Arriv'd at *Rensbourg*, he review'd the Fortifications of the Place, which may eaſily be made one of the beſt Forts in *Europe*. Then he review'd a Body of Foot and Horſe, and had a great deal of reaſon to be ſatisfied with their appearance. After ſome days he ſet out for *Glucſtat*, a little Town upon the *Elbe*; almoſt as regularly Fortified as the laſt I ſpoke of. In the mean time Mr. *de Bonrepau*, who could not follow that Monarch, by reaſon of ſome Buſineſs he had to adjuſt with the Abbot *Bidal* at *Renſbourg*, gave me recommendatory Letters to ſeveral Perſons, who he thought would be able to influence Mr. *de Ponchartrain*: But he was miſtaken in his Conjecture, as you'll ſee preſently.

After taking leave of the Ambaſſadour, I went to *Hamburg*, where I was inform'd that Count *Caniſſee*, the Emperor's Envoy extraordinary to

the Court of *Denmark*, sollicited the *Burgomasters* to Arrest me. The Surmise seem'd to be not improbable, for I knew that some time before he had taken up a Prejudice against me at *Friedericsbourg*, upon the account of some Illuminations that were made in that place; which oblig'd me to flie with all expedition to *Altena*, and tarry there for a Passport from the Duke of *Bavaria*, without which I had certainly been taken up in the *Spanish Flanders*. I had no sooner receiv'd this intelligence, than I met with the favourable opportunity of a return Coach bound for *Amsterdam*, where I found a place at an easy rate, without being incommoded with a Croud of Passengers, for there was but four of us, *viz.* An old *English* Merchant, a *German* Lady with her Chamber-Maid, and I. The Journey lasted eight days, and would have seem'd eight courses of Eternity to me, if it had not been for the agreeable Conversation of that lovely Lady, who spoke such good *French*, as to express her self very handsomely. You must consider, Sir, that the Ways of *Arabia Deserta* are not so bad as the Roads of *Westphalia*; at least 'tis certain they are not so dirty. But the chief inconveniency lies in the Inns; for you must know, all the publick Houses upon the Road are downright Hospitals; the Landlords of which would Starve for hunger, if Foreigners had not the Charity to give 'em a Share of their Provisions, which they are forc'd to gather in from the Rich Farmers that live at a distance one from another. In these wretched Retreats you must rest satisfied in lying upon Straw; and all the Comfort a poor Traveller has, consists in this, that he may command his Landlord and Landlady, and their Children, to go and run where he pleases. If you find a Frying-Pan and a Kettle to dress your Meat withal, you're a happy

ry Man. Wood indeed there's good Store of; and their Chimneys being Built ſquare, and ſtanding by themſelves, a hundred Perſons may ſit and Warm themſelves at the Fire.

In the mean time, I admir'd the Patience of the *German* Lady, who was ſo far from complaining of the Hardſhips of the Journy, that ſhe took pleaſure in rallying upon the *Engliſh* Merchant, her Maid and my ſelf, who were all mightily out of humour. I conjectur'd from her air and carriage, that ſhe was a Perſon of Quality; and I found afterwards I was not miſtaken, for ſince we parted, I heard ſhe was a Counteſs of the Empire. She was ſo well acquainted with the *French* humours, that I did not doubt but that ſhe had been at *Paris*: But the thing that confirm'd me in that Opinion, was her talking ſo accurately of the Perſons of the firſt Quality about Court; not to mention that ſhe had an old *French* Servant, a *Roman Catholick*, that could ſcarce ſpeak a Word of High *Dutch*. The Lady was of a large Stature and well Made; ſhe look'd brisk enough, and her Beauty was ſo affecting that ſhe us'd all her efforts in vain, to make me believe ſhe was five and fifty years of Age. She could not endure to be anſwer'd, that her freſh and lively Complexion gave the lie to her Arithmetick; this ſhe took for an affront, alledging that the Charms of a Woman beyond fifty, are too much Shrivel'd to cauſe Admiration. This, I take it, is a very ſingular and uncommon thing, for the reſt of her Sex are ſcarce accuſtom'd to that ſort of Language, in regard that they'd rather their Vertue were attack'd than their Beauty: But whatever be in that matter, ſhe ſeem'd to be mightily prepoſſeſs'd againſt the *French*, in branding 'em for a light, giddy brain'd, indiſcreet People, and ſtill reflecting upon 'em for

think-

thinking meanly of the *Germans*. " How comes it " to paſs, ſaid ſhe, that the *French* have the im- " pudence to deny the *Germans* the Character of " *Witty*, and to take 'em for a groſs heavy Peo- " ple; inſtead of acknowledging their juſt Title " to ſolid Senſe and Reflection, by vertue of " which they dive judiciouſly to the bottom of " things? What is it, continued ſhe, that the " *French* require as eſſential to the Character of " *avoir de l' eſprit*? Muſt we value our ſelves up- " on a livelyneſs, and a falſe ſparkling Wit that " dazzles with a vain Splendor? Muſt we mak't " our buſineſs to procure a ready and ſubtle im- " agination, in order to dreſs idle Flams in " Gilded Words? No, no; that nicety of ex- " preſſion is but Whip'd Cream: And to ſpeak " the juſtice of the matter, we ought to allow " the *French* a preferable Title to the Science of " ſpeaking well, and to the *Germans* a juſt claim " of going beyond 'em in juſt thoughts. But this was not all: For ſhe attack'd the *French* Pride ſo vigorouſly, that ſhe made Preſumption and Vanity their ordinary and leſſer Crimes. This ſhews, ſhe had been in *France*; to which for a farther proof ſhe added, that the *French* inſulted the *Germans* with theſe ridiculous Proverbs; *viz. This Fellow's as fooliſh as a German; He pick'd a German Quarrel with me; he takes me for a German. Such a Woman would make a good German Woman*, i. e. She is ſimple and fooliſh. At the ſame time, I endeavour'd to diſſuade her from ſuch unfa- vourable thoughts, by remonſtrating that ſhe ought to make a wide diſtinction between the ſenſible People of *France*, and thoſe who are ſuch fools as to imagine themſelves a Standard for all other Nations. I intreated her to throw off her prejudicate Apprehenſions, and to believe that the knowing part of our World have a profound

eſteem

eſteem for the *Germans*, and cry up their Merit, their Probity, their ſtrong Senſe, and their inviolable Fidelity. In earneſt, Sir, the Perſons of any Note in *Germany*, have a juſt Title to all theſe good qualities; nay, the Etymology of the Word, (*Alleman*, i. e. a *German*) gives us ſome light as to their Character: For *All* and *Man* imports that they are a People capable of any thing, like the *Jeſuits* to whom ſome give the Title of *Jeſuiſta Omnis Homo*, and who are therefore ſaid to be *Germans*, by a Sophiſtical way of Punning. But this is not all that may be offer'd on their behalf; there are a thouſand things that ſpeak the Merit of the *Germans*. We are indebted to 'em for the diſcovery of the property of the *Load-Stone*, without which the New World had never reach'd our knowledg; for the Invention of *Printing*, which has taught us to diſtinguiſh Fabulous Manuſcripts from Divine Writings; for the Invention of *Clocks*, of the Caſting of *Guns*, *Bells*, &c. This gives plain evidence of their diſtinguiſhing Induſtry and Capacity. Add to all this that *Germany* has produc'd Soldiers, who by their Valour and Bravery made the *Capitol* to tremble, after defeating the *Roman Conſuls*, and ſtanding the Brunts of all the Courage and Puiſſance of the *Roman Legions*; That it has been equally fertile in great Men, in the way of Learning, particularly *Juſtus Lipſius*, *Furſtemberg*, Mr. *Spanheim*, and *Melanchon*. All this I repreſented to the Lady; but when I mention'd *Melanchon*, ſhe interrupted me, and ſaid, ſhe was ſurpris'd to find that the *French* twitted the *Germans* with the Vice of hard Drinking, ſince themſelves ſtood chargeable with *Plato*'s Crime. I had almoſt made anſwer, that if the *French* had the ſame reliſh of things with that Philoſopher, their only view was to love Superannuated Ladies with as much Paſſion

as

as he did his old *Archeanaſſa*: But I contented my ſelf in replying, that the *Germans* being diſoblig'd by having the Character of *Hard Drinkers* thrown upon 'em, made their repriſals upon the *French*, by faſtening upon *them* the imputation of *Hanetonic* Love (*Sodomy*) with intent to render 'em odious to the fair Sex. I had no occaſion to make any farther offers in juſtification of the *French*, for the Lady ſeem'd to be ſatisfied with what I ſaid. In fine, this Lady was ſo comely and agreeable in ſuch advanc'd Years, that if *Balzac* had ſeen her, he would not have offer'd to ſay that he never ſaw a handſome old Woman in his life-time. Queſtionleſs, that *Gaſcogne Oracle* underſtood, by an old Woman, one of Seventy years of Age; for I have ſeen three ot four that were perfect Beauties at Sixty, without ever a Wrinkle on their Faces, or a grey Hair on their Heads; and whoſe Eyes made ſtill a retreat for *Cupid*.

As ſoon as I arriv'd at *Amſterdam*, I hir'd the Roof of the *Night-Boat* for *Rotterdam*; which ſets out every day at three a Clock at both places, in order to convey Paſſengers to and again between theſe two Cities. It coſt me a Crown, which I did not grudge; for I had the conveniency of Sleeping very quietly all Night upon the Quilts that the Waterman is oblig'd to furniſh to all Paſſengers, who take the Stern-Room, call'd the Roof. The next day after my Arrival at *Rotterdam*, I took Shipping for *Antwerp* on Board of a *Hoy*, which is a Veſſel with flat Ribs, and Lee-boards or Wings. The paſſage from *Rotterdam* to *Antwerp* is both ſafe and eaſy, and runs between the *Terra Firma* and the *Dutch* Iſlands; being favour'd by the Tydes. From *Antwerp* to *Bruſſels* I made uſe of the common Paſſage-Boat, which is only a great Boat drawn by a Horſe. At *Bruſſels* I was adviſ'd to Ride Poſt

to

to *Liſle*; becauſe the High-way-men us'd to Rob moſt of the Coaches and Waggons upon that Road. I comply'd with the Seaſonable Advice, and am now convinc'd that if I had not done ſo I had certainly been Rob'd. Two days after my arrival at *Liſle*, I took a place in the Coach which goes twice a Week to this good City of *Paris*; and arriv'd here laſt Week, after being ſufficiently Fleec'd by theMercyleſs Inn-Keepers upon the Road. Theſe impoſing Dogs give as little quarter to a Traveller, that do's not bargain before hand for what he eats; as the Waiters of *Peronne* do to to thoſe who indeavour to run Goods. At *Peronne*, you muſt know, they ſearch ſo narrowly, that they not only turn every thing out of a Cheſt or a Portmanteau, but examine every body from top to toe. They ſuſpect your Big-Bell'y'd Women moſt; and examine 'em ſo narrowly, that ſometimes they ſlide their Hand into a place that was appointed for ſomewhat elſe. If any Traveller has either *Snuſh*, *Tea*, *Indian Stuffs* or *Dutch* Books among his Baggage, the whole Cargo is Confiſcated.

Immediately upon my Arrival in this place, I repair'd to *Verſailles* to deliver Mr. *de Bonrepau*'s Letters: But the Perſons to whom they were addreſs'd, us'd their utmoſt Efforts to no purpoſe, in ſolliciting Mr. *de Ponchartrain* to allow me to juſtify my Conduct at *Placentia*. He anſwer'd 'em very coldly, that his Majeſty's ſtiff and inflexible Temper would never admit of any Juſtification from an Inferiour in oppoſition to his Superiour. This anſwer, which in ſome meaſure tarniſhes the Shining Merit and Judicious Conduct of ſo Wiſe a Prince; gave me to know that the Severity of Mr. *de Ponchartrain* did not proceed ſo much from a Principle of Equity, as from a Stiff *Iroqueſe* Temper. In the mean time, I

was like to die for Grief, notwithſtanding that all my Friends endeavour'd to ſolace me, in adviſing me to raiſe my Mind above the Shocks of bad Fortune, till a change of Government happen'd. They did not ſcruple to counſel me to look out for ſome Refuge, where I might be ſhelter'd from the Fury of that Miniſter, ſo long as it pleaſes God to vouchſafe him the benefit of life, in order to allow him time to be Converted. *I delight not in the death of a Sinner, but would have him to be Converted*, &c. This Paſſage affords a fine Speculation, but I muſt own it has but little influence on one who is oblig'd to wait ſo long without any other relief than the Treaſure at the bottom of *Pandora*'s Box. Adieu, Sir; I am to ſet out immediately for my Province, where I ſhall only paſs thro' like Lightning. Not to trouble you with what's behind, I conclude with my plain Compliment, that

I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

LET

LETTER V.

Dated at *Erleich, July*, 4. 1695.

* Near *Labontan* in *Basse Navarre.*

Giving a View of the Superstition and Ignorance of the People of Bearn; *their addictedness to the Notions of* VVitchcraft, *Apparitions,* &c. *And the Author's Arguments against that Delusion.*

SIR,

DOubtless you'l be mightily surpriz'd when you hear I am now in sight of a Country of which I retain no more than the bare Name; but your surprizal will be yet greater when you're inform'd that all the recommendations of Persons of the first Quality about Court could not influence Mr. *de Pontchartrain*, whose Prepossession against me is invincible. I left *Paris* with a melancholy Mind, and went to Solace my self for some Months in a certain Province of the Kingdom that you will easily guess at. From thence I made a trip streight to *Rochel*, where I went on board of a Vessel that commonly carries Passengers to *Tremblade*. In that Passage I fell into the Company of a White Friar, the History of whom is so very uncommon that I can't pass him in silence.

He calls himself *Don Carlos Baltasar de Mendoza*, and is the Son of a rich Gentleman at *Bruxelles*. He is about three and thirty or four and thirty Years of Age, and is at least as tall and as meagre as I am. He serv'd the King of *Spain* three or four Years in the quality of a Captain of Horse,

Horſe; and for as much as he ſtudy'd the purſuit of Sciences, more than the humouring of the Governour of the *Neitherlands*, his Catholick Majeſty refus'd him a Regiment that his Father offer'd to raiſe at his own Charge. This denial oblig'd him to quit the Service: and ſoon after, being preſs'd by his Parents to Marry, he went to *Germany* and put on a Monks Habit, which he threw away ſome time after. Thoſe who gave me an account of him, aſſur'd me that he had taken up and laid down the Habit ſeveral times. But whatever be in that matter, he is certainly one of the moſt Accompliſh'd Men of this Age. He is at once perfectly well acquainted with the fineſt Sciences, and with the principal Languages of *Europe*. This Character was given him by the greateſt Men in *Bourdeaux*, who pay'd him ſeveral Viſits that I was witneſs to, for we lodg'd together in that City. But the beſt of the Story is, that the next Day after our arrival two Merchants of his own Country paid him a round ſum of dry *Louiſd'ors*, part of which he beſtow'd upon the Soldiers in the *Trompet*-Caſtle, who would otherwiſe never have thought that an Eccleſiaſtick would be ſo Liberal to Perſons of a Military Capacity. All the Divines, Mathematicians and Philoſophers that viſited him, were ſo charm'd with the extent of his Knowledge, that they affirm'd that the quickeſt and ſharpeſt Man in the World could not acquire an equal ſtock of Learning in a courſe of ſixty Years Study. We ſtaid fifteen Days at *Bourdeaux*, and during that time he had the Curioſity to ſee nothing but a little Church in the Neighbourhood of his Lodgings, and the Trompet-Caſtle. He Read and Wrote inceſſantly; and as for the Breviary I believe he had none about him, for he was neither Deacon nor Prieſt. I never could learn

learn what Order he was of; for when I ask'd him, his Anſwer was, *I am a White Monk, and nothing more.*

Both of us took Places in the *Bayonne* Coach (for the Friar was bound for *Spain*;) when we came to *Eſperon* we parted, and I took the *Dax* and *Bayonne* Road. I had no ſooner arrived at the Country Houſe where I now am, than I receiv'd an infinity of Viſits that I could eaſily have diſpens'd with; for within theſe four Days they have ſo fill'd my Head with Stories of Gardening, dreſſing of Vines, Hunting and Fiſhing, that I have ſcarce a ſufficient freedom of thought to diſpatch this Expreſs, and to acquaint you with the Affairs that oblige me to deſire an Interview with you. But that which troubled me moſt, was the impertinent Folly of our wiſer ſort of Country-men: For all of 'em, whether Prieſts, Gentlemen or Peaſants, do nothing but teaze me from Morning to Night with Stories of Wizards and Witches; and Inſtance particularly in you, as being the only Man in the World that has ſuſtain'd moſt harm from that ſort of Cattle; in fine, they ply me ſo hot with their Chimera's, that I'm affrai'd I ſhall turn Magician. The whimſical Souls aſſure me in good earneſt, that ſuch and ſuch a one is a Wizard; nay, ſome ſwear the ſame thing of themſelves, and others declare in Conſcience that they once were of that Society, but had afterwards quited the Devils Sabbath. I ask'd ſeveral of 'em the Charms of that Sabbath, and receiv'd this Anſwer, *That the Sabbath was a Palace accommodated with the beſt Wines, the niceſt Food, the handſomeſt Women, and the moſt agreeable Muſick in the World; That in this Palace they Drink, Eat and Dance, and do with the fine Ladies, what they might do elſewhere without being Wizards.* In fine, I verily believe, that

Beasts are not allow'd to be so Brutish as these Fools. Imagination can't reach their Folly; for 'tis as usual here to call one another Wizard, as to use the compellation of a Friend elsewhere. Every body believes the Wizards are so numerous, that 'tis a Scandal for a Man not to pass for one of the Gang; and so every one glories in the venerable Title of a Wizard or Conjurer.

Since I came to this place I am taken for an Atheist, because I tire my self in inculcating to the Priests and Gentlemen, that none but shallow Brains will entertain such idle Whims. But that which throws me into Dispair is the News that a Man of your Sense should gulp down such monstrous Flams, notwithstanding all the Arguments that guard off such an Opinion. Be it known to you, Sir, you must absolutely deny the Omnipotence of God, if you establish in this World Sorcerers, Magicians, Soothsayers, Inchanters, Apparitions, Phantasms, Familiars, Hobgoblins, and a visible Devil that brings up the rear of all these Chimera's. To believe that God makes use of Wizards and Magicians to afflict Men, or blast the Product of the Earth, speaks a want of Religion, Sense and Wisdom. None but *Europeans* are capable to credit such Phantastical Stories. In this Country every body takes pleasure in recounting his Visions, and there's none but who has seen or heard some Spirit or other in his Life-time. Few dive to the bottom of these popular Errors; and most People would scruple to believe that these Errors are the Inventions of Idolatrous and Christian Priests. The World entertains too favourable an Opinion of the Clergy to charge 'em with that Crime; and if by chance one were found who being convinc'd of the Cheats of

the Prieſts makes the Oracles promote the ſpunging of Mens Pockets and Womens Thighs, an infinity of ignorant Souls would ſtill disbelieve him. Believe me, Sir, I confine my Diſcourſe to theſe Ancient Prieſts, that I may not give you Offence by reflecting on the Induſtry of the Modern; I have the Pope's Kettle too much in view to hinder it to Boil, for one Day it may come to be my laſt Refuge; and ſo I ought to hold my Peace. This Subject would require a clear and diſtinct Diſſertation, and perhaps I may preſent you with ſome ſuch thing one of theſe Days.

In the mean time be pleas'd to know that a * ſtrong Genius will never ſuffer it ſelf to believe the exiſtence of Sorcerers, *&c.* eſpecially conſidering that they are all as poor as Church Rats; for how can we imagine that theſe pretended Miſcreants ſhould have the Courage to truſt themſelves to a Maſter who is ſo far from diſcovering to 'em hidden Treaſures, and a thouſand other things in the Commerce of the World which might inrich 'em, that he ſuffers 'em to be Hang'd and Burnt? Prithee, how can we believe that God impowers theſe poor Wretches to raiſe Storms and overturn the Elements? 'Tis alledged that the Devil inveigles 'em by Promiſes, and makes Contracts with 'em under a private Seal; but from thence 'twould follow that God inveſted the Devil with a Power to ſeduce thoſe poor Mortals; which at the ſame time he could not do without Authorizing Lies. To pretend that God Arms the Enemy of Man-

* *By a ſtrong Genius* (Eſprit Fort) *I underſtand a Man that Eſtabliſhes the Nature of Things; that believes nothing but what is maturely weigh'd by his Reaſon; and without any regard to Prejudice makes wiſe Deciſions upon ſuch Heads as he has clearly canvaſs'd.*

Mankind againſt Humane Creatures, is a downright inſulting of his Wiſdom. None but airy Fools can entertain the Wickedneſs of Sorcerers, the Cunning of Magicians, the Power of Conjurers, the Apparitions of Spirits, and the Soveraignty of the Devil, for Articles of Faith: For ſuch Thoughts are only harbour'd by Fools and Bigots. The Vulgar feed themſelves with ſuch Chimera's; and the Parſons that preach 'em up find their account in all Countries. Do but mind what I ſay, and you'l find I'm in the right of it. In former Times the Character of a Philoſopher or Mathematician was a ſufficient Qualification for a Sorcerer. The Savages believe that a Watch, a Compaſs, and a thouſand other Machines are moved by Spirits; for your ignorant and clowniſh People form extravagant Ideas of every thing that ſurpaſſes their Imagination. The *Laplanders* and the *Tartarian Kalmouks* ador'd Strangers for playing *Legerdemain* Tricks. The *Fire-eater* at *Paris* paſs'd a long while for a Magician. The *Portugueſe* burnt a Horſe that did wonderful things, and his Owner had enough to do to make his eſcape, becauſe they took him for a Conjurer. In *Aſia* the *Chymiſts* are look'd upon as Poyſoners. In *Africa* the Mathematicians bear the name of Wizards. In *America* the Phyſicians are branded for Magicians; and in ſome parts of *Europe* thoſe who are well vers'd in the *Hebrew* Tongue are deem'd for *Jews*.

But to return to the Cunning Men of our Country; What reaſon have we to think that Men would bequeath their Souls for the imaginary *Sabbatic* Pleaſure of poyſoning Cattle, blaſting Corn with Storms and Hail, and raiſing ſuch boiſterous Winds as overturn Trees, and ſtrip the Earth of its Fruits. One would think theſe

Diſciples

Disciples would rather ask Riches of him; for if the Devil is capable of turning the Elements topsy turvy, and interrupting the Course of Nature, why does not his Power extend to the pumping of Gold from the Mines of *Perou*, or engrossing the Treasures of *Europe*, in order to give Pensions to his Magical Votaries, who are as poor as Church Mice? I know you'l answer, *That pieces of Silver will turn into Oak-leaves in the Hands of the Devil:* But that Allegation sinks his Power of working so many Miracles, and particularly that which he imparts to the Wizards. But supposing that he is not allow'd to work in Silver; might not so wise a Creature as he is represented to be, teach 'em the means to acquire it in the way of Commerce or Gaming? What should hinder him to conduct 'em to hidden Treasures, or to such as are lost in Shipwrack, or at least to teach 'em the Secret that enabled the *Passetes* Magician to recal into his Pocket all the Money he spent? You'l meet with some who maintain, that the Devil us'd such Methods long before the Deluge, to precipitate Men into a Magical Idolatry: But if you trace such Doctors from Consequence to Consequence, 'twill follow that God was guilty of a flaming piece of Malice, which cannot be. I would not have you to be surpriz'd in finding that I deny Magicians as well as Sorcerers or Wizards; for if we allow of the one, the other must be acknowledg'd in Course. All the World takes *Agrippa* for the Prince of Magicians; but at the same time he was no more such than you. His Magick lay here. Being one of the greatest Philosophers of his Age, and having given proof of his Knowledge before the Mob of *Lions*, the Women were so charm'd with it, that almost all of 'em employ'd him to cuckold their

Husbands, and at the ſame time ſome Rival Monks who pretended to deſcribe the Devil's Art, plac'd him at the Head of the five Popes, that *Berno* the Schiſmatick Cardinal had the Inſolence to brand for Magicians. But *Agrippa's* Book made the ſame Impreſſion upon the Minds of Fools with the Conjuring Book and *Heptameron* of *Appono*. All theſe Chimera's ſpring from the impertinent Writers of Conjuring, who have fill'd the World with their Illuſions, either thro' Malice or Ignorance. I can't look upon the Books of *John Nider de Vujer*, of *Niger*, *Sprenger*, *Platina*, *Toſtat*, and the two Jeſuits *Deliro* and *Maldonat*, without curſing 'em for ever; for they advance Poſitions ſo contrary to Reaſon, and inconſiſtent with the Wiſdom of God, that all Chriſtian Princes would do well to call in all ſuch Books and have 'em burn'd by the Hand of the publick Executioner, without ſpairing *Bodinus's Demonomania*, the *Mallet of Sorcerers*, and the *Seven Trumpets*. What reaſon have we to believe that *Eric* King of the *Goths* was ſirnam'd *Windy Hat*, becauſe he becken'd to the Winds with his Hat, and made 'em ſhift as he pleas'd; That *Paracelſus* had an Army of Devils under his Command; That *Santaberenus* ſhew'd to *Baſil* the Emperor his Son alive after his Death; That *Michael* the *Scot* foretold the Death of the Emperor *Frederic* II. That *Pythagoras* kill'd a Serpent in *Italy* by Vertue of ſome Magical Words? And yet theſe Authors vent a thouſand Lies of that nature for uncontеſted Truths: But what *Gervais* ſays of *Virgil's* Braſs Fly Crowns the whole Work. 'Tis a Miracle to me that the Chancellor of the Emperor *Otho* ſhould have thus expos'd himſelf in advancing a Falſhood accompany'd with many other Lies. From hence we may learn, the Dignity of a Chancellor has not the vertue to entail

Wiſdom

Wiſdom upon the Fools that brook it. Is it not commonly given out that the Devil run away with Preſident *Pichon*? Who has not heard of Marſhal *Luxemburg*'s Compact with the Devil? And does not the World blindly believe that the poor Curate of *Loudun*, who was burnt by the Tyranny of Cardinal *Richelieu*, without any other Crime than that of incurring his Diſpleaſure; Does not every one believe, I ſay, that this poor Curate rais'd a hundred young Devils out of Hell to poſſeſs the Bodies of the Nuns of *Loudun*? What impertinent and childiſh Stories does *John Schefer* offer in his Hiſtory of *Lapland*? Is not it very ſtrange that the People ſhould be allow'd to read ſuch Books? Are not ſome ſo fooliſh as to credit theſe Chimera's as Articles of Faith? And is it poſſible for you to diſabuſe 'em, or to perſwade 'em that no Man can cure Wounds by the ſpeaking of a few Words, or that the Men who deal in Characters do not perform all ſorts of Miracles by vertue of certain Phials, Garters, *&c.*? No truly, Sir, you would never compaſs your end if you offer'd to teach 'em a Doctrine contrary to theſe receiv'd Opinions; they would hang you for a Heretick, or at leaſt take you for a Magician that by ſuch a cunning ſetch mean'd to ſcreen the whole Magical Fraternity from Proſecution.

Believe me, Sir, all that I now write is poſitively true. The Devil has not the Power to appear viſibly before our Eyes, and by conſequence he can't engage us in his Intereſts by a Magical or Witchcraft Contract. Such a Suppoſition is inconſiſtent with the Goodneſs of God, who does not lay Snares for Men that are already apt to go aſtray. You ſee I do not deny the Exiſtence of the Devil; for I believe he is in Hell: But I deny that he ever remov'd from

the Regions below, to do miſchief upon the Earth. As for the Paſſages of *Scripture*, which you may take for an Objection, I anſwer; That if all the Places of *Scripture* were to be underſtood in a Literal Senſe, God would be ſuppos'd to have Hands and Feet, and the *Holy Ghoſt* to talk like an *Iroqueſe*. You muſt know, that before the coming of the *Meſſias*, Dæmons were the tutelar and benign Gods; and the Word Δαιμόνιον ſignifies nothing elſe but Good Genius; but the *Evangeliſts* have ſtamp'd upon them an Infernal Character, by adding the Epithet, Κακὸς, *i. e.* Evil: And for that Reaſon the good Devils have been ever ſince reputed Evil Spirits, according to the Literal Senſe. Sir, you may perceive, I only inſiſt againſt the Exiſtence of Sorcerers, Magicians, Inchanters, *&c.* which I am the more encourag'd to do, upon the Conſideration, that the Interpreters of Holy Writ have given 'em Titles of *Aſtronomers*, *Chiromancers*, *Aſtrologers*, *&c.* and in giving the Explication of theſe ſynonimous Words, never alledg'd, that they were the Devil's Scholars.

This Subject would require a large Diſſertation; for 'tis truly a very nice Point, which I only pretend to glance upon by the Bye, without ſpending more time in juſtifying the Arraigned Criminals from the guilt of an Imaginary Crime, that 'tis impoſſible for them to put in execution. Believe me, Sir, the Magicians are Rogues that cut a Purſe dexterouſly and unhinge a Door nimbly: Your Apparitions, Phantomes, Hobgoblins and Spirits are Raſcally Varlets, that in the Night time ſteal Corn and Fruit, and kiſs not only the Servant-Maids, but ſometimes their Maſters Wives: Your Inchanters are roving Fellows, and Lovers by Trade, who inveigle poor Girls under a Promiſe of Marriage. Your Sooth-

Soothſayers are the Cunning Eccleſiaſticks, who knowing the *Foible* of ſome Rich men, extort pious Legacies from 'em, with their wonted Dexterity. The Sorcerers are thoſe Falſe Coiners, who abound ſo much in our Country, and the Clippers, who pare the Piaſtres and the *Spaniſh* Piſtoles ſo cleverly; for theſe Sabbatic Works are always performed in the Night-time, and in the obſcureſt Places. All this I offer for your information; and ſo ſhall leave you to believe what you pleaſe.

I know the *Bearneſe* are too much inclined to Superſtition, and owe their Byas to the Ancient Members of their * Parliament, who by a ſtretch of Cruelty beyond that of *Nero*, burnt ſo many Innocent Wretches. If theſe Bigotted Counſellers are now in Paradiſe, moſt certainly neither you nor I will ever be ſent to Hell: Believe me, Sir, the Man that's capable of giving credit to the *Chimera's* I now ſpeak of, will not ſtand to ſwallow a thouſand other Fables that your Men of Senſe make a Jeſt of. I do not pretend to undeceive the Ignorant Vulgar, for I know 'tis impoſſible; 'tis you only that I want to inſtruct; for I'm told, you declare, that all the Cats in the Province have the honour to be animated by the Souls of the Ancient Wizards, whoſe Aſhes have ſerv'd for Lye to the Waſher-women of *Pau* theſe many Years. Our Salvation does not depend upon the belief of that Article, for I'm ſure 'tis no Article of Faith. Some People are very ingenious in frightning themſelves, by conceiving that the Devil transforms himſelf into a Maſtiff, a Sorcerer into a Cat, and a Magician into a Wolf; that a Soul retaining to Purgatory, aſſumes all ſorts of Shapes, in order to beg Prayers

* *Held at* Pau, the *Capital of the Province of* Bearn.

ers of the Living, who have enough to do to pray for themſelves. After theſe Crotchets are once lodg'd in a Man's Brains, he's afraid to lie alone, and the noiſe of a Rat freezes the Blood in his Veins; for a Frighted Imagination trembles at the Apprehenſion of its own *Chimera's*; and beſides the Injury done to himſelf, he does harm to others, by recounting his Impertinent and Rediculous Adventures: His Stories meet with a ready reception, from the weak and ſimple ſort of People, and have ſuch a ſcaring influence upon the Women, that they are forc'd in their Huſbands abſence to get ſome body to lie with 'em, that has the reſolution to oppoſe the Sorcerers, Magicians, Apparitions, *&c.* A Young Girl dares not empty a Tub of Water, unleſs a ſturdy Foot-man accompanies her with a Link in his Hand. In fine, this Doctrine of Sprights is the ſource of a thouſand Inconveniencies, which afford an opportunity to Robbers, Whoremaſters and Profligate Fellows to compaſs their Ends.

As for my part, I ſolemnly declare, in all the Countries I have been in, I never ſaw or heard any thing ſupernatural in the Night-time: I have us'd my Efforts to ſee or hear ſome News from the other World; I have croſs'd *Quebec* Church-yard above a hundred times at Mid-night, in my way to the Lower City, but never met with any thing. But ſuppoſe I had *had* ſome Phantome in my view (pardon the Suppoſition) what d'ye think I would have done? Why, I would e'en have walk'd on very ſedately with my naked Sword over my Arm, if the Spright ſeem'd to be on one ſide of me; and if it had been poſted before me juſt in my way, I would have asked it very civilly, to give me leave to paſs by. You'll reply, perhaps, that Swords and Piſtols are uſeleſs in ſuch caſes, and that I own to be true; but then

then you muſt conſider, that if it had been a Spright, a Shadow and Vapour could not wound me no more than I could wound it; and if it had been ſome Living Thing of a Monſtrous Figure, my Arms would have ſerv'd to puniſh the Inſolent Impoſtor. Do but obſerve, Sir, that in all the Stories of Apparitions, Sprights, Fantoms, Hobgoblins, *&c.* we never hear of the killing or wounding of any body. Now, if theſe pretended Infernal Ambaſſadors have ſuch tender Hands, why ſhould we fear 'em more than the Lightning that uſhers in a Clap of Thunder? In fine, a Wiſe Man ought not to dread any thing but that which can annoy him either directly, or indirectly.

You'll object, perhaps, that a Soldier, who has ſignaliz'd his Courage and Bravery on ſeveral occaſions, has been known to tremble, grow pale, and ſweat for fear, upon the ſeeing or hearing of a String of Living Fantoms, that pretended to divert themſelves at his Coſt. I acknowledge that ſuch a thing may happen, but it proceeds from this; that ſuch people have entertain'd a Notion of Viſions from their Infancy, without giving themſelves the trouble to enquire into the poſſibility of their Exiſtence. In a word, they have believ'd what other Bigots believe of the Power of the Devil. Such men fear nothing but their own Imagination. But I have done; time runs, and I am oblig'd to go about a little Buſineſs immediately: I wiſh I may meet with no Pettyfogger in my way, for that Cattel is not ſo eaſy to deal with as Wizards and Phantoms.

I deſire an interview at *Orrea*: The Papers I now ſend along with this Letter, will inform you of the Buſineſs I want to diſcourſe. The Country I am now in is a very good Country,

but

but I do not find Mony ſtirring among us, which in my troth I do not like, for among the *Europeans* one can't live without Money, as they do among the *Hurons* of *Canada*. I always think of that Countrey with regret, when my Pocket is at low water, and my Mind diſquieted with Care and Anxiety, in contriving how to fill it with that precious Metal, that gives life and ſpirit to the ſorrieſt ſort of Men, and inſpires 'em with all Good Qualities.

I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c:

LETTER VI.

Dated at *Hueſca, July* 11. 1695.

Containing an Account of the Author's wonderful Eſcape; his being taken up for a Huguenot, *and examin'd by the Ignorant Curates.*

I'Ve 'ſcap'd for once, but 'twas a very narrow Eſcape, as you may gueſs by the Story of my Flight, which was in ſhort thus. I was upon the point of meeting you according to agreement at *Ortez*, and for that Reaſon had been at *Dax* to receive ſome Papers which ſeem'd to be of uſe to me; when by a matchleſs piece of Good Luck,

I met with a Letter from a certain perſon at *Verſailles*. I had no ſooner read my Letter, than I march'd ſtraight to my Lodging, to contrive within my ſelf ſome way to get ſafe out of the Kingdom. You may be ſure my Council was ſoon aſſembled, for ſuch a Head-piece as mine does not uſe to ſpend much time in Conſultations. I determined to delude my Landlord, by deſiring him to give me an Account in Writing of the Road to *Agen*, where I pretended to have ſome Buſineſs. The beſt of the matter is, that I had already got of my Farmers near two hundred Piſtoles, and a fine Horſe, which I was oblig'd to for my lucky deliverance. I got up by the break of day, and deſir'd a Guide to conduct me out of one of the Gates of the City, that leads a quite different way from that I had in my Eye.

As ſoon as I got out of Town, I took the Road of *Ortez*, and avoiding all Villages, ſteer'd upon Heaths, Fields, Vine-yards and Woods, following all By-paths, and lodging in the remoteſt Houſes; I had no other Guide but the Sun, and the ſight of the *Pyrenees*, and ask'd every one I met upon the Road, which was the way to *Pau*. But not to detain you too long with the Particulars of my Journey, you muſt know, I arrived atlaſt at *Laruns*, the laſt Village of *Bearn*, ſcituated as you know, in the Valley of *Ozao*. I had ſcarce entred this fooliſh Village, when a Company of Peaſants ſurrounded me on all ſides: Judge you if I had not reaſon to fear that the Grand Provoſt was not far behind; but I was miſtaken, for the Raſcals ſtop'd me for no other Reaſon, but becauſe they fancied there was ſomewhat in my Countenance that looked like *Huguenotiſm*; they gave me leave however to alight at a Tavern, which was ſo dark and full of Smoak, that you would have took it

for the Antichamber to Hell; and here, you muſt know the Parſon was to come to examine me in Matters of Religion, and that in a Country where the Prieſts underſtand as little what they believe as their Pariſhioners: For after I had anſwer'd him upon all the Points he thought fit to mention, he ſwore I was a *Huguenot*; and upon this, Sir, I was like to have loſt all patience. But conſidering I had Beaſts to deal with, I thought my beſt way was to uſe 'em as Beaſts; ſo I offer'd to ſatisfie 'em by reciting the *Litany*, and the *Sunday Veſpers*, but this Stratagem fail'd me, for they ſtill continued obſtinate, in propoſing to carry me to *Pau*. Judge what a perplexity I was in, when the Infamous Rabble ſaid, *The* Pſalms *and the* Litanies *were the firſt Prayers the* Huguenots *learn'd to cover their Deſign of getting out of the Kingdom.* It ſignify'd nought to tell 'em, I was Maſter of the Horſe to *Monſieur L' Abbee' d' Eſtrees*, and that I was going to that Ambaſſador in *Portugal*; that was *Clamare in deſerto*. 'Twas to as little purpoſe to threaten to ſend immediately to the Intendant at *Pau*, to demand Juſtice for the Affront, and for my being ſtopt: All this did not move 'em. At laſt, after a melancholly Reflection on the danger I was in, I reſolv'd to try all ways to delude theſe Ignorant Creatures; though this was no eaſy task, for they are wholly govern'd by their Doctors. And here I think I ought to pray to God to bleſs the firſt Inventer of Snuff, for after I had fretted my ſelf two or three Hours in talking to theſe Varlets, I accidentally pull'd out my Snuff-box, without thinking of it, and as ſoon as I open'd it, one of the moſt Civiliz'd Men of the Company deſir'd to ſee the Picture on the Inſide, which repreſented a Court-Lady upon a Couch, all naked, with her Hair hanging looſe. As ſoon as he had

had looked upon it, he ſhow'd it to the reſt, who ſaid to one another in their *Bernoiſe* Language, That it was a *Mary Magdalene*. At this Lucky Word, I rous'd my Spirits, when all on a ſudden the Parſon ask'd me, What the Meaning of the Picture was? I made anſwer, *'Twas a Saint that would take Vengeance of them for an Affront offer'd to one of her Deveuteſt Worſhippers*: And ſo fixing my Eyes upon the Naked Figure, I made a Prayer to that Saint with an Elogy; in which I attributed more Miracles to her than to all the Saints in Paradiſe. This, together with the Exclamations I made, did ſo blind the Company, that they all kiſs'd the Head of the Pretended Saint with a wonderful Zeal, and from that time I was no *Huguenot*, for I ſtill continued to invoke the Saint that in *Bearn* is known to be a worker of Miracles, with the ſame fury and diſpoſition that I then feign'd. Every one ſtrove to get my Prayers down in Writing, and all the Peaſants now were at Emulation one with another who ſhould guide me over the Mountains, or who ſhould furniſh me with Mules. Such, Sir, is the diverting Hiſtory of the ſtrange Effects of Snuff: If it is of uſe to others, to hammer out an Argument by gaining the time which is ſpent in conveying it from the Fingers to the Noſe, 'twas of great uſe to me another way, without ſo much as expecting it. What a Misfortune it is for an Honeſt Man to be under a Neceſſity of prophaning the Saints for the preſervation of his Life! 'Tis true, my Meaning was good, and I have asked Pardon of God for it. This ſhews that a well manag'd Eye can produce among Ignorant People even ſuch Effects as the Naked Truth cannot compaſs. What pity is it that a Parſon ſhould not ſo much as underſtand his *Catechiſm*, and at the ſame time

ſwallow

ſwallow down Idle Stories for Miracles! But this is the Biſhop's Buſineſs, not mine.

And indeed our Biſhops are much like our Officers, who are prefer'd more by Favour and Intereſt than by Merit. The greateſt part of them are more induſtrious to pleaſe their Sovereign than their God. But a man had as good pretend to drink the Ocean dry, as to attempt a Reformation of theſe Abuſes.

To continue the Thread of my Adventure, you muſt know, I hired two Mules, one for my Guide, another for my ſelf. My Horſe was ſo tired with ſtrugling to ſave me, that Gratitude obliged me to uſe him with all manner of civility and mildneſs; for 'twas no more than what he deſerved by his fatiguing Services. In the mean time the Night, which ſeem'd as long to me as an Age, (ſo much I dreaded the Provoſt's Crew) gave me more leiſure than enough to beg pardon of God for the Contrivance by which I ſaved my ſelf, in making uſe of the Names of his Saints. In this Condition I was continually peeping at the Window to look for the dawning of the Day, but this Village is ſo ſhut up among the *Pyrenees*, that 'tis a hard matter to diſcern the Sun in his Meridian, or the tenth part of the Arch of the Heavens. At laſt wearied with that uneaſineſs, and quite ſpent with the Fatigues both of Body and Mind, I tried to indulge Nature with one Hours ſleep as a recompence for three Days waking, when all on a ſudden I was alarm'd with a great Noiſe of Men and Horſes at the Inn-Gate; the Knocks they gave, and their ſtrange Hollowing, freez'd all the Blood in my Veins, for I thought all the Conſtables in the Kingdom were upon my Back; but my Fears prov'd abortive, for it was only ſome Muliteers going to traffick in *Spain*.

By

By this time Day-light appear'd, and my Guide called upon me, upon which we set out, and join'd in with these Travellers: That Day we went as far as *Sallent*, the first Town in *Spain*, seven Leagues distant from *Larons*; having pass'd a House which the *Spaniards* call *Aigues Caudes*, that is, the Hot-waters, or a Bath which cures a world of Diseases. When we were got to *Sallent*, they shewed us to an Inn, so dark, that it seem'd fitter for a Vault to lodge Dead-Carcasses in, than to entertain Passengers; my Spirits were then so exhausted for want of rest, that I fell asleep immediately, and slept standing in a manner; the Beds looking like a Magazine of Lice, I made them spread me some Straw upon the Boards, where I laid my self down, after having order'd my Guide to provide for himself what Cheer he lik'd best, upon the Proviso that he should not wake me. I slept in this Posture from Nine a Clock at Night till Noon next Day without waking; after which we spent the rest of the Day in finding out a sorry Meal of Meat: The next Day after we put on very smartly, and came to an Inn where we found good store of Fouls and Pigeons, and upon these we made reprisals for our former Ill Fare. In short, we arriv'd last Night at this City, which stands upon a flat low Ground, at the distance of Two Leagues from the Mountains. All I can tell you of the Country, is; That from *Larons* to this Place, we have two and twenty Leagues distance; and upon that Road we do nothing but climb up and descend narrow Paths, upon which, if the Mule did but stumble, there's an unavoidable necessity of tumbling down a Dismal Precipice. My Guide

told me, That the Road through the Valley of *Aſpe*, is the pleaſanteſt, ſhorteſt and moſt convenient; but the way which leads by St. *John de Pied de Port* has this advantage, that there's only Eight Leagues of Mountains between *Roncevaux* and the Plains of *Navarre*. Upon the whole, I wonder much that *Hercules* did not ſplit theſe Mountains for the Accommodation of Travellers, as well as thoſe of *Calpe* and *Abila* for the Conveniency of Sailers. I ſet out to morrow by the break of Day, in order to reach *Saragoza* at Night.

I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

LETTER VII.

Dated at *Saragoza*, Octob. 8. 1695.

Containing a Deſcription of Saragoza; *a View of the Government of* Arragon, *and an account of the Cuſtoms of the People.*

SIR,

I Have been three Months in this good Town of *Saragoza*, during which time, I've receiv'd ſeven or eight Letters, charging me with Careleſſneſs in not ſatisfying your Curioſity: But the fault lies at your own Door and not at mine; for

for if you had not been so negligent as to delay the sending of what I receiv'd this very day, my Pen had not trac'd the uneasyness of my Mind, instead of pursuing the following Relation.

Saragoza is the Capital City of the Kingdom of *Arragon*: And I can't tell whether I ought to call it only *pretty*, or *very pretty*. However, I'm sure 'tis a very great City; the Streets are broad and well pav'd; the Houses are for the most part three Story high, tho' some of 'em have five or six; and all of 'em are Built after the old Fashion. The Market and publick Places are not worth speaking of. In the City there are a great many Convents, which are generally very pretty; as well as their Gardens and Churches. The Cathedral Church call'd *La Ceu* is a huge and very Stately Edifice. The Church of *Nuestra Seniora de l' Pilar* is but very ordinary as to its Architecture. The Chappel indeed where that *Seniora* stands is Curious, upon the account that 'tis under Ground. The *Spaniards* pretend that the Substance of which 'tis Built is unknown to all Mankind; but if 'twere not for their assertion, I should have took it for *Walnut-Tree*. This Chappel is thirty six Foot long, and twenty six Foot broad. 'Tis fill'd with Lamps, Banisters and Silver Candle-Sticks; and besides a great Altar, contains a great quantity of Feet, Hands, Hearts and Heads, which the Miracles of that *Virgin* drew to the Sacred Place: For you know the *Virgin* Works Miracles every day that surpass imagination. But the most solid thing about her, is an infinity of precious Stones of inestimable value, with which her Gown, Crown and Niche are Garnish'd. Besides these, there are two Churches here which were Built by the *Goths*, and are both Strong and Beautiful; having very pretty Vaults, which shew

that *that* People were perfectly well acquainted with *Stereometry*.

Saragoza is Seated on the River *Ebro*, which is as broad as the *Seyne* at *Paris*. It ſtands upon ſmooth level Ground, and incompaſs'd with a Wall that's Ruinous in ſeveral places. The People of *Arragon* put a mighty value upon a Stone-Bridge that's over that River; becauſe they never ſaw many better: But they have more reaſon to value the Wooden-Bridge that lyes a little lower, for indeed 'tis one of the fineſt in *Europe*. This City affords *Academies* for the exerciſe both of the Body and the Mind; and above all, a fine *Univerſity* that may be call'd the beſt in *Spain* next to *Salamanca* and *Alcala des Henares*. The *Students* are generally Cloath'd like *Prieſts*, that is, with a long Cloak.

The Duke *de Jovenazo* is Viceroy of this Kingdom; and as I take it, that triennial Dignity is more Honourable than Beneficial, for it does not bring in above ſix thouſand Crowns a Year. The Arch-Biſhoprick is worth twenty thouſand Crowns; but the preſent Arch-Biſhop being a very good Man, diſtributes one third of his Revenue among the Poor. Tho' his Birth was obſcure, yet he was *Preſident* of one of the Councils of *Spain*, which perhaps occaſion'd that natural Antipathy to the *French*, that he ſhews upon all occaſions. The Canons of his Cathedral and thoſe of *Notre dame de Pilier*, make a hundred Crowns a Month of their Canonſhips. The Miniſter call'd * *El juſticia*, receives Appeals from all the Courts of *Arragon*. 'Tis from his Hands that the Kings of *Spain* receive a drawn Sword, when they take the Oath to maintain the Privileges of the Kingdom, upon their Acceſſion to the Throne.

* *His place is much like that of a* Chancellour.

Throne. This Ceremony is perform'd in the *Deputation-Houſe*, which indeed is a wonderful Edifice. The *Salmedina* is a ſort of Lieutenant-General, both Civil and Military. This Office, which bears both the Gown and the Sword, is Triennial as well as that of his Deputy. The † *Audiencia* conſiſts of ſeveral Counſellours, who are as nice a ſort of Men as our own. Beſides theſe, there are five Sheriffs or *Jurates*, who hold their troubleſome Poſts but two years, and are properly the Civil Judges that take care of the Government of the City. In fine, I ſhould never have done, if I offer'd to give a particular Liſt of all the Offices in this Kingdom.

† *Parliament.*

Bread, Wine, Fowl, Partridges and Hares are very cheap in this place; but Butchers Meat is very dear, and good Fiſh is a rarity. The Strangers that Travel this way, are oblig'd to Lodge in certain Inns call'd by the *Spaniards*, *Meſon*; in which the Inn-Keeper furniſhes nothing to his Gueſts but a Chamber, a Bed, a Stable, || Straw and Barley. 'Tis true, the Servants buy what you pleaſe for you, and dreſs it as you order 'em, provided you require nothing but plain Boiling and Roſting. The *Arragon* Wines are ſweet and ſtrong, eſpecially the Black ſort, for the White is neither ſo ſtrong nor ſo ſweet. In the Summer time they have no other Diverſion but Walking, and that towards the Evening, when the Gentlemen walk out of Town, as well as the Ladies, apart: But 'tis not the freſh Air ſo much as the warm breathing that they have in view. In Winter, they are entertain'd with Plays, which the *Prieſts* and *Friars* frequent without any Scruple. Every Night there's an Aſſembly or Meeting at the Houſe of the Duke

|| *There's neither Hay nor Corn in Spain.*

of *Jovenazo*, where they Game, and Diſcourſe and drink Chocolate or other Liquors: And the Perſons of the firſt Rank are almoſt always there. They are honeſt and affable to the laſt degree. As for my own part, I have receiv'd very ſenſible Marks of their Friendſhip, particularly that of being regal'd in their Houſes; which diſcovers to me that they are not ſo unſociable as they are repreſented to be. 'Tis true, that in publick the Smile never unfurles their Brow, and no familiarity of Joy can oblige 'em to relent in their affected Gravity: But in private Converſation they are the heartieſt People in the World; I mean, they are the briskeſt and merryeſt Companions that can be.

Almoſt all the People of *Arragon* are as lean as I am, and ſo, Sir, you may eaſily judge what a ſort of Meen they have. They allege for the cauſe of their Leanneſs, that their Tranſpiration is great, that they Eat and Sleep but little, that their Paſſions are ſprightly and violent; and in fine, that they diſſipate their Spirits by exerciſes which the *French* do not follow ſo often. Their Complexion is as pale as mine; which perhaps is owing to theſe very exerciſes; at leaſtwiſe, 'tis *Ovid*'s Opinion in ſaying [*Pallea ommia amor; Color hic eſt aptus amanti.*] Their Stature goes ſomewhat beyond the midling Standard. Their Hair is of a dark Cheſnut colour, and their Complexion is as fair as that of the *Bearneſe*.

All I have ſaid of the People of *Arragon*, may be apply'd in particular to the Women as well as the Men; tho' indeed the former are not quite ſo lean as the latter. They can't be call'd handſome, but at the ſame time one can't avoid owning that they are agreeable and lovely. If Nature has been ſtingy and penurious in Forming their Throat and Fore-Head, ſhe has been prodigal

digal of her Gifts in giving 'em great ſparkling Eyes, ſo full of Fire that they burn without mercy from top to toe all that approach to 'em. They are very much oblig'd to *Theano*, *Pythagoras*'s Wife, for teaching 'em that their Sex was Born for no other end than for the agreeable Trade of loving and being lov'd. This ſoft Moral ſuits their Complexion perfectly well; and accordingly they practiſe it to a Miracle: For in the Morning they run to Church, with intent to purchaſe Hearts rather than Paradiſe; and Dinner is no ſooner over, than they go to Viſit their She-Friends, who do mutual Services to one another in the way of Intrigue, by favouring the entry of their Lovers into one another's Houſes, and that with a great deal of artifice and cunning. Contrivance is all in all in this Country; for the vertue of the Women lies in playing their Cards handſomely and dextrouſly, diſguiſing the Intrigue, more than elſewhere. Their Husbands are plagny Sharp-ſighted, and if their Intrigues take but the leaſt Air, they run the riſque of taking a Journey to the other World, unleſs they flie to a Convent. 'Tis not above a Month and a half ſince I ſaw a Girl Stabb'd by her own Brother at Church, at the very foot of the Altar, for having entertain'd an amorous Correſpondence. He had made a Journey from *Madrid* on purpoſe to do this mighty Exploit; for which he was Puniſh'd with two Months Impriſonment.

There has not been above eighteen or twenty deſign'd Murders and Aſſaſſinations committed ſince I came hither; by reaſon that the Nights are as yet too ſhort: But I am told that in Winter there never paſſes a Night without two or three ſuch inſtances. 'Tis true, 'tis only the poor miſerable Wretches of two Pariſhes in the City, who in-

PAGINATION INCORRECT

ſult one another at that rate; and are drove to that extremity by Feuds of ancient ſtanding. The frequency of ſuch diſorders is owing to this, that a Man can't be condemn'd to die without great Evidence upon the matter, and that the Condemn'd Criminals make uſe of the privileges of the Kingdom, to put off the Execution from Term to Term: By which means they get off at laſt for being turn'd over to the Galleys, which there are a thouſand ways to get clear of: So that unleſs the Judge is Sollicited againſt them by a ſtrong Party, they always 'ſcape the Gallows.

As for Robbing in the Streets, they know nothing of it; and the Murders that happen have no relation to any intention of that Nature. I have frequently Walk'd home all alone at Midnight from the *Viceroy*'s Houſe, without meeting with any affront. 'Tis true, I diſcontinued that practice after the Perſons of Quality adviſ'd me to go always in Company, leſt the Aſſaſſins ſhould miſtake me for another. However, Perſons of Note or Character have nothing to fear, unleſs they be imbarqu'd in ſome Amorous Intrigue; then indeed they run the riſque of being Stabb'd in the Streets at Noon: So that a Man muſt either have his Wits about him, or elſe have recourſe to common Whores, if he means to avoid ſuch a fatal Exit. Now of theſe two Expedients the firſt is the beſt, becauſe it preſerves at once his Pocket and his Health.

The Nobility of *Arragon* is tolerably Rich; but they might be Richer if the Peaſants of *Arragon* Work'd as hard as *ours* do. Theſe idle Fellows imploy the † *Gavachos* (with whom *Spain* is plagued) to Manure their Grounds, and to Sow and Reap. The Vulgar People are

† *An Epithet they give to the* French, *which at the bottom ſignifies nothing at all.*

are of the Opinion that *France* is the worſt Country in the World, becauſe the *French* exchange it for theirs: And indeed 'tis true, that the Labourers, the Reapers, the Fellers of Wood, and all ſorts of Tradeſmen, without mentioning the Coach-men, Foot-men and Water-bearers, come for the moſt part from *Bearn*, *Languedock*, and *Auvergne*. Here we meet with ſome *Bearn* Merchants who have inrich'd themſelves by Trading to *France*: For notwithſtanding the War, an open Commerce is ſtill maintain'd. If the People of *Arragon* had their Wits about 'em, and had a mind to inrich their Country, they might eaſily compaſs their end.

The River of *Ebro* is Navigable from *Tortoza* to *Miranda d' Ebro*, by great flat bottom'd Boats, ſuch as we have in the *Seyne*. A great many Perſons who have come down the *Ebro*, have aſſur'd me that 'tis three Foot deep in the Shalloweſt places, and that its Current is very gentle: So that the only difficulty lies in finding a Road upon the Banks of the River, in order to drag up the Boats when they want to ſtem the Stream. The *French* bring hither a great many Mules and little Nags, upon which they gain *Cent per Cent*, all Charges diſcounted. Theſe Mules are made uſe of to draw the Coaches and * *Galeras*: For the *Eſtramadura* Mules are very dear, and do not thrive in this Country ſo well as in the Southern Countries of *Spain*. As for the little Galloway's, they commonly ſell beſt in the Kingdom of *Valencia*, where the Peaſants imploy 'em for different uſes. The Coaches of that Country are much of the ſame Form with our Travelling-Coaches in *France*; and they go ſo very ſlowly that they would not drive round the Town in the longeſt Summer's day. The cuſtom

* *Great Carts drawn by eight Mules, which hold eight hundred weight.*

of

of Viſiting upon Horſe-Back, prevails here as well as in *Portugal*. The Gentlemen and Officers are dreſs'd after the *French* way; for they find the *Spaniſh* Habit unſufferable, by reaſon of the *Golilla*, or a ſort of Collar, in which the Neck is ſo lac'd up, that they can't turn or bow the Head.

The Women's Garb ſeems ridiculous to Strangers, tho' at the bottom 'tis not ſuch. I am already convinc'd that 'tis infinitely preferable to *ours*. The *Spaniſh* Women can't cover any defect of Nature; for they wear neither Hoods, Heels, nor Whale-bone Bodice. Were the *French* Ladies oblig'd to go in this faſhion, 'twould not be in their Power to deceive ſo many Men by their artificial Towers, their Shooe-Heels and their falſe Hips. Tis true, the *Spaniſh* Women may be cenſur'd for diſcovering their Shoulders and half their Arms: But at the ſame time, the *French* muſt not go uncheck'd for expoſing to open eye two parts that are at once more ſenſible and more tempting; for if it be alleg'd that the former give offence backwards, by the ſame juſtice it may be reply'd that the latter ſcandaliſe before. In fine, as the Women of this Country lye under reſtraints, ſo they have the ſatisfaction of being very much reſpected; for when they paſs along the Streets either in Coach or on Foot, with their Face uncover'd, every body ſtops to make 'em a Bow, which they anſwer by bowing the Head without bending the Knee. Their Gentlemen-Uſhers, who are always old Fellows paſt the reach of Suſpicion, give 'em their bare hand; for ſuch is the *Spaniſh* way: And theſe are the only privileg'd Perſons that have the benefit of touching their hands; for when a *Cavalier* happens accidentally to be near the *Holy Water* while a Lady offers to come to it, he

ſhakes

ſhakes his Beads in the Water, in order to preſent 'em to her. The ſame is the caſe in Dancing, which do's not happen often: For the Gentleman and the Lady come no nearer than the two ends of a Handkerchief, by which they hold; and ſo you may gueſs how Buſſing would go down in this Country.

I muſt tell you, the *Spaniards* are not ſo ſtern and unſociable as they are repreſented; which you'll perceive from a ſlender account of their way of Entertainment. A Gentleman that I met frequently at the *Viceroy*'s, and at the *Academies*, did me the honour to Viſit me; and I return'd his Compliment in the ſame way. When I came to return the Viſit, he receiv'd me at the Stair-Head, and conducted me to a Hall, where we convers'd for half an hour; after which I ask'd how his Lady did, and he made anſwer, *that he believ'd ſhe was ſo well as to receive us in her Chamber.* This done, the Chocolate and Biſkuyts began to appear; upon which the Gentleman roſe and introduc'd me to his Lady's Chamber. The Lady ſtood up till we made our Honours, and ſate down upon her *Sofa*, while Chairs were ſetting for us. I told her I was infinitely oblig'd to her Husband for procuring me the honour of Saluting her. She made anſwer; *that he look'd upon me as a Spaniard.* After that we drank ſome Chocolate, and ſhe ask'd me if I lik'd it, and whether the *French* Ladies us'd to drink it. This Interview laſted but half a quarter of an hour, for being affraid of infringing upon the *Spaniſh* Formalities, I roſe, and after taking leave walk'd out of the Room with her Husband, who invited me to Dinner. We walk'd till Dinner time in the Garden, and after the Gentleman had ſhewn me his Horſes, we went up again to the Hall, where the Table Cloath was laid: In

a moment in came the Lady, and Saluting us after her way, took her place on one ſide of the Table, as we did on the other. Firſt of all, they ſerv'd up *Melons*, *Raiſins*, *Nectarines*, and *Figs*; then every one had his Commons ſet before him, (like a *Monk*'s Meſs) conſiſting of a Breſt of MuttonRoaſted in the firſt Service, a Partridge and a Pigeon Roaſted in the ſecond, and a Rabbet Pye in the third, a Fricaſſee of Foul in the fourth, * *Oronges* ſurrounded with little Trouts of the bigneſs of one's Finger in the fifth, and an Appricock Tart in the ſixth: And after all, we had a ſort of Soupe as yellow as the Saffron with which 'twas cram'd. This, Sir, was the juſt Bill of Fare for every one's Meſs. In the mean time, we talk'd of nothing but the *French* Ladies: The Lady alleg'd that in *France*, the great Liberty allow'd to the Men in viſiting the Ladies, and Playing or Walking with 'em, expos'd the Wiſeſt and moſt Vertuous Women to the affronts of indiſcreet and detracting Perſons, who to make themſelves paſs for Men of happy Intrigues, defame the Ladies that reſiſt 'em. In fine, after we had rail'd againſt the Husbands that tamely put up ſuch affronts, inſtead of reſenting 'em, we roſe from Table: So ſhe took leave after the uſual way, and retir'd to her Chamber. When I came to take leave of the Gentleman, he walk'd before me to the Head of the Stairs, where he ſtop'd on the left hand, leaving me the right while I bid him Adieu. There he ſtood till I got at the foot of the Stairs, upon which he gave me his Hat once more, and ſo we loſt ſight of one another.

* *A ſort of Muſhrooms red on the upper ſide, and yellow underneath.*

I thought it proper to give you the Hiſtory of this Adventure, that you may thereby know how the *Spaniards* treat their Friends. If a hundred Gentlemen had regal'd me at ſo many ſeveral times, there would have been no difference, unleſs it be as to the goodneſs of the Cheer; for the Ceremony is the ſame in one Houſe that you have in another. So that by this deſcription, you know all that's uſual in *Spain* upon ſuch occaſions. I believe I have acquainted you that the *Spaniſh* Women look upon us as an indiſcreet ſort of People, and perhaps they are not much out in their thoughts; for all the Women of *Europe* ſpeak of us at the ſame rate. I'll preſent you with ſome *Spaniſh* Verſes that a fooliſh ſort of a Poet made upon that Head above fifty years ago.

Los Diſcretos Eſpanoles
A Los Maridos Zelozos
Hazen en Callados Gozos
Orejus de Caracoles;
No ſan Tales les francezes
Tanto no pueden Cubrir
Antes Mas quieren Mil Vezes.
No hazer que no deſir.

That is to ſay in good Proſe. *The diſcreet Spaniards aſſiſt the Women to cuckold their Husbands by ſecret Imbraces; whereas the French can conceal nothing, for they'd chooſe a thouſand times rather to be without the Adventure, than not to ſpeak of it.*

This, Sir, is much of a piece with the Argument of that *Huron*, who alledges that we glory in requiting a Lady's Favour with a piece of Ingratitude, that tarniſhes her Reputation to all intents and purpoſes. This caution may teach the Women not to confide in rattle brain'd Fellows. A Woman of Senſe will eaſily find out the Cha-

racter

racter of a Man, when she has a mind to give her self the trouble of inspecting his conduct. Tho' our young Sparks are Fools, yet the Ladies choose 'em before wiser Men; because Wisdom do's not take place till Nature begins to run low.

The indiscreet Tongue of a young *Cavalier*, do's a considerable injury to his Mistriss: But at the same time, your Chamber-Maids and Confidents, are not less guilty. We have frequent instances of Women that lose themselves by neglecting a due Precaution with reference to their Domesticks. I call that Woman a Wise Woman that knows how to cover her Folly handsomely. Now, this is one of the first Accomplishments of your *Spanish* Women, who by that means oblige their Husbands very much; for tho' the Adventure makes the Cuckold, 'tis the Noise that makes the *Horns*. With this Lucky Word I conclude my Letter, intreating you would Write to me to *Bilbao*, for I design to go thither with the first opportunity. From thence I intend to Sweep (either by Sea or Land) along the *Maritime* Coast, as far as *Portugal*, in order to view the Ports and Havens, I have so often heard of. I shall take more pleasure in that discovery, than in seeing the finest Cities of the World: And thus you see there's no disputing a Man out of his relish.

I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

A SHORT

A Short

DICTIONARY

Of the moſt Univerſal

LANGUAGE

OF THE

SAVAGES.

I Could eaſily have ſent you a compleat *Dictionary* of all the Savage Words, without excepting one, and of ſeveral curious Phraſes: But I conſider'd 'twould be of no uſe to you, it being ſufficient to ſee the common Words that are every Moment in their Mouths. This is enough for any Man that deſigns for *Canada*, for if he does but learn in his Paſſage thoſe I have ſet down, he will be able to Converſe with the Savages, after frequenting their Company two or three Months.

There are but two Mother Tongues in the whole extent of *Canada*, which I confine within the Limits of *Miſſiſipi*; but beyond that River there's an infinity of other Languages that few *Europeans* could yet learn, by reaſon of the little Correſpondence they have with the Savages of thoſe Parts. The two Mother Tongues I

ſpeak

ſpeak of, are the *Huron* and the *Algonkin*. The firſt is underſtood by the *Iroqueſe*, for the difference betwixt the *Huron* and the *Iroqueſe* Language is not greater than that between the *Norman* and the *French*: And ſome Savages on the Confines of *New York* ſpeak a Language that is very near the ſame. The *Andaſtoguerons*, *Torontogueronons*, *Errieronons*, and ſeveral other Savage Nations whom the *Iroqueſe* have totally deſtroy'd, ſpoke likewiſe the ſame Tongue, and underſtood one another perfectly well. The Second, namely the *Algonkine*, is as much eſteem'd among the Savages, as the *Greek* and *Latin* is in *Europe*; tho' 'twould ſeem that the *Algonkins*, to whom it owes its Original, diſgrace it by the thinneſs of the Nation, for their whole number does not exceed two Hundred.

You muſt know that all the Languages of *Canada*, excepting the *Huron* and thoſe which retain to it, come as near to the *Algonkine*, as the *Italian* to the *Spaniſh*; and 'tis for that reaſon that all the Warriours and ancient Counſellors of ſo many different Nations affect to ſpeak it with all manner of nicety. 'Tis ſo neceſſary to Travellers in that Country, that in ſpeaking it one is certain of making himſelf to be underſtood by all ſorts of Savages in whatſoever place he comes to, whether in *Acadia* or *Hudſon's Bay*, or upon the Lakes, or even among the *Iroqueſe*, among whom a great many have learn'd it for Reaſons of State, notwithſtanding that it differs from theirs more widely than Night from Day.

The *Algonkine* Language has neither *Tone* nor *Accent*, nor ſuperfluous dead Letters; ſo that 'tis as eaſie to pronounce it as to write it. 'Tis not Copious, no more than the other Languages of *America*; for the People of that Continent are

Strangers

Strangers to Arts and Sciences, they are unacquainted with the Laws of Ceremony and Complement, and an infinity of Words that the *Europeans* uſe to imbelliſh their Diſcourſe. Their Speech is only adapted to the Neceſſities and Conveniences of Life, and there is not one uſeleſs or ſuperfluous Word in the whole Language. Farther, this Tongue makes no uſe either of F or V Conſonant.

To the end of the *Dictionary* I have added the four Tenſes of the *Indicative* of the Verb, *I love.* The *Indicative* is form'd from the *Infinitive*, by adding the Perſonal Note *ni*, which ſignifies *me* or *I.* Thus, *Sakia* ſignifies *to love*, and *Niſakia*, *I love.* The ſame is the caſe with all the other Verbs.

'Tis an eaſie matter to conjugate the Verbs of this Language after one has learn'd the Preſent Tenſe of the Indicative Mood. To the Imperfect Tenſe they add *Ban*, as *Sakiaban*, *I lov'd*; to the Perfect Tenſe they add *ki* after the perſonal mark, as *ni kiſakia*, *I have lov'd*, and to the Future *ga* in like manner, as *ni gaſakia* or *nin gaſakia*, *I ſhall love.* All the other Tenſes of the Verb are form'd from the Preſent of the Indicative, for Example, *Ningaſakiaban*, *I would love*, *Ninkiſakiaban*, *I ſhould have lov'd.* In a Word, when the Preſent of the Indicative, and the additional Particles for the other Tenſes, are once known, the whole Language may be learn'd in a very little time. As for the Imperative 'tis form'd by prefixing *A* to the Infinitive, as *Aſakia*, *love thou*, and the Plural, *let us love*, is form'd by ſubjoyning *Ta* to the Infinitive, as *Sakiata*, *let us love.* It remains only to ſhew the Perſonal Notes, *viz.*

I or Me, *Nir*,
Thee or Thou, *Kir*,
He or Him, *Ouir*.
We, *Niraoueint*.
You, *Kiraoua*.
You and We, *Kiraoueint*.
They or Them, *Ouiraoua*.

A

ABandon or forſake, I abandon, *Packitan*.
Above, *Spimink*.
Admirable, 'tis admirable (the Savages ſpeak it by way of Deriſion) *Pilaoua*.
Afterwards, *Mipidach*.
All, *Kakina*.
All of 'em, *Miſſouse*.
All in all, *Alouch bogo*.
Always, *Kakeli*.
Amiſs, that's amiſs, 'tis good for nothing, *Napitch Malatat*.
And, *Gaye* or *Mipigaye*.
Arrive, I arrive, *Takouchin*.
Aſhes, Powder, Duſt, *Pingoe*.
Aſſiſt or Aid, *Maouineoua*.
Ax, a great Ax, *Agackouet*.
A little Ax, *Agackouetons*.

B

BAg, a Tobacco bag, *Caſpitagan*.
Ball, *Alouin*.
Barrel, *Aoyentagan*.
Beat, I beat, *Packite*.
A Bear, *Mackoua*.
A little Bear, *Makons*.
Beard, *Miſchiton*.
Beaver, the Animal, *Amik*.
Beaver-Skin, *Apiminikoue*.
to Be or reſt, *Tapia*.
Becauſe, *Miouinch*.
to Believe, *Tilerima*.
Belly, *Miſchimout*.
Black, *Markate*.
Blood, *Miſcoue*.
Body, *Yao*.
Bottle, *Chichigoue*.
Brother, *Nicanich*.
Brandy, the juice or Broth of Fire, *Scoutiouabou*.
Brave Soldier, *Simaganis*.
Bread, *Pa-bouchikan*.
Brech, *Miſcoaſab*.
Breeches,

Breeches, a circumlocution for the covering of the Brech, *Kipokitie Koaſab.*
Broth or Juice, *Onabon.*
Buck, *Onaskech.*
Buckler, *Pakakoa.*
Build, to build Veſſels or Canous, *Chimanike.*

C

CAll, to call or name, *Tichinika.*
Candle, to ſnuff the Candle, to ſtir up the Fire, *Ouaſacolendamaoua.*
Canou, *Chiman.*
Captain, Leader, *Okima.*
to Carry, *Pitou* or *Pita.*
Caldron, *Akik.*
Change, I change, *Miſcoutch.*
Child, little Children, *Bebilouchins.*
Coat, *Capotiouian.*
Cold, I am cold, *Kikatch.*
Come on, *Mappe.*
to Come, *Pimatcha.*
Comrade, at my Comrade's Houſe, *Nitche, Nitchikoue.*
Concern'd or diſquieted, *Talimiſſi.*
Corn, *Malomin.*
Covering, a white Woollen Covering, *Ouabiouian.*
Country, *Endalakian.*
Courage, I have Courage, *Tagouamiſſi.*
C * *Maskimout.*
Cup made of Bark, *Oulagan.*

D

A Dab, *Malamek.*
Dance, I dance, *Nimi.*
Dance of the Savages to the Sound of Gourds, *Chichikoue.*
Dart, I dart, *Patchipaoua.*
Day, to day, *Ningom.*
One day, *Okonogat.*
Dead, *Nipouin.*
Devil, Evil Spirit, *Matchi Manitou.*
Die, I die, *Nip.*
Diſh of Maple VVood, *Soule Mickoan.*
Dog, *Alim.*
Little Dog, *Alimons.*
Do, I do, *Techiton.*
Done, 'tis done, *Chaye.*
Doubtleſs, *Antetatouba.*
Dreſs Meat: I do the Kettle, (a Phraſe) *Pontaoue.*
Drink, I drink, *Minikoue.*
Drunken, a Fool, *Ouſkouebi.*
Duck, *Chichip.*

E

EAch or every one, *Pepegik.*
Earth, *Acke* or *Ackouin.*
to Eat, *Ouiſſin.*
Elſewhere, *Coutadibi.*
Engliſh, *Ouatſakamink, Dachirini.*
Enough, 'tis enough, *Mimilic.*
Equal or like one another, *Tabiſcoutch.*
Eſteem, I eſteem or honour, *Napitelima.*
Eyes, *Ouskinebic.*

F

FAll, to fall, *Kinkiſin,*
Far off, *Ouatſa.*
Faſt, to go faſt, *Ouelibick.*
Fat, *Pimite.*
Father, my Father, *Nouſcé*
Fatigued, I am fatigu'd, *Takouſſi.*
Few or little, *Me Mangis.*
Fields ſown, *Kittegaink.*
to Find, *Nantouneoua.*
Fire, *Scoute.*
to ſtrike Fire with a Stone, *Scoutecke.*
Firelock, *Scoutekan.*
Fiſh, *Kikous.*
White Fiſh, *Attikamec.*
Fork, *Naſſaouakouat.*
Formerly, *Piraouigo.*
Fort or Fortreſs, *Ouackaigan.*
Fortify, I make Forts, *Ouackaike.*
Forwards in the Wood, *Nopemenk.*
A Fowl, *Pilé.*
France, the Country of the *French, Mittigouchiouek, Endalakiank.*
The *French*, term'd Builders of Ships, *Mittigouch.*
to Freeze, *Kiſſin.*
It freezes hard, *Kiſſina Magat.*
Full, *Mouskinet.*
Fuſee, *Paskiſigan.*

G

GIrle, *Iekouſſens.*
Give, I give, *Mila.*
Glaſs, a Looking-glaſs, *Ouabemo.*
Go by Water, *Pimiſca.*
God of Heaven, Maſter of Life; Great Spirit; the unknown Being, *Kitchimanitou.*
Good, *Kouglatch.*
Govern, I Govern, *Tiberima.*

Go-

Governor General of *Canada*, *Kitchiokimaſi maganich*, *i. e.* great Captain of War.
Grape, *Chocmin.*
Great in the way of Merit, Valour, Courage, *&c. Kitchi.*
Great in Stature, *Mentitou.*
Greedy, *Saſakiſſi.*
Gut, *Olabich.*

H

HAir, *Liſſis.*
Hair of Beaſts *Piouel.*
Half, *Nabal.*
Handſome, Proper, *Saſega.*
Hare, *Ouapous.*
Hart, *Micheoue.*
Hate, I Abhor, *Chinguerima.*
Have, to have, *Tindala.*
Head, *Ouſticouan.*
Heaven, the upper Earth, *Spiminkakouin.*
Herb, *Mijask.*
Here, *Achonda* or *Achomanda.*
Hidden, *Kimouch.*
Home, at my Houſe, *Entayant.*
To Honour, *Mackaoualа.*
Hot, *Akichatte.*
How, *Tani.*
How many, *Tanſou*, or *Tanimilik.*
Hungry, I am hungry, *Packate.*
Hunt, I hunt, *Kiouſſe.*
Hurons, the People, *Nadouck.*
Hut, *Ouikicuam.*

I.

JEſuit, Black Gown, *Mackate ockola.*
Iſland, *Minu.*
Immediately, *Ouibatch.*
Impoſtor, *Malatiſſi.*
Indian Corn, *Mittamin.*
Intirely, *Napitch.*
Iron, *Piouabick.*
Iroqueſe, in the Plural Number, *Matchinadoaek.*

K.

KEep, I keep, *Ganaouerima.*
Kettle, *Akikons.*
King of *France*, the Great Head of the *French*, *Mittigouch Kitchi Okima.*
Knife, *Mockoman.*
A Crooked Knife, *Coutagan.*

Know, I know, *Kikerima.*
To know, *Kikerindan.*

L.

LAke, great Lake, *Kitchigamink.*
Lame, *Kakikatè.*
Land Carriage, *Cappatagan.*
To Laugh, *Papi.*
Lazy, *Kittimi.*
To Leave, *Packitan:*
Letter, *Maſignaygan.*
Liberal, *Oualatiſſi.*
Life, *Nouchimouin.*
Light, ſplendor, *Venclao.*
Little, *Ouabiloucheins.*
To Live, *Noutchimou.*
Long ſince, 'tis long ago, *Chachayè.*
Loſe at play, I loſe, *Packilague.*
Love, to love, *Sakia.*
To ly down, *Ouipema.*

M.

MAle, *Nape.*
Malicious, cheating, one that has an Ill Heart, *Malatchitehe.*
Man, *Aliſinape.*
March, I march, *Pimouſſe.*
Marry, I take a Woman, *Ouiouin.*
Marryed Man, *Napema.*
Meat, *Oüias.*
A Medicine, or Potion, *Maskikik.*
To meet *Nantouneoua.*
Merchandize Goods, *Alokatchigan.*
Miſtreſs, or She-Friend, *Nirimouſens.*
Moon, the Star of the Night, *Debikat Ikizis.*
to Morrow, *Ouabank.*
The Day after to Morrow, *Ouſouabank.*
A Mortar of Wood for beating *Indian* Corn, *Pontagan.*
Much, *Nibila.*

N

NAtion s, People, *Irini.*
Near, *Pechouetch.*
Needle, a ſewing Needle, *Chabonikan.*
Never, *Kaouicka.*
News, *Tepatchimou-kan.*
I bring News, *Tepatchimou.*
Night, *Debikat:*
No, *Ka.*
No body, *Kagouetch* or *Kaouia.*
Noſe, *Yach:*
Not at all, *Kamamenda* or *Kagouetch.*
Not yet, *Ka maſchi.*
Nothing, *Kakegou.*

O

OAR, *Appoue.*
Old, *Kioucheins.*
One-Eyed, *Paskingoe.*
Orignal, Elk, *Mons.*
A young and little Elk, *Manichich.*
Other, *Coutac.*
Otter, *Nikik.*

P

PAP, or the juice of the Meal of *Indian* Corn, *Mitaminabou.*
Part, in what part, *Tanipi.*
Partriges, *Pileſioue.*
Pay, I pay, *Tipaham.*
Peace, *Peca.*
to make Peace, *Pecatechi.*
Peninſula, *Miniſſin.*
Perſuaſion, *Tirerigan.*
Pike, Fiſh, *Kinonge.*
Pipe, Calumet, *Poagan.*
to Piſs, *Minſi.*
Pity, to take pity, *Chaouerima.*
to Play, *Packigoue.*
to Pleaſe one, I pleaſe, *Marouerindan.*
Porcelain Beads, *Aouies.*
Powder, Gunpowder, *Pingoe, Mackate.*
To pour out, *Sibikinan.*
To pray to God, *Talamia Kitchimanitou.*
Preſent, at preſent, *Nougam.*
Preſently, *Ouibatch.*
Petty, *Olichichin.*
P*, *Patchagon.*
Proper, Handſome, *Saſega.*
to Purſue, *Nopinala.*
I put away (a term uſed for a Man's putting away his Wife) *Ouebinan.*

Q

QUickly, *Kegatch.*

R

RAin, *Kimiouan.*
Red Colour, *Miſcoue.*
Red Powder, eſteemed by the Savages *Oulaman.*
to Regard, *Ouabemo.*
to Regrate, *Kouiloma.*
Relation, Kinſman, *Taouema.*
Reſolve, I reſolve, *Tibelindan.*
to Reſpect, *Tabamica.*
to Reſt or Repoſe, *Chinkichin.*
Right, to be in the right, *Tepoa.*
A Ring, *Dibilinchibiſon.*
River, *Sipim.*
Robe, *Ockola.*
Root, *Ouſtikoues.*
Row, to row, *Tapouez*
to Run, *Pitchibat.*
Run to, I run to, *Pitchiba.*

S

SAble, *Negao.*
Sack, *Maskimout.*
Sad, to be ſad, *Talimiſſi.*
Sail, I ſail, *Pimiſca.*
to Salute, *Mackaouala.*
Say, I ſay, *Tila.*
He ſays, ſays he, (a very uſual Word) *Toua.*
Sea, a great Lake without limits, *Agankitchigamink.*
To ſee, *Ouabemo.*
Seek, I ſeek, *Nantaouerima.*
Senſe, to have ſenſe, *Nabouacka.*
Ship, or GreatCanow, *Kitchi Chiman.*
Shirt, *Papakiouian.*
Shooes, *Mackiſin.*
Sick, *Outineous.*
Side, on the other ſide, *Gaamink.*
Since, *Mipidach.*
To ſing, *Chichin.*
Skin, *Pachikin.*
Slave, *Ouackan.*
Sleep, *Nipa.*
Smoak, I ſmoak Tobacco, *Pentakoe.*
To make a Smoak, *Sagaſſoa.*
Softly, *Peecabogo.*
Sons, *Nitianu.*
Sorry, I am ſorry, *Iskatiſſi.*
Soldier, *Simaganich.*
To Speak, *Galoula.*
Spirit, an Intelligent Inviſible Being, *Manitou.*
Spoon, *Mickouan.*
Spring-time, *Mirockamink.*
Star, *Alank.*
To ſteal, *Kimoutin.*
Stockins, Hoſe, *Mitas,*
Stone, *Aſſin.*
Strong, firm, hard, *Maſchkaoua.*
AStrong-man, *Machkaoneſſi.*
Very ſtrong, *Magat.*
Sturgeon, Fiſh, *Lamek.*
Sun, *Kiſis.*
Sweat, to ſweat, *Matoutou.*
Sword, *Simagan.*
Surpriſing, 'tis ſurpriſing or wonderful, *Etteoué.*

T.

TObacco, *Sema.*
Take, I take, *Takouan.*
Take hold, *Enanda.*
Teeth, *Tibit.*
That, *Maba.*
There, that way, *Mandadibi.*
There, at a diſtance, *Ouatſadibi.*

To

To Think or entertain an Opinion, *Tilelindan.*
This, *Manda.*
This way, *Undach.*
On this ſide, *Undachdibi.*
Time, a long time ago, *Chachayè, Piraonigo.*
Together, *Mamaouè.*
Tongue, *Outan.*
Too Little, *Oſſame Mangis.*
Too much, *Oſſani.*
To Truck *Tataouan.*
Truly *Keket.*
A Turtle-Dove, *Mimi.*
Tyr'd, I am tyr'd, *Takanſi.*

W.

WAlk, I walk, *Tija.*
Value, it is a valuable Thing, *Arimat.*
Water, *Nibi.*
War, *Nantobali.*
To make War, *Nantoubalinua.*
Warriors, *Nantobalitchick.*
Way, or Road, *Mickan.*
Well, that is well, *Oüeoüelim.*
Well, well, what then? *Achindach.*
Well then, *Taninentien.*
What's that? *Ouanecouine.*
What has he? *Kekouamen.*
Whence, *Tanipi.*
Whence come ye? *Tanipi Endayenk.*
Where? *Ta.*
Where is he? *Tanipi Api.*
While, *Megaotch.*
White, *Ouabi.*
Whither do you go? *Taga Kitiga.*
Who's that? *Ouanecouine maba.*
Why? *Tanientien.*
Wicked, in ſpeaking of the *Iroqueſe, Malataſſi.*
Will, *Ouiſch.*
Village, *Oudenanc.*
Win at play, I win, *Packitan.*
Wind, *Loutin.*
Wine, the Juice or Broath of Grapes, *Choeminabou.*
Viſit, to pay a Viſit, *Piametiſſa.*
Winter, *Pipoun.*
I Winter, or paſs the Winter, *Pipounichi.*
To underſtand, *Niſitotaoua.*
Wolf, *Mahingan.*
Woman, *Ickoue.*
Wood for Firing, *Mittik.*
Write, I write, *Maſſinaike.*

Y.

YEllow, *Ouzao.*
Yes, *Mi*, or *Mincouti.*
Yes, indeed, *Ante*, or *Sankema.*
Yeſterday, *Pitchilago.*
Yet, *Minaouatch.*
Young, *Ouskinekiſſi.*

I ſhall here content my ſelf in giving you th four *Tenſes* of the *Indicative Mood* of one *Verb*; by a view of which you may form the Conjugation of the other *Moods*. 'Twere eaſy to inlarge upon this Subject; but if I offer'd to launch out, the multiplicity of things that fall in the way, would oblige me to Write a formal *Grammar*.

To love, *Sakia.*

Preſent.

I love, *Niſakia.*
Thou loveſt, *Ki ſakia.*
He loves, *Ou ſakia.*
We love, *Ni ſakiamin.*
Ye love, *Kiſakiacua.*
We and you love, *Kiſakiaminacua.*
They love, *Sakiacouak.*

Imperfect.

I loved, *Ni ſakiaban.*
Thou lovd'ſt, *Ki ſakiaban.*
He lov'd, *Ou ſakiaban.*
We lov'd, *Ni ſakiaminaban.*
You lov'd, *Ki ſakiacouaban.*
We and you lov'd, *Kiſakiminacouaban.*
They lov'd, *Sakiabanik.*

I have lov'd, *Ni kiſakia.*
Thou haſt lov'd, *Ki kiſakia.*
He has lov'd, *Ou kiſakia.*
We have lov'd, *Ni kiſakiamin.*
You have lov'd, *Ki kiſakiacua.*
We and you have lov'd, *Ki kiſakiaminacua.*
They have lov'd, *Kiſakiacouak.*

I ſhall love, *Ningaſakia.*
Thou ſhalt love, *Ki gaſakia.*
He ſhall love, *Ou gaſakia.*
We ſhall love, *Nin gaſakiamin.*
You ſhall love, *Ki gaſakiacua.*
We and you ſhall love, *Ki gaſakiaminacua.*
They ſhall love, *Gaſakiacouak.*

Love thou, *Aſakia.*
Let us love, *Aſakiata.*

As for the *Nouns* they are not declin'd at all. The plural number is form'd by a *k.* added to a ſingular, ending in a *Vowel*, as *Aliſinape* ſignifies a Man, and *Aliſinapek* ſeveral Men. If the *Noun* ends

ends with a *Conſonant*, the plural is form'd by the addition of *ik*; as *Minis* ſignifies an Iſle, and *Miniſſik* Iſles; *Paskiſigan* a Fuſee, and *Paſkiſiganik* a plurality of Fuſees.

The *Algonkin* way of Counting.

ONe, *Pegik.*
Two, *Ninch.*
Three, *Niſſoue.*
Four, *Neou.*
Five, *Naran.*
Six, *Ningoutouaſſou.*
Seven, *Ninchouaſſou.*
Eight, *Niſſouaſſou.*
Nine, *Changaſſou.*
Ten, *Mittaſſou.*
Eleven, *Mittaſſou achi pegik.*
Twelve, *Mitaſſou achi ninch.*
Thirteen, *Mitaſſou achi niſſoue.*
Fourteen, *Mitaſſou achi neou.*
Fifteen, *Mitaſſou achi naran.*
Sixteen, *Mitaſſou achi ningotouaſſou.*
Seventeen, *Mitaſſou achi ninchoaſſou.*
Eighteeen, *Mitaſſou achi niſſouaſſou.*
Nineteen, *Mitaſſou achi changaſſou.*
Twenty, *Ninchtana.*
Twenty one, *Ninchtana achi pegik.*
Twenty two, *Ninchtana achi ninch.*
Twenty three, *Nicktana achi niſſoue.*
Twenty four, *Ninchtana achi neou.*
Twenty five, *Ninchtana achi naran.*
Twenty ſix, *Ninchtana achi ningotouaſſou.*
Twenty ſeven, *Ninchtana achi ninchoaſſou.*
Twenty eight, *Nimchtana achi niſſouaſſou.*
Twenty nine, *Ninchtana achi changaſſou.*
Thirty, *Niſſouemitana.*
Thirty one, *Niſſouemitana achi pegik, &c.*
Fourty, *Neoumitana.*
Fifty, *Naran mitana.*
Sixty, *Ningoutouaſſou mitana.*
Seventy, *Ninchouaſſou mitana.*
Eighty, *Niſſouaſſou mitana.*
Ninety, *Changaſſou mitana.*
A hundred, *Mitaſſou mitana.*
A thouſand, *Mitaſſou mitaſſou mitana.*

If

If you can once count to a hundred, 'tis eaſy to count by tens from a thouſand to a hundred thouſand, which number is in a manner unknown to the *Savages*, and by conſequence not us'd in their Language.

You muſt take care to pronounce fully all the letters of the Words, and to reſt upon the *A*'s that come at the end. The pronounciation is very eaſy, becauſe this Language has no Guttural or Palate Letters, ſuch as the *Spaniſh J Conſonant* with their *G* and their *H*, as well as the *Engliſh th*, which puts a Foreigner's Tongue upon the rack.

I can't paſs by one curious Remark touching the Language of the *Hurons* and the *Iroqueſe*; namely, that it do's not uſe the Labial Letters, viz. *b*, *f*, *m*, *p*. And yet the *Huron*'s Language appears to be very pretty, and ſounds admirably well, notwithſtanding that the *Hurons* never ſhut their Lips when they ſpeak.

Commonly the *Iroqueſe* make uſe of it in their Harangues and Councils, when they enter upon a Negotiation with the *French* or *Engliſh*. But in their Domeſtick Interviews they ſpeak their Mother Tongue.

None of the Savages of *Canada* care to ſpeak *French*, unleſs they are perſuaded that the force of their Words will be perfectly underſtood. They muſt be very well ſatisfied upon that Head before they venture to expoſe themſelves in ſpeaking their mind in *French*; abating for ſome caſes of neceſſity, when they are in Company with the *Coureurs de Bois* that do not underſtand their Language.

To return to the *Huron* Language; we muſt conſider that ſince neither the *Hurons* nor the *Iroqueſe* uſe the Labial Letters, 'tis impoſſible for either

either of 'em to learn *French* well. I have ſpent four days in trying to make the *Hurons* pronounce the Labial Letters, but I could not accompliſh it; nay, I am of the Opinion that in ten years time they would not learn to pronounce theſe Words, *Bon, Fils, Monſieur, Ponchartrain:* For inſtead of *Bon* they'd ſay *Ouon;* inſtead of *Fils, Rils;* inſtead of *Monſieur, Caounſieur;* and in the room of *Ponchartrain, Conchartrain.*

I have here added ſome Words of the *Huron* Language, that your curioſity may be gratified with a view of the difference between that and the *Algonkin.* The *Hurons* ſpeak with a great deal of gravity, and almoſt all their Words have aſpirations, the *H* being pronounc'd as ſtrong as poſſible.

I do not know that the Letter *F* is usd in any of the *Savage* Languages. 'Tis true, the *Eſſanapes* and the *Gnacſitares* have it; but they are Seated upon the long River beyond the *Miſſiſipi,* and conſequently out of the Limits of *Canada.*

Some *Huron* Words.

TO be a Man of Senſe, *Hondioun.*
Spirit, Divinity, *Ocki.*
Fire, *Tſiſta.*
Iron, *Aouiſta.*
Woman, *Ontebtian.*
Fuſee, *Ouraouenta.*
To be ſorry, *Oungarous.*
'Tis cold, *Outoirha.*
Fat, *Skoueton.*
Man, *Onnonhoue.*
Yeſterday, *Hiorheha.*
Jeſuit, *Tſiſtatſi.*
Far, *Deherén.*
Otter, *Taouinet.*
Not, *Staa.*
Yes, *Endae.*
Pipe or Calumet, *Gannondaoua.*
Near, *Touskeinhia.*
Soldiers, *Skenraguettè.*
To Salute, *Igonoron.*
Shooes, *Arrachiou.*
Traffick, *Attendinon.*
Altogether, *Tiaoundi.*
All of 'em, *Aouetti.*
Tobacco, *Oyngoua.*
'Tis valuable, difficult, and

and of importance, *Gannoron.*
To be gone, *Saraskona.*
Covetous, *Onnonstè.*
Handsome, Proper, *Akouasti.*
Very much, *Atoronton.*
That's well, *Andeya.*
I Drink, *Abirrha.*
Indian Corn, *Onneha.*
Stockins, *Arrhich.*
A Bottle, *Gatseta.*
A brave Man, *Sonquitehe*
'Tis done, *Houna.*
My Brother, *Yatsi.*
My Comrade, *Yottaro.*
Heaven, *Toendi.*
A Hutt, *Honnonchia.*
Hair, *Eonhora.*
Captain, *Otcon.*
Dog, *Agnienon.*
Softly, *Skenonha.*
Peace, *Skenon.*
I say, *Attatia.*
To morrow, *Achetek.*
To be, *Sackie.*

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